

Alfonso Archi
Ebla and Its Archives

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Alfonso Archi

Ebla and Its Archives



Texts, History, and Society

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Preface

At the origin of the studies in this volume is the positive answer which I gave to Paolo Matthiae thirty-nine years ago, when he asked me, his colleague at the University of Rome, to join the Archaeological Expedition at Tell Mardikh/Ebla in order to try to understand which of the many statements expressed regarding the contents of the tablets of Ebla were sound. It was a reckless answer, because I had no experience of cuneiform sources of that early period. I promptly received some photos, but time was greatly limited, because I had first to fulfill my obligation to prepare a KUB volume of Hittite tablets at the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin. At that time, my engagement was in any case not defined at all, and further developments would have depended on my interest and results, not less than on my endurance to bear a heavy situation.

I have to express my heartfelt thanks to many people, and first of all Paolo Matthiae, who offered me his steady support in those years. The members of the *International Committee for the Study of the Texts of Ebla*: Giorgio Buccellati, Pelio Fronzaroli, Paul Garelli, Horst Klengel, Jean-Robert Kupper, Fawzi Rashid, and in particular Dietz Otto Edzard and Edmond Sollberger, generously gave me their confidence. Adnan Bounni, Ali Abu Assaf, Kassem Toueir, Sultan Muhesen, Abd er-Razak Mu'az, Bassam Jamous and Michel al-Maqdissi, all of the General Directorate of Antiquities and Museums of Damascus, permitted me to work directly on the whole text collection.

My wife, Stefania Mazzoni, was always beside me and hosted me, together with other philologists of the Ebla expedition, for several years in her house in Saraqeb.

Pelio Fronzaroli has been in all these years an ideal colleague and friend, offering me the privilege to exchange ideas and receive advice from him.

With Maria Giovanna Biga and Amalia Catagnoti, who have worked beside me for many years, I have had occasion to discuss several points.

Antoine Souleiman and Hamido Hammade, both responsible for the Ebla tablets in the Archaeological Museum of Aleppo, and who both passed away too early in recent years, as well as Abdo Asfari and Fajar haj Mohammed, who succeeded each other as director of the Archaeological Museum of Idlib, offered me the best conditions for the extraordinarily exciting work of reconstructing day after day the archives of Ebla.

This volume is dedicated to them, as also to Faiz, Ma'an, Waji Abeidin of Saraqeb, and Shawqi Shaath of Aleppo, who contributed to making Syria my second, unforgettable home.

I am very grateful to Gonzalo Rubio for having proposed that I collect several of my writings on Ebla in this volume of the series SANER directed by him, and to the De Gruyter staff who has assisted me in this enterprise. Gabriella Spada was of great help in editing this volume.

Rome, July 2015

A. A.

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Abbreviations

ABL	R. F. Harper, <i>Assyrian and Babylonian Letters</i> . London–Chicago 1892–1914
AfO	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>
AHw	W. von Soden, <i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i> I–III. Wiesbaden 1965–1981
AIT	D. J. Wiseman, <i>The Alalakh Tablets</i> . London 1953
ANEP	J. B. Pritchard, <i>The Ancient Near East in Pictures</i> . Princeton 1954
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AoF	<i>Altorientalische Forschungen</i>
ARES 1	A. Archi (ed.), <i>Eblaite Personal Names and Semitic Name-Giving. Papers of a Symposium held in Rome July 15–17, 1985</i> . Archivi Reali di Ebla Studi, 1. Roma 1988
ARES 2	A. Archi, P. Piacentini, and F. Pomponio, <i>I nomi di luogo dei testi di Ebla</i> . Archivi Reali di Ebla Studi, 2. Roma 1993
ARES 4	M. Civil, <i>The Early Dynastic Practical Vocabulary A (Archaic HAR-ra A)</i> . Archivi Reali di Ebla Studi, 4. Roma 2008
ARET 1	A. Archi, <i>Testi amministrativi: assegnazioni di tessuti</i> . Archivi Reali di Ebla Testi, 1. Roma 1985
ARET 2	D. O. Edzard, <i>Verwaltungstexte verschiedenen Inhalts</i> . Archivi Reali di Ebla Testi, 2. Roma 1981
ARET 3	A. Archi, and M. G. Biga, <i>Testi amministrativi di vario contenuto</i> . Archivi Reali di Ebla Testi, 3. Roma 1982
ARET 4	M. G. Biga, and L. Milano, <i>Testi amministrativi: assegnazioni di tessuti</i> . Archivi Reali di Ebla Testi, 4. Roma 1984
ARET 7	A. Archi, <i>Testi amministrativi: registrazioni di metalli e tessuti</i> . Archivi Reali di Ebla Testi, 7. Roma 1988
ARET 8	E. Sollberger, <i>Administrative Texts Chiefly Concerning Textiles</i> . Archivi Reali di Ebla Testi, 8. Roma 1986
ARET 9	L. Milano, <i>Testi amministrativi: assegnazioni di prodotti alimentari</i> . Archivi Reali di Ebla Testi, 9. Roma 1990.
ARET 11	P. Fronzaroli, <i>Testi rituali della regalità</i> . Archivi Reali di Ebla Testi, 11. Roma 1993
ARET 12	M. Lahlouh, and A. Catagnoli, <i>Testi amministrativi di vario contenuto</i> . Archivi Reali di Ebla Testi, 12. Roma 2006
ARET 13	P. Fronzaroli, <i>Testi di cancelleria: i rapporti con le città</i> . Archivi Reali di Ebla Testi, 13. Roma 2003
ARET 14	A. Archi, <i>Testi amministrativi: le consegne (mu-túm) al Palazzo</i> . Archivi Reali di Ebla Testi, 14. Roma 2015.
ARET 15	F. Pomponio, <i>Testi amministrativi: assegnazioni mensili di tessuti. Periodo di Arrugum</i> , I–II. Archivi Reali di Ebla Testi, 15. Roma 2008, 2013
ARET 16	P. Fronzaroli, <i>Testi di cancelleria: il re e i funzionari</i> , I. Archivi Reali di Ebla Testi, 16. Roma 2010
ARM II	Ch.-F. Jean, <i>Lettres diverses</i> . Archives Royales de Mari II. Paris 1950
ARM VII	J. Bottéro, <i>Textes économiques et administratifs</i> . Archives Royales de Mari VII. Paris 1957
ARM IX	M. Birot, <i>Textes administratifs de la salle 5 du palais</i> . Archives Royales de Mari IX. Paris 1960

ARM XVI, 1	M. Birot, J.-R. Kupper, and O. Rouault, <i>Répertoire analytique. Nomes propres</i> . Archives Royales de Mari XVI, 1. Paris 1979
ARM XVIII	O. Rouault, <i>Mukannišum. L'administration et l'économie palatiales à Mari</i> . Archives Royales de Mari XVIII. Paris 1977
ARM XXI	J.-M. Durand, <i>Textes administratifs des salles 134 et 160 du palais de Mari</i> . Archives Royales de Mari XXI. Paris 1983
ARM XXIII	G. Bardet et al. <i>Archives administratives de Mari</i> 1. Archives Royales de Mari XXIII. Paris 1984
ARM XXIV	Ph. Talon, <i>Textes administratifs des salles Y et Z du palais de Mari</i> . Archives Royales de Mari XXIV. Paris 1985
ARM XXV	H. Limet, <i>Textes administratifs relatifs aux métaux</i> . Archives Royales de Mari XXV. Paris 1986
ARM XXVI, 2	D. Charpin et al., <i>Archives épistolaires de Mari</i> I/2. Archives Royales de Mari XXVI, 2. Paris 1988
AWL	J. Bauer, <i>Altsumerische Wirtschaftstexte aus Lagasch</i> . Studia Pohl 9. Roma 1972
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BIN 8	G. G. Hackman, <i>Sumerian and Akkadian Administrative Texts from Predynastic Times to the End of the Akkad Dynasty</i> . Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of J. B. Nies 8. New Haven 1958
CAD	The Assyrian Dictionary of the University of Chicago. Chicago 1956–2006
CRAIBL	<i>Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres</i> . Paris
CT	Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum
ChS I	V. Haas, <i>Die Serien itkahi und itkalzi des AZU-Priesters, Rituale für Tašmišarri und Tatuhepa sowie weitere Texte mit Bezug auf Tašmišarri</i> . Corpus der hurritischen Sprachdenkmäler, I. Roma 1984
CTA	A. Herdner, <i>Corpus des tablettes en cunéiformes alphabétiques découvertes à Ras Shamra-Ugarit de 1929 à 1939</i> . Mission de Ras Shamra, X. Paris 1963
DP	F.-M., Allotte de la Fuÿe, <i>Documents présargoniques</i> . Paris 1908–20
Emar VI.3	D. Arnaud, <i>Textes sumériens et accadiens</i> . Recherches au Pays d'Aštata Emar VI. 3. Paris 1986
FAOS	Freiburger Altorientalische Studien
Fö	W. Förtsch, <i>Altbabylonische Wirtschaftstexte aus der Zeit Lugalandas und Urukaginas</i> . Leipzig 1916
HAL ³	L. Koehler, and W. Baumgartner, <i>Hebräisches und Aramäisches Lexicon zum Alten Testament</i> . 3 rd ed. Leiden, New York, Köln
IAS	R. D. Biggs, <i>Inscriptions from Tell Abū Ṣalābikh</i> (OIP 99). Chicago 1974
ITT	Inventaire des tablettes de Tello
JANER	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Religions</i>
JESHO	<i>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
KBo	Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi
KTU	M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín, <i>Die keil-alphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit</i> . AOAT 24, 1. Neukirchen-Vluyn 1976
LdÄ	Lexicon der Ägyptologie. Wiesbaden 1989
MAD 3	I. J. Gelb, <i>Glossary of Old Akkadian</i> . Materials for the Assyrian Dictionary 3. Chicago 1957

MAD 5	I. J. Gelb, <i>Sargonic Texts in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford</i> . Materials for the Assyrian Dictionary 5. Chicago 1970
MAM 1	A. Parrot, <i>Le temple d'Ishtar</i> . Mission archéologique de Mari, I. Paris 1956
MAM 3	A. Parrot, <i>Les temples d'Ishtar et de Ninni-zaza</i> . Mission archéologique de Mari, III. Paris 1967
MDOG	<i>Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft zu Berlin</i>
MEE 1	G. Pettinato, <i>Catalogo dei testi cuneiformi di Tell Mardikh – Ebla</i> . Materiali Epigrafici di Ebla, 1. Roma 1979
MEE 2	G. Pettinato, <i>Testi amministrativi della biblioteca L. 2769</i> . Materiali Epigrafici di Ebla, 2. Roma 1980
MEE 3	G. Pettinato, <i>Testi lessicali monolingui della biblioteca L. 2769</i> . Materiali Epigrafici di Ebla, 3. Roma 1981
MEE 4	G. Pettinato, <i>Testi lessicali bilingui della biblioteca L. 2769</i> . Materiali Epigrafici di Ebla, 4. Roma 1982
MEE 7	F. D'Agostino, <i>Testi amministrativi della biblioteca L. 2769</i> . Materiali Epigrafici di Ebla, 7. Roma 1996
MEE 10	P. Mander, <i>Administrative Texts of the Archive L. 2769</i> . Materiali Epigrafici di Ebla, 10. Roma 1990
MEE 12	H. Waetzoldt, <i>Wirtschafts- und Verwaltungstexte aus Ebla</i> . Archiv L. 2769. Materiali Epigrafici di Ebla, 12. Roma 2001
MSL	Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon / Materials for the Sumerian Lexicon
MSL SS 1	Materials for the Sumerian Lexicon. Supplementary Series. <i>The Sag-Tablet, Lexical Texts in the Ashmolean Museum, Middle Babylonian Grammatical Texts, Miscellaneous Texts</i> . Roma 1986
MSVO 1	R. K. Englund, and J.-P. Grégoire, <i>The Proto-Cuneiform Texts from Jemdet Nasr</i> . Materialien zu den frühen Schriftzeugnissen des Vorderen Orients, 1. Berlin 1991.
NRVN 1	M. Çig, H. Kızılyay, <i>Neusumerische Rechts- und Verwaltungsurkunden aus Nippur</i> , I. Ankara 1965
OBT	S. Dalley, C. B. F. Walker, and J. D. Hawkins, <i>The Old Babylonian Tablets from Tell Rimah</i> . London 1976
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications
OLZ	<i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung</i>
Or	<i>Orientalia Nova Series</i>
OrAnt	<i>Oriens Antiquus</i>
PRU III	J. Nougayrol, <i>Textes accadiens des archives sud</i> . Palais Royal d'Ugarit III. Paris 1956
PRU VI	J. Nougayrol, <i>Textes en cunéiformes babyloniens des archives du Grand Palais sud d'Ugarit</i> . Palais Royal d'Ugarit VI. Paris 1970
PSD	<i>The Sumerian Dictionary of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania</i> . Ann Arbor 1984–1998
RA	<i>Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale</i>
RHA	<i>Revue hittite et asianique</i>
RIA	<i>Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie</i>
RS	Museum siglum of the Louvre and Damascus (Ras Shamra)
RTC	F. Thureau-Dangin, <i>Recueil des tablettes chaldéennes</i> . Paris 1903
SAA 1	S. Parpola, <i>The Correspondance of Sargon II</i> , 1. State Archives of Assyria 1. Helsinki 1987

SAKI	F. Thureau-Dangin, <i>Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften</i> . Leipzig 1907
SBo	H. G. Güterbock, <i>Siegel aus Bogazköy</i> (I = <i>AfO</i> Beih. 5, 1940; II = <i>AfO</i> Beih. 7 1942)
SD	<i>Studia et documenta ad iura Orientis antiqui pertinentia</i>
SEL	<i>Studi Epigrafici e Linguistici sul Vicino Oriente Antico</i>
SF	A. Deimel, <i>Schultexte aus Fara</i> . WVD OG 43. Leipzig 1923
TIE A, 1/1	G. Pettinato ed., <i>Thesaurus Inscriptionum Eblaicarum</i> , A, 1/1. Roma 1995
TIM 9	J. J. van Dijk, <i>Texts of Varying Content</i> . Texts in the Iraq Museum 9. Leiden 1976
TSA	H. de Genouillac. <i>Tablettes sumériennes archaïques</i> . Paris 1909
UET I	C. J. Gadd, and L. Legrain, <i>Royal Inscriptions, I. Ur Excavations. Texts I</i> . London 1928
<i>Ugaritica</i> III	C. F.-A. Schaeffer, <i>Ugaritica</i> III. Paris 1956
<i>Ugaritica</i> V	J. Nougayrol, E. Laroche, Ch. Virolleaud, and C. F.-A. Schaeffer, <i>Ugaritica</i> V. Paris 1968
<i>Ugaritica</i> VII	C. F.-A. Schaeffer, <i>Ugaritica</i> VII. Paris 1978
VE	<i>Vocabolario di Ebla</i> (= MEE 4)
WVD OG	Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
WVD OG 45	A. Deimel. <i>Die Inschriften von Fara</i> , III. <i>Wirtschaftstexte aus Fara</i> . WVD OG 45. Leipzig 1924
ZA	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete und Vorderasiatische Archäologie</i>
ZATU	M. W. Green, and H. J. Nissen, <i>Zeichenliste der archaischen Texte aus Uruk</i> . Berlin 1987

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- 1993 *Five Tablets from the Southern Wing of Palace G – Ebla*. Syro-Mesopotamian Studies 5/2. Malibu: Undena Publications.
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Notes

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- Minima eblaitica 6–9: *igi-dub* = *ba-nu-ù* 'lame, feuille pour le visage, visage'; '*a_x*(NI)-*na-gu* 'support, cercle'; *ti₈*-MUŠEN 'ornament de heaume, heaume'; *bù-še* 'possession, propriété'. *NABU* 1988/77–80
- 1997 Minima eblaitica 10: /*mapqad-um*/ 'inspection, review'. *NABU* 1997/147
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Part I. History, Language, and Texts

1 Syria and Mesopotamia Before the Akkadian Dynasty: Geopolitical Relations

1 Commemorative inscriptions and administrative documents

In giving a picture of Syria before “the time of the kings of Agade” for the third edition of the *Cambridge Ancient History*, J. Bottéro was compelled by the sources at his disposal to state that “to the great powers of the Near East, Syria was no-man’s-land”. The Egyptian Execration Texts of the early second millennium, which contain a large number of indisputably Semitic personal names, showed that the habitants of Palestine and Syria were at that time predominantly Semites. The place-names (particularly in Northern Syria) were on the contrary of unknown linguistic affiliation. Notwithstanding this, one had to assume (on the basis of few god and personal names) the presence of Semites in Northern Syria from at least the middle of the third millennium BC (Bottéro 1971: 319–21).

The scarce data in the commemorative inscriptions of the kings of Akkad (about 2335–2193 BC) depict Syria, in fact, as a land beyond the horizon of their usual relations. Mari, on the Euphrates, to the west, and Elam, in the mountains to the east of the alluvial plain of Mesopotamia, delimited that part of the world consistent with Sumer and Akkad: “The god Enlil gave to him (Sargon) [the Upper Sea and] the [Low]er (Sea), so that from the Lower Sea citizens of Agade [h]eld governorships (of the land). Mari and Elam stood (in obedience) before Sargon, lord of the land” (Frayne 1993: 11–12; E2.1.1.1., ll.73–93). In another terse inscription, Sargon boasts first that he, “king of the world (KIŠ), was victorious (in) 34 battles”, and then he mentions only two exploits as proof of his dominion over the world: that “he moored the ships of Meluḥḥa, Magan, and Tilmun (i.e. the lands of the Lower Sea) at the quay of Agade”, and led an expedition in the regions towards the Upper Sea: “Sargon, the king, bowed down to the god Dagan in Tuttul. He (the god Dagan) gave to him the Upper Land: Mari, Iarmuti, and Ebla as far as the Cedar Forest and the Silver Mountains (the Amanus)” (Frayne 1993: 28–29). In order to proceed west of Mari, following the river upstream, Sargon therefore had to ask permission of Dagan, the god of that region, in his sanctuary at Tuttul, where the Baliḥ flows into the Euphrates.

The report of Narām-Sîn, Sargon’s nephew, on his campaign in Northern Syria has even a stunned tone between epic and fable:

“Whereas, for all time since the creation of mankind, no king whosoever had destroyed Armānum and Ebla, the god Nergal, by means of (his) weapons opened the way for Narām-Sîn, the mighty, and gave him Armānum and Ebla. Further, he gave to him the Amanus, the Cedar Mountain, and the Upper Sea. By means of the weapons of the god Dagan, who magnifies his kingship, Narām-Sîn, the mighty, conquered Armānum and Ebla. Further, from the side of the Euphrates river as far as (the city of) Ulišum, he smote the people whom the god Dagan had given to him for the first time ... Thus says Narām-Sîn, the mighty, king of the four quarters: ‘The god Dagan gave me Armānum and Ebla and I captured Rîd-Adda, king of Armānum’ (Frayne 1993: 132–34).

The city of Armānum has been identified with Samsat, the only huge tell on the banks of the Euphrates, upstream of Mari, which could correspond to a well fortified “high hill”, close to the quay, as Nāram-Sîn’s inscription says. The siege and conquest of this city was considered a major enterprise by this king because it is the only war action described in detail in his inscriptions. Armānum must be the Armi(um) of the Ebla archives, which lay at the northern border of the Semitized regions according to an analysis of the personal names. This is exactly the area where Samsat is placed. Because the only important city state between Ebla and Armi(um) was Uršaum, the Ulišum of the Narām-Sîn’s scribes (= Ur(i)šum, because /r/ can be expressed by *l* in the Ebla texts) must be Uršaum, the Uršum of Gudea and the documents of Ur III and the 2nd millennium (Archi 2011: 29–30). This identification explains the Akkadian expression: *iš-tum-ma pu-ti* BURANUN.I₇ “from the side of the Euphrates” (ll. 9–11), because the best candidate for Uršum is Gaziantep, 65 km west of the Euphrates, which presents a morphology quite similar to that of Ḫalab, with the citadel on a natural hill (the Islamic structures make it difficult to recover earlier, preserved levels), and the lower city completely covered by recent settlements.¹

The fragmentary Nasiriyah stele, with Akkadian warriors in the lower register bringing as booty belts with daggers of non-Mesopotamian type and some *depas amphikypellon* (a two-handled goblet: an Anatolian typology diffused also in the Euphrates valley), is probably the depiction of this king’s achievements in Northern Syria and Eastern Anatolia (Archi 2011: 30–32).

Reaching Armānum/Samsat, Narām-Sîn went therefore upriver the Euphrates to the same height as he did in the Tigris valley, where he left a stele at the large tell of Pir Hussein by Dyarbakır.

The discovery of Ebla and its archives has radically changed the picture given by the Akkadian royal inscriptions, to the point of even providing evi-

¹ The excavations at the large tell of Oylum (17 hectares) in the Kilis plain have not brought to light structures consistent with a capital of the Early and Middle Bronze Age (Özgen, Helwing 2001).

dence of a dynastic marriage: that of a daughter of the last king of Ebla with a son of the king of Kiš, therefore a predecessor of Sargon, if not of the same generation as Sargon himself. Kiš was at that time the most important centre of Babylonia, and it was from Kiš that Sargon moved his capital to Akkad, according to tradition.

The document concerning the dowry of precious objects for princess Kešdut upon her going to Kiš is very fragmentary; well preserved is instead the tablet with the list of the animals which were sent as gift on that occasion:

“972 bulls, 935 mature cows in calf, 768 fattened oxen, 338 draught-oxen, 241 mature calves, 36 draught-calves. A total of 1680 sheep. 159 onagers, 1 mule, 5 pigs, 19 bisons, 14 bears. General total: 3290 bovines. Delivery for the marriage (nīg-mu-sá) of Kešdut, the king’s daughter” (TM.75.G.2283; Archi 1987: 122).

If all these animal were sent to Kiš probably along the Euphrates, more than 1000 km away, it is because it was expected that the majority of them would arrive at their destination.

If one is given such a different perspective from these sources it is not because the Akkadian royal inscriptions are comparatively few in relation to the documents of the Ebla archives, but because they belong to a different genre. An old rule in Classical Studies is to consider the historical data according to the genre of their sources. Commemorative inscriptions refer to real events, but only in the perspective of glorifying the king, and in any case not in chronological order (unless they are annals). The documents of the Ebla archives are administrative in nature; therefore, they may give the exact number of clothes or measures of grain assigned to a single person (in general mentioned just by his name, without adding his function; the king and queen, on the contrary, are referred to exclusively by their title). The occasions are often omitted. The documents are not dated, and a relative chronology of data is possible only by combining evidence from several texts. Events are mentioned only if they involved an expenditure.

Therefore, a single genre of documentation risks giving a rather distorted picture. Moreover, both commemorative texts and administrative documents omit data not required by the destined recipients of the message, so that full significance of the message cannot be grasped by readers of our time.

The Eblaite and the Akkadian sources are, moreover, not contemporary. The first years of Sargon (who reigned about 35 years) may have coincided with the last years of Išar-damu, the last king of Ebla. Ebla was destroyed however about ten years before the conquest of Mari by Sargon (Archi 2013a: 83–85 [26–27, 29]).

2 Political relations during the “Second Urbanization”

The archives of Ebla show that from the beginning of the 3rd millennium the population settled in Northern Syria spoke the same Semitic dialect and became politically organized in numerous city-states. Starting at least in the 25th century regional states took form.

Mari was included in the political horizon of Sumer (after the Uruk period) already from the 25th century on. Mesanepada of Ur devoted to Dagan, the major god of the Euphrates valley, a lapis lazuli bead found in Mari, in a jar together with other precious objects, therefore belonging to a royal gift (Parrot 1968). The inscription says: “To the Lord of the Land (^dlugal-’kalama’), Mesanepada, king of Ur, son of Meskalamdug king of Kiš, dedicated (this bead)” (Westenholz 1979: 119; followed by Cooper 1986: 98 no. 5). The restoration of the sign KALAM (rather damaged) is supported by the two votive inscriptions found in the “Temple of the Lions”, built in front of the temple of NIN.ĤUR.SAGA (/ Šalaš), the spouse of Dagan. Both inscriptions say: “... Ištu-pilum ‘governor’ (*šakkanakkum*) of Mari ... has built (this) temple of the Lord of the Land (^dLUGAL *ma-tim* = *Bēl mātīm*)” (Gelb, Kienast 1990: 361–62). The two lists of the so-called ‘Pantheon of Mari’ have moreover: “... *Dagan* // LUGAL(*Bēl*) *mātīm* / NIN.ĤUR.SAGA / LUGAL *Terqa*” (Dossin 1950). Following the need for completeness proper to religion (*siue deus siue dea*), Dagan is here followed in the second section of the list by the well known epithet: “Lord of the Land”, surely referring to him as it is followed by NIN.ĤUR.SAGA: the Syrian Šalaš. Moreover, the sources of the 2nd millennium show that Dagan was also the Lord of the city of Terqa.

The documents of Ebla reinforce this interpretation. The epithet ^dBAD(*Ba’l*) *ma-tum*/*kalam-tim* “Lord of the Land” refers to Dagan as well as ^dBAD *Du-du-lu/la*^{ki} “Lord of the city of Tuttul”, as is proven from the following passage according to which someone sacrificed a sheep to ^dBAD *ma-tum* in *Du-du-lu*^{ki}, that is in Tuttul, what means in the sanctuary where Sargon and Narām-Sîn bowed down before Dagan (Archi 2008a: 683–86).

That a king of Ur devoted a gift to a “supreme” deity such as Dagan (the sources of the 2nd millennium equated him with Enlil, the Sumerian “father of the gods”) finds its explanation in the geopolitical situation in the Mesopotamia of the time. Ur was the only important Sumerian city not belonging to the league of six states which formed an alliance with Kiš (Pomponio, Visicato 1994: 19–20; Foster 2005: 86). The opposite geographical location of Ur and Mari made of them the natural allies against the imperialistic central power represented by Kiš.

When, a bit over a century later, Ebla entered into alliance with Kiš with the marriage of princess Kešdut, the reason was exactly the same: Ebla and Kiš delimited the kingdom of Mari from opposite sides.

3 Formation of the regional state of Ebla

The central archive of Ebla covers systematically 40 years: the last five years of king Irkab-damu, when the minister was Arrukum, and the 35 years of Išar-damu, his son and successor (his ministers were Ibrium for the first eighteen years, followed by his son Ibbi-zikir for seventeen years). About seventy tablets, selected from previous collections of documents and brought to this archive, concern the first six years of Irkab-damu and the very last years of his predecessor, Igrīš-Ḫalab. At the time of this king Aleppo belonged to Ebla and the kingdom already extended roughly as far as the line of the present Syrian-Turkish border, including Karkamiš and also the Antioch plain. Ḫassuwan (later Ḫaššum), who lay surely south of Uršaum/Uršum, and could be identified with the large tell of Tilbešar, twenty-five km south-east of Gaziantep, was conquered in about the fourth year of Išar-damu. This is deduced from the fact that starting with that year there is no further mention of a king of Ḫassuwan, and the city no longer appears among the tributary kingdoms of Ebla (Archi 2008b).

Iblul-il of Mari led some expeditions in the Euphrates valley (following the example of his predecessor Ištup-išar, who had conquered Emar), and during the last years of Igrīš-Ḫalab he succeeded to defeat the army of Abarsal (probably Tell Ḫuēra), which controlled the left bank of the Euphrates, north of Emar. He proceeded then beyond Karkamiš, and attacked two fortresses of Ḫassuwan. Iblul-il did not dare, however, to leave the valley of the Euphrates, which ensured him easy communications with his capital. Ebla, for its part, found it advantageous to avoid direct confrontation by paying a heavy tribute.

The threat represented by Mari was a dramatic one. During the eleven years of Irkab-damu's reign, relations with Mari were of an intensity comparable only to that encountered during the years immediately preceding the catastrophe. Ebla was subject to onerous impositions, having to deliver to Iblul-il and his successors Nizi and Enna-Dagan (who reigned respectively three and four/five years) a total of 1028.30 kg of silver and 63.15 kg of gold from the last years of Igrīš-Ḫalab to the end of the reign of Irkab-damu (Archi 1985: 64).²

² For details concerning the tributes paid to Mari, see Archi 2015. For the synchronism between the kings of Ebla and those of Mari, see Archi 2013a: 81–85 [23–29].

Profiting from the defeat of Abarsal and having its army intact, Ebla was able to conclude a treaty with this city (ARET 13.5), possibly in the very first years of Irkab-damu (or the last years of Igrīš-Ḫalab), and gained control over river trade. Abarsal had to pay as tribute 431 minas of silver (202,57 kg) and was permitted only to use Ebla's ferryboats. Abarsal declined in the space of only a few years, during the period in which Arrukum was minister (40–35 years before the final destruction of Ebla), as can be deduced from the fact that in the later documents the city is very rarely mentioned. The identification of Tell Ḫuēra with Abarsal is suggested by its geographical position (on the other side of the Euphrates but not close to its banks); its imposing urban layout, and the archaeological sequences (Meyer 2013) seem to correspond to the information given in the Ebla texts.

During the mandate of minister Ibrium, the major city-states close to the east bank of the Euphrates were Burman and Kablul (this latter north of Karkamiš), while Iritum (east of Karkamiš), Ḫarran in the upper Baliḫ valley, Sanapzugum and Gudadanum were about on the line of the present Syrian-Turkish border. All of them acknowledged the hegemony of Ebla.

4 The struggle for supremacy in Northern Syria

During his four or five years of reign, Enna-Dagan was unable to relaunch Mari's expansionist policy. At his death, which fell in roughly the same year as that of Irkab-damu and his minister Arrukum, Mari's hegemony came to an end, and Ebla no longer paid tribute. When Išar-damu, son of Irkab-damu, ascended the throne, he could only have been three or four years old, considering that he married fourteen years later. Ibrium, nominated minister by Irkab-damu only a few months before his death, found himself alone at the head of the state. It is he, therefore, who had the merit of having consolidated the power of Ebla in Western Syria with military campaigns led year after year (Archi 2014: 22).

In the 3rd year of Išar-damu (and Ibrium) Mari successfully attacked Haddu (possibly Tell Maḥat ad-Dārū, 70 km north of Der-ez-Zor), which had previously been “in the hands of Ebla” according to the Treaty with Abarsal (ARET 13, 5 § 17). The document ARET 13.19 registers duly that Haddu “turned towards Mari” in an undefined year. A balance between the two regional states was reached however sealing a peace which the representatives of Ikun-išar, the king of Mari, swore in the temple of Kura, the god of the city of Ebla. A copy of the treaty, decorated with silver (a prototype of the silver tablet with

the treaty between Ramses II and Hattusili III !) was deposited in the temple: “TM.75.G.2464 obv. III 12–22: “50 shekels (400 g) of silver: a sheet (for covering) one tablet, that of the oath (nam-kud) of Ebla and Mari (for) the temple of Kura”. A similar ceremony would have been performed also at Mari.

In the northern region of the Habur river, Nagar (Tell Brak) had established the third regional state of Syria, which included eighteen relatively important cities at least during the reign of Išar-damu (Archi 1998b: 7–8). Relations between Ebla and Nagar were thriving already in the period of king Irkab-damu and his minister Arrukum. They were favoured by the necessity of creating a counterbalance to the supremacy of Mari after Iblul-il's death. The dedication by Mara-il, king of Nagar, of a statue of Iblul-il (associated in the inscription with his spouse, ereš, Paba: *Pa₄-ba₄*) to the goddess Eštar (Parrot 1967: 51–52; Dossin 1967a: 318–19),³ has in fact to be interpreted as an act of submission to Mari, which had a parallel in the tributes paid by Ebla.

Taking advantage of the alliance with Nagar, Irkab-Damu tried to establish relations with a region much far to the east. A letter (ARET 13.3) was addressed to Zizi, king of Ḥamazi, the important city of Subartu, on the left side of the Tigris. Hamazi was, however, beyond the horizon of Ebla: the city seems to be mentioned only in another document of the archives (Archi, Piacentini, Pomponio 1993: 260–61).

Relations between Ebla and Nagar intensified particularly in the 7th year of Išar-damu and his minister Ibrium, when Mari defeated Nagar (7th and 8th years; TM.75.G.1904 obv. xvi 4–10; 10148+ obv. vii 5–9); a first defeat fell already in the 3rd year (TM.75.G.2464 rev. v 21–vi 7). The mention of a defeat (til) of Nagar by Mari in the monthly document ARET 12.332 rev. ii, refers to one of these events.

This activity of Mari in its northern sector may be explained by the fact that Kiš, its rival state downstream on the Euphrates, was under strong pressure. Messengers of Mari brought to Ebla the news that Kiš was defeated in the 4th year of Ibrium. Later, in the 9th year of the minister Ibrium, Akšak was conquered. Finally, “the cities of Kiš” were conquered in the 10th–12th years (Archi 2013a: 83 [25]). These wars must presumably refer to the campaigns of Enšakuš-ana of Uruk, who proclaimed himself “lord of Sumer, king of the land” (en ki-en-gi lugal kalam-ma); “he sacked Kiš and captured Enbi-Ištar, the king of Kiš. The leader (lú) of Kiš and the leader of Akšak, (when) both their cities were destroyed [...]” (Frayne 2008: 430). Mari took part directly in these events, mov-

³ Sallaberger (1998a: 35) has noted that AMAR.AN, the son of UR-^dUTU-ša (UR-Šamša) [...] of Nagar of the Mari inscription (Frayne 2008: 323) has to be identified with *Ma-ra-AN* king (en) of Nagar attested to in ARET 7.16 § 19, suggesting therefore the reading *mára* for AMAR.

ing against Kiš (nig-kas₄ si-in Kiš^{ki}: TM.75.G.10143 rev. vi 14–vii 1) in the 10th year of Ibrium (Archi, Biga 2003: 11). Such military action could have been undertaken only in coordination with Uruk. At the same time Mari took care to maintain its diplomatic relations with Ebla so as to have nothing to fear from behind. Messengers from Ebla travelled with representatives of Mari even to Kiš (Archi, Biga 2003: 11). In his 14th and 16th years Ibrium occupied Ilwium and Zaḥiran, two strongholds in the Euphrates valley, previously conquered by Anubu, the earliest king of Mari mentioned in the Enna-Dagan letter. Six years after the defeat of Kiš, in the 18th and last year of minister Ibrium, the alliance between Ebla and Mari was renewed: several amounts of silver were given to the members of the delegation from Mari, which included several “elders” (ábba-ábba) who arrived in Ebla “on the occasion of the oil offering (*in ud nídba ì-giš-sag*) of Ebla and Mari” (TM.75.G.1923 obv. xii 1–17; Archi, Biga 2003: 12).

With Ibbi-zikir, son and successor of Ibrium, diplomatic relations with Mari increased. At least once a year a delegation from Mari led by a steward (*sagi*) arrived in Ebla with large amounts of ceremonial gifts, and a similar delegation must have been sent to Mari (Archi 1999b: 147–52).

Although at this time king Išar-damu was old enough to lead his army, military command was again in the hands of the minister, the more experienced Ibbi-zikir, who had campaigned from years with his father (Archi 2014: 22–24). Already in his first year he led a campaign against Agagališ (Ikakališ in the Hittite sources), north of Alalah. In the 3rd year he moved against Bagara and Ilwum. Bagara (the campaign for which must have been rather demanding judging from the long list of gifts for the victorious commanders) was probably located to the south-east, at some distance from the Euphrates.

Having consolidated his power in the northern regions, Ibbi-zikir planned to attack the confederation of Ibal led by seven “kings” (*lugal*) or “chiefs” (*ugula*), probably to be located south – southeast of Salamiye / east of Qatna, in a semiarid area: there was an Ibal “of the steppe” (*edin*), “of the canal” (*lú pa₅*), “of the water-store” (*a-tuk*), besides several other settlements (Archi, Piacentini, Pomponio 1993: 297–99). While wars were usually concluded with a single campaign, that against Ibal requested the campaigns of the 8th and 9th years, and then those of the 11th and 12th years, because of the semi-nomadic character of that state. In this way Ebla could avoid an attack from behind in case of a military expedition in the Euphrates valley. In the 9th year Mari sent two delegations led by two different stewards (Archi 1999b: 151–52); the following year, however, Mari replied to the military activities of Ebla with an action in the Euphrates valley, destroying (*til*) Haddu for the third time (10th year; TM.75.G.2429 obv. xxiii 16–xxiv 3).

Aspiration to hegemony often leads to a sequence of actions which are only limited or ended by harsh, opposing realities and events. A series of victories made Ebla confident of its strength. Its kingdom extended from Ḥassuwan (Tilbeshar?) in the north until the whole region of Ḥama; moreover, more than twenty city-states recognized its hegemony, including Uršaum (Gaziantep?), Iritum, Ḥarran, Imar, Ibal. More to the north, the important state of Armi (Sam-sat) was bound by a treaty, and in the east Nagar dominated the Ḥabur triangle, sharing the same rivalry against Mari.

In the 13th year of Ibbi-zikir Ebla prepared war. The city-states of Nirar, Ra'ak, Burman, Dub(Tuba), Imar, Garmu, Lumnun, Ibubu, Uršaum, Utik, Kakkium, Iritum, Ḥarran, Sanapzugum, Gudadanum were informed and quite probably took part: they received gifts after the victory (TM.75.G.2335, 2426; Archi, Biga 2003: 19–24). The next year the army, under the command of the minister, descended the Euphrates valley. Messengers were sent to Kiš. In Tuttul the minister was reached by representatives of Haddu (whose aim was therefore to free itself from Mari); in Terqa from those of Nagar and Kiš; among these last there was NI-rišum, a brother of the king (TM.75.G.2277, NI-ri-šum in rev. v 9; Archi, Biga 2003: 15, 35–37).

The real engagement of Kiš remains unknown but, in any case, it could have been only marginal. In fact, the king of Mari, Ḫi-dar, could leave his city and move upstream with his army. The battle was fought at Terqa, 55 km from Mari, and Ebla carried the day. The colophon of TM.75.G.5170(+) has: DIŠ mutil *Ma-ri*^{ki} *wa* lugal “year of the destruction (i.e. defeat) of Mari and (its) king”. Ḫi-dar was taken prisoner, TM.75.G.2335 obv. vii 11–viii 1: “(clothes) to Nesi, the representative of Ibbi-zikir, who brought the news (to Ebla) that the king of Mari was captured (lugal *Ma-ri*^{ki} šu-du_g) in GuNEšum”. It is possible that he was even wounded, according to the colophon TM.74.G.101: DIŠ mu šu-ra lugal *Ma-ri*^{ki}: “year of the wounding(?) of the king of Mari” (Pasquali 2012).

Ibbi-zikir renounced, however, laying siege to Mari, probably because he received the news that Ḥarran (an allied city with which Ebla was bound also by a dynastic marriage) had been attacked by Armi. It is the document TM.75.G.1249(+) which proves that in this campaign against Armi Ebla was at the head of a large coalition including Nagar; even four representatives of Kiš followed the expedition (Archi 2011: 18–19).

The decision not to take advantage of this victory sealed Ebla's fate, if it was indeed Mari that was responsible for the city's destruction three years later.

The minister had in any case far-reaching political plans. As soon as the weapons had been laid down, a son of the king of Nagar, Ultum-ḫuḫu, was received at court to arrange his marriage to princess Tagriš-damu (Biga 1998a).

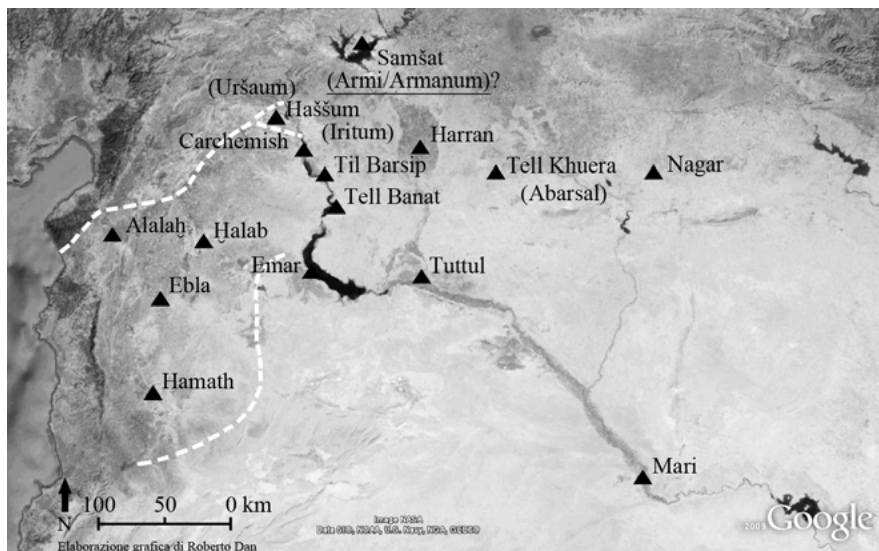


Fig. 1: The kingdom of Ebla.

A much more ambitious alliance was established with the marriage between princess Kešdūt and a son of the king of Kiš (already mentioned above, § 1) (Archi, Biga 2003: 26–29). In order to strengthen his policy, Ibbi-zikir travelled (níg-kaskal) even to Kiš and Nagar (TM.75.G.165; Archi 1981a: 77, no. 1).

In this wide ranging political play, a document of these years (TM.75.G.2250 rev. iii 21–iv 29, ix 3–6) attest exchanges of messengers of Ebla and Mari with *A-šu-ru₁₂^{ki}*, quite probably Aššur (Archi, Biga 2003: 18, with n. 54).⁴

This marriage had simply the effect of sparing Kešdūt's life. Three years after her departure, Ebla was destroyed: an enterprise ascribable only to Mari. After no many years (perhaps about ten) Nemesis took her revenge, and Mari was destroyed by Sargon of Akkad.

Geographic conditions impose their rules on the course of events: Mari remained the dominant center of the Middle Euphrates for a few hundreds years more whilst, in the west, the centre of power moved to Aleppo for the following millennia.

⁴ It is incertain that *Ga-sùr*(ḪIxAŠ)^{ki}, with its variants *Ga-su-lu/ru₁₂^{ki}*, might be identified with Gasur in Assyria, see Archi, Piacentini, Pomponio 1993: 233–36.

2 History of Syria in the Third Millennium: the Written Sources

Still today, only a few important excavations and archaeological surveys provide us with information on the lengthy process that led, during the third millennium, to the creation of numerous urban settlements in Upper Mesopotamia. Mari provided the names of some kings who reigned during the Early Dynastic IIIb period, inscribed on some of the votive statues found in the temples of Aštar and Aštarat. Written sources from Ebla offer detailed information regarding the state structure in the Syrian area, and news of a number of historical events, but only for the last forty years of this period. At that time, northwest Syria was largely unified under Ebla, which extended its hegemony also over various city-states. Abarsal [T. Ḥuēra?], which controlled the area east of the Euphrates, was forced to recognise Ebla's supremacy and, from that moment on, and for over thirty years, Ebla succeeded in competing successfully against the two regional states of Upper Mesopotamia: Mari, which controlled the Middle Euphrates area, and Nagar [T. Brāk], which ruled the Upper Ḥabūr as far as the Ġabal Sinġār. Unceasing rivalry gradually weakened all three states, thus creating the conditions for Sargon of Akkad to conduct his far-reaching and successful campaigns in Syria. Mari was destroyed and Narām-Sin later established a provincial organization of Upper Mesopotamia.

1 The vast majority of the Ebla texts are of an administrative nature. They record goods in arrival and departure, and delineate the functioning of an archaic state in great detail. Occasionally the events calling for a movement of goods also saw the involvement of other states. We can order these events thanks to two series of annual records; those relating to gold and silver objects issued (Sumerian: è) by the central administration, and those registering goods delivered or received (mu-DU): gold, silver, copper and bronze, precious objects and cloth.

Although these documents do not bear the date of the year, we can assign them a chronological order on the basis of prosopographic data. Certain events which appear in both the series confirm the established chronology. Three officials succeeded in turn to the position of head of the Ebla administration: Ar-

Pp. 75–88 in *Archéologie et Histoire de la Syrie*. Vol. I: *La Syrie de l'époque néolithique à l'âge du Fer*, eds. Winfried Orthmann, Michel al-Maqdissi, and Paolo Matthiae. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2013.

rukum, Ibrium and Ibbi-zikir. Their office was as minister, even though they are never given a title or named for their role. There are 4 annual documents relating to issues (è) attributed to Arrukum, 18 for Ibrium and 16 for Ibbi-zikir, whilst those for deliveries to the administration (mu-DU) number respectively 4, 18 and 17. [76]

A greater number of events are recorded in the monthly documents concerning the distribution of textiles by the central administration, which generally limited itself to giving clothing. Gold and silver objects were added when persons of high rank were involved. There are roughly 500 tablets in this category, covering the forty-year period of the two annual series.

A definite relative chronology can thus be assigned to Northern Syria and, to a certain extent, neighbouring regions, although limited to a period of forty years, unlike Southern Mesopotamia where many well-known events still cannot be synchronized.

2 The forty or so Pre-Sargonic tablets from Mari were found in five different structures (Charpin 1987). Eight of them were scattered in different rooms of the Pre-Sargonic palace P1 and refer to current expenditure. They do not, therefore, appear to belong with the central archive, which has not been found despite systematic investigation of the palace. In the case of Mari, the tablets were dated according to the number of the year which, as at Lagaš, could refer to the year of the reigning king. Those found in P1 provide the series: 3, 4, 5, 7, 8 mu “year”, whilst those of the “Communs” belong to years 6, 7 and 8. The tablets from “chantier B” were in two separate groups found almost certainly in a different spot from where they had originally been kept. These concern the years 18–35, possibly relating to an earlier king than that referred to in the two groups mentioned above. The writing differs from that of Ebla, with a number of local peculiarities, and the documents contain no names of the kings, nor is any particular event mentioned.

3 The tablets from T. Beidar form a homogenous group relating to agricultural work, the management of personnel and animals.¹ From these it can be seen that the city was Nabata and that it belonged to the king (en) of Nagar [T. Brāk], which is in line with the information furnished by Ebla (Sallaberger, 1998b). Some peculiarities in the cuneiform signs indicate that the writing system of Nabata was closer to that of Mari than of Ebla. If Paba, in no. 23 i 1, was really

¹ 146 texts have been published by Ismail, Sallaberger, Talon, van Lerberghe 1996; other 29 and several fragments by Milano, Sallaberger, Talon and Van Lerberghe 2004.

the wife of Iblul-il of Mari, then some documents from Nabata would date to roughly 50 years before the destruction of Ebla (Sallaberger 1998a).

4 The numerous personal names known to us from the Ebla texts show that throughout Syria, from the Antioch plain and the Karasu valley as far as Antep in the north, beyond the region of Qaṭna to the south, possibly including all of Palestine, in the valley of the Balīḥ and north of Ḥarran; in the Ḥābūr Triangle as far as the Tigris region (Ḥamazi); in the valley of the Middle Euphrates (Tut-tul, Mari) and in Babylonia (Kiš), a homogenous, Semitic language was spoken with various local dialects. The northern Syrian dialect, in the version set down by the scribes of Ebla, is the only one known to us to date. Other dialects gave origin to Old Akkadian, and Old Assyrian (Fronzaroli 1988a; Krebernik 1988b; the personal names are listed in the order of place of origin in Archi, Piacentini, Pomponio 1993, and have been analysed in Krebernik 1988a). Every area obviously had its own onomastic traditions. The onomasticon of Mari (Archi 1985a) had several elements in common with Babylonia (Steinkeller 1993: 240–42; for Kiš: Archi 1987c: 130–32). People devoted to intellectual activity bore names defining them as such. Among the singers (nar) of Mari active at Ebla, nine had Sumerian names; three other names are possibly Sumerian. Twelve other names that are either Semitic or of uncertain affiliation are documented also in Babylonia; only three of these are represented also in the onomasticon of Ebla (Steinkeller 1993: 236–40). Some names cannot be traced back to any language, such as the disyllabic names (*Ba-za*, *Gú-zi*, *Mu-ga*, *Mu-lu*, *Mu-na*, *Mu-wa*, *Mu-za*, *Zi-ma*, *Zi-ti*, *Zu-ba*), some of which also involve syllabic repetition (*Ba-ba*, *Ga-ga*, *Gi-gi*, *Me-me*, *Na-na*, *Zú-zú*) (Edzard 1988). Even less certain is the analysis of most of the place names. The fact that many toponyms of the third millennium continued to be used [77] in the second millennium shows that the dramatic crisis which afflicted the area at the start of the second millennium and brought the Amorite dynasties to power, did not interrupt continuity in most settlements. These toponyms are: Agagališ (Igagališ), Alalaḥu, 'Amad(u) [Ḥamath], Barga'u (Barga), Dub (Tuba), Dunanab(u), Ebla, Ḥalam (Ḥalab), Karkamiš, Ḥarran, Ḥas/zuwan (Ḥaššum), Imar, Iritum (Irrite), Nagar, Ne'a'u (Niya), Tunip, Ursa'um (Uršum) (Astour 1992: 8–10).

The linguistic unity of the area is confirmed by the use of the Early Semitic calendar not only at Ebla and Mari but also in several other sites, such as Gasur, Abū Šalābiḥ, Ešnunna, Adab. Alongside this calendar, Ebla also employed a local calendar for records concerning the management of foodstuffs (Pettinato 1977a; Cohen 1993: 23–36). This practice explains why the Nabada documents use a local calendar which, in its typology, shows analogies with that of Ebla (Sallaberger 1996a).

The Hurrian populations had still not appeared on the edges of the Ḥābūr Triangle, as is shown by the texts from Nabata, which lies about 50 km south-southwest of Urkeš [T. Mōzān], the same distance as that between Urkiš and Nagar.²

It is, therefore, to this Semitic speaking population that we must attribute the urban civilization that developed in the first half of the third millennium in Upper Mesopotamia, whose ruins represent the majority of the tells that today lie in steppe-like regions. The several towns, with their subsidiary villages, as exemplified by Ebla, demonstrate that the settlement model of the third millennium was urban also in Syria proper (west of the Euphrates). An important aspect of economic life like sheep-breeding was, to a great degree, under the direct control of the urban centres.

5 The first part of tablet ARET 7.150 contains ten personal names, each of which is preceded, in a separate case, by the divine determinative (dingir). This list ends with the annotation: “the kings” (en-en). The second part contains eight deities, each of whom receives the offering of one sheep. They are qualified as “the deities of the kings (dingir-dingir-dingir en-en) who dwell at DariTUM” (possibly Darib), where an ancestor cult must have been celebrated. The kings are listed in inverse chronological order, as Irkab-damu and Igriš-Ḥalab, who open the list, are respectively the penultimate and third from last kings. An exercise, TM.75.G.120, opens with Išar-damu, name of the last king of Ebla. Then there are the ten names of the preceding text, followed by a further fifteen names and then by Ebla without the determinative KI denoting a toponym. A further five personal names close the list. That all these people were considered to be kings is shown by the fact that both the marriage ceremony of the royal couple (ARET 11.1 and 2) and a ceremony at the palace (ARET 9.17) foresee offerings for some of the earliest of them. In this latter case, the names are preceded by the determinative for “god” (dingir) and are listed together with several deities, further evidence that the ancestors of the king were deified in some way (Archi 2001).

The names of the kings rearranged in chronological order, with the number in parentheses indicating their original position in the documents, are as follows: [78]

2 Richter 2004: 276–78, suggests that the PNs *Ša-tar-gu-ni* and *Ša-gu-zi*, attested at Nabata, *Ultum-ḥu-ḥu* at Nagar, are Hurrian.

TM.74.G.120	ARET 7.150	(Other Sources)	
<i>Sa-kûn-e</i>			
<i>Š[u?]-x- [...]</i>			
<i>La-da-û</i>			
<i>A-bû-gar</i>			
<i>Bir₅-bī-la-nu</i>			
<i>Du-mu-dar</i>			
<i>lb-la</i>			
1. KUL- <i>ba-nu</i>	(26)		
2. AŠ- <i>sa-nu</i>	(25)		
3. [Sa]- <i>mi-û</i>	(24)	^d <i>Sa-mi-u</i>	(ARET 9.17)
4. Zī- <i>a-lu</i>	(23)		
5. EN- <i>ma-nu</i>	(22)	^ʾ <i>Ā-ma-na</i>	(ARET 11.1)
6. Na- <i>ma-nu</i>	(21)		
7. Da-[x]- <i>x</i>	(20)		
8. Sa-[g]- <i>s[u]</i>	(19)	<i>Sa-gi-iš/su</i>	(ARET 11.1,2)
9. Da-NE-[n]- <i>u?</i>	(18)		
10. l-bī- <i>nī-li-im</i>	(17)	<i>l-bī-ni-lim</i>	(ARET 11.1,2)
11. lš ₁₁ - <i>ru₁₂-ud-da-mu</i>	(16)	<i>lš₁₁-ru₁₂-ud-da-mu</i>	(ARET 11.1,2)
12. l-si- <i>du</i>	(15)		
13. lš ₁₁ - <i>ru₁₂-ud-Ḥa-lab</i>	(14)		
14. lg- <i>su-ud</i>	(13)		
15. Tal- <i>da-lim</i>	(12)		
16. A-bur- <i>li-im</i>	(11) ^d <i>A-bur-li-im</i>	(10) <i>A-bur-GIM</i>	(ARET 11.1)
17. A-gur- <i>li-im</i>	(10) ^d <i>A-gur-li-im</i>	(9)	
18. l-bī- <i>da-mu</i>	(9) ^d <i>l-bī-da-mu</i>	(8)	
19. Ba- <i>ga-da-mu</i>	(8) ^d <i>Ba-<ga->da-mu</i>	(7) [^d <i>Ba-<ga->da-}mu</i>	(ARET 9.17)
20. En- <i>âr-da-mu</i>	(7) ^d <i>En-âr-da-mu</i>	(6) [^d <i>En]-âr-[da]-mu</i>	(ARET 9.17)
21. l-šar- <i>ma-lik</i>	(6) ^d <i>l-šar-ma-lik</i>	(5) ^d <i>l-šar-ma-lik</i>	(ARET 9.17)
22. [Kûn]- <i>da-mu</i>	(5) ^d <i>Kûn-da-mu</i>	(4)	
23. [A- <i>d]ub-da-mu</i>	(4) ^d <i>A-dub-da-mu</i>	(3)	
24. lg- <i>ri-iš-Ḥa-lab_x</i>	(3) ^d <i>lg-ri-iš-<Ḥa>-lab_x</i>	(2) <i>lg-ri-iš-Ḥa-lab_x</i>	(ARET 11.2)
25. [îr]- <i>kab-da-mu</i>	(2) ^d <i>îr-kab-da-mu</i>	(1)	
26. lš ₁₁ - <i>ar-da-mu</i>	(1)		

The last king, Išar-damu, ruled for 35 years and his predecessor, Irkab-damu, for approximately 11. If we attribute a cautious average of fifteen years to the remaining 24 kings, we have a total of 375 years for the Ebla dynasty. This figure rises to 525 years if we apply instead an average of twenty years. The reign of the first king would therefore date to around 2700 or, in the second case, 2800 BC

6 The Ebla archives cover in a systematic manner only the last five years of Irkab-damu's reign and the thirty-five years of Išar-damu. About 60 Monthly Accounts of Delivery of Textiles (MAT) are to be attributed to Arrukum (*Ar-ru₁₂-*

gúm), who was minister only during the last years of Irkab-damu, and it would appear that he introduced this type of document. This minister undoubtedly introduced the practice of drawing up by the central administration of both the Annual Accounts of Delivery of Metals (AAM) and the annual documents relating to deliveries (*mu-DU*) received by the palace. Four documents have been preserved from each of these series, which do not yet present a well-established structure. During the time of this minister the central archive (L. 2769) was constructed under the portico on the eastern side of the Audience Court, along with its vestibule (L. 2875) through which access was also gained to the Administrative Quarter. These two rooms were not foreseen in the original plans, probably because the basic structure of this area of the palace could date back to Igriš-Ḫalab. The MATs of Arrukum were aligned on the upper shelf along the east wall of the archive, starting from the corner with the north wall. Alongside these there were the records of his successor, Ibrium. The AAMs were placed in the same order on the lower shelf, with those of Arrukum near the corner and those of Ibrium along the east wall.

About 45 earlier tablets registering the deliveries (*mu-DU*) of silver and clothes to the central administration were, given their importance, transferred from a previous archive. Some of these are without doubt annual accounts. Documents of different typologies were disregarded. A tablet concerning 1,090 jars of oil [79] sent to Mari when its king was not yet Enna-Dagan, was found under the paving of a room in the northwest wing of the palace where it had been overseen. We have no certain elements enabling us to determine which of these documents date to Igriš-Ḫalab rather than the first five years of Irkab-damu. Only two of them make specific reference to Igriš-Ḫalab and preserve also some totals of goods concerning the reign of Kun-damu. This implies that writing might have been introduced at Ebla during the reign of Igriš-Ḫalab or immediately before, via Mari. Still in the reign of Irkab-damu, the scribes of Ebla felt the need to acquire further Sumerian lexical material, as may be seen from the two colophons which run as follows: “Tira-il the scribe ... when the young scribes came up from Mari” (Pettinato 1981b: 157, 178–79).

7 Already in the Early Bronze III period, Ebla played the role of an administrative centre. On the southern slopes of the acropolis a section of a building was found consisting of small rooms in part given over to the storage of jars, G2. These are to be dated to an early phase of EB III. Above these there are two further phases of EB III (Matthiae 1987: 136–38). The northern sector of the palace, used for preparing food, has three kinds of paving, the earliest of which is simple whilst the second is of excellent workmanship and thicker than the third and latest flooring. Beneath the first layer of paving a large silo was

found, S. 4843, 3 m in diameter, which was created in the levels of EB III (Matthiae 1993: 622–24). The second flooring could be attributed to the period of Igrīš-Ḥalab, to whom we may also owe the original planning of the palace.

The ritual for the marriage of the king and queen (ARET 11.1, 2) shows how the dynastic cult established a direct link between the king and his country. When the procession reached Irad, during the journey of several days which bore the royal couple from their residence in Ebla to Nenaš, offerings were made to Abur-lim (the 16th king). The following day, on reaching Uduḥudu, offerings were made to 'Amana (the 5th king). At Nenaš, which housed the royal mausoleum (é *ma-tim*, **bayt mawt-im*), offerings were made twice to Sagiš, Ibini-lim and Išrud-damu (respectively the 8th, 10th and 11th kings). At DariTUM a funerary cult was celebrated for the last ten deceased kings (ARET 7.150). Only the last two kings may have been buried in Ebla itself, in the Hypogeum G4, below the floorings of the West Sector of the Royal Palace (Matthiae 1997), which was, however, found completely empty. The cult calendar also foresaw annual celebrations by the king in the main sanctuaries distributed within the ancient borders of Ebla's territory.

At the time of Igrīš-Ḥalab, therefore, Ebla had already established itself as a regional state which included the Amuq and Karkamiš to the north and, southwards, stretched as far as Ḥama, a distance of over 150 km. The state of Ebla was surrounded by twenty or so small, independent city-states, control over which was claimed at least during the last decades in the life of Ebla. These cities lay to the north, about on the present border between Turkey and Syria (Agagališ, Tuba, Ursa'um, Iritum, Ḥarran); in the valley of the Euphrates the southernmost limit was represented by Imar and, to the south, the area of Ebla's influence extended at least as far as the region of Qaṭna (ARET 1: 219–25).

Within the territory under Ebla's control, the population was spread out amongst a few hundred villages, where an "overseer" (*ugula*) from the central power also generally resided. The local communities were represented by the "elders" (*ābba-ābba*) (e.g. TM.76.G.749: Archi 2002a: 96–97). These villages had to give part of their cereal crops (mostly barley) to the central administration, along with a few heads of cattle. The palace owned land by several villages which was probably farmed by the local communities. Plots of land were also the personal property of the king, the queen, the minister and certain officials. The land owned by the minister Ibrium, which then passed on to his descendants, was concentrated around a few settlements. From this we may deduce that the principal families living in the city of Ebla originally came from the surrounding region and continued to own the residences of their ancestors.

It is not possible to reconstruct the manner in which Ebla kept itself supplied as the central archive did not preserve systematically monthly or annual

accounts relating to farming and cattle raising. Some lists of deliveries from the final period of the city were found gathered together in a room of the administrative quarter. [80] This kind of document was presumably destroyed after a certain period of time and it was not felt necessary to preserve the essential information in specific records.

8 In Syria, urbanisation developed along different lines to the earlier process seen in southern Mesopotamia, where the temple functioned as focal point of urban formation. Ḥalab, which must have been long before the 24th century the centre for the cult of Hadda, the most important of the Syrian gods, was insignificant on the political level. The texts mention only its temple, which the kings had to provide for, travelling there on occasion to celebrate the two main annual festivals. The procession in honour of Idabal (greatly worshipped in the city of Ebla), passed through 38 small centres, several in the Orontes valley, where the most important temples were located at Luban and (L)arugadu, probably on the slopes of the Ġebel Samaane and Ġebel Zawiye respectively, as well as at Hamadu [Ḥama] (Archi 1979a). The principal sanctuaries of Rašap were at Adanni [^{uru}*Atanniki* of the Alalah texts] and Tunip [T. ‘Ašarna, in the Orontes valley], two relatively small centres. Tuttul [T. Bī’a], with the sanctuary of Dagan, the god of the Middle Euphrates, came under the control of Mari for all of the 24th century, to the extent that the Ebla texts do not even mention the presence of a local king, even though excavations have brought to light an important palace structure. The god of Ebla, Kura, and his wife Barama, worshipped only locally, were destined to disappear along with the city itself. The temples in Ebla did not derive income from direct ownership of land. Their personnel consisted normally of one or two “purification servants” (*pa₄-šeš*) for each god. The function of priest for the more important cults was entrusted to a single “man of the gods” (*lú dingir-dingir*; this position was passed on from Adulu to his son Enna-il) (Archi 1996a: 38–44). These temples, altogether irrelevant as centres of economic power, formed part of the palace organisation.

Economic and administrative centralisation was provoked by the emergence of a number of families within the context of a society organised along tribal lines. The most frequently encountered terms in the onomasticon of this period are “tribe” (*l'im*) (as we also see later in the Amorite period) and “(ties of) blood” (*dāmu*). Three names of kings of Ebla (nos. 15–17) include *-l'im*. From the 18th king on, *-dāmu* is used, which must have assumed the meaning of “family par excellence”: seven out of nine royal names have this element, as do roughly half of the names of the “sons of the king” (*dumu-nita*) and of some “daughters of the king” (*dumu-munus*) (Archi 1988b: 225–30, 238–40). At Imar

the only names of kings and princes known to us today (respectively four and two), contain *-dāmu* (Archi 1990a: 24).

The significance of this former class of ‘chiefs’ survived in some way in the structure of the palace society. 42 to 50 elders usually resided at the court of Ebla. They were “the elders who sat close to the throne” (*ābba-ābba al₆-tuš GIŠ-šudun*), that is to say, at the king’s table (*en wa ābba*; ARET 9: 376: ABxĀŠ). A similar number could be sent on military expeditions (*níg-kas₄*), possibly at the head of men directly under their command (Archi 1988f: 136). It is not clear what other responsibilities these elders had: the PNs are not usually followed by a title.

In this period, however, the Syrian city revolved entirely around the palace itself, with the “king” (*en* = *malkum*; “queen” *maliktum*) at its head. Most of the “women of the king” (*dam en*) lived at court. There were approximately 40 at Ebla, including concubines, daughters and sisters (some others lived in the smaller centres). There were then a few hundred women involved in various tasks (ARET 9: 182–83). The specialised male personnel consisted of 30–40 “physicians” (*a-zu₅*); 14 “barbers” (*kinda*); 10–23 “cooks” (*muḥaldim*); 26–30 “musicians” (*nar*); 42–98 “valets” (*pa₄-šeš*); several dozen “agents” (*maškim*); 16–37 “messengers” (*kas₄*); 140–260 “carpenters” (*nagar*); and 460–600 “smiths” (*simug*). The non-specialised labour (*guruš*), employed in the city and its immediate surroundings, and organised in squads (*ir’ānum*) and gates (*ká*), numbered as many as around 5,000 (Archi 1998a).

Food rations for these individuals (to which wool or clothing had to be added) were rather limited (ARET 9: 338–41), although some categories would have been able to supplement their quotas by means of other revenues. This kind of society was based on a system of redistribution. Generally the minister and the other high-ranking officials, who controlled the running of the state, delivered quantities of silver metal, [81] together with small amounts of gold. These metals were then worked at the palace, which distributed precious objects and clothing to members of the administration and representatives of friendly cities. We have no data on which to establish how the region of Ebla obtained its supplies of silver (probably from Anatolia), which circulated in greater quantities than in Babylonia. The notable increase in annual deliveries witnessed over a period of 40 years in Ebla demonstrates how this derived from the ability to organise the resources offered by the state territory. From about 100 kg of silver, a little gold and 1,000–2000 pieces of clothing per year, figures rise in the final period to 500–700 kg of silver, 10–20 kg of gold, 500–600 kg of copper and approximately 5,000 pieces of clothing. According to the annual documents concerning the “deliveries” (*mu-DU*) made over 9 years in this final period, 5,000 kg of silver were consigned, along with roughly 180 kg of gold,

5,000 kg of copper and 52,000 pieces of clothing. It is remarkable that the quantities of copper (to which tin was also occasionally added) are similar to those for silver. Ceremonial exchanges performed at least once a year had the aim of expressing ties of friendship that linked states to each other. These were always rather modest gifts. Ebla sent to the kings of such cities three pieces of clothing (a cloak, a tunic and a kilt), as well as a jewel and two or three sets of clothes for the elders. These were reciprocated with exactly the same objects and clothes. The symbolic rather than effective value of the gift is therefore more important. The relationships between the regional states was, generally, more complex. Mari sent a delegation to Ebla each year, lead by the “cup-bearer” (*sagi*), who bore, apart from the usual gifts, a few kilograms of lapis lazuli, receiving a gift of silver in exchange (Archi 1999b).

According to the accounts of deliveries and distributions, the volume of goods put in circulation through commerce every year was modest if seen in the context of the palace economy. Some precious goods were acquired in exchange for silver, or goods valued in silver, such as olive oil, greatly sought after in the eastern regions. Ebla obtained mules from the kingdom of Nagar, tortoise shell from Tuttul, Mari and Kiš, Mari also supplying wool (Archi 1993a). Commonly used goods, such as clothes, were also bought inside the country, in the “markets” (*ki-lam*) held on the occasion of religious festivities (Biga 2002). Such undertakings were entrusted to two categories of merchants: the *dam-gār* and the *ga-eš₈* (*ka’išu*), the latter being involved in river trade. It is not clear what role was played by the numerous *lú-kar*, usually more closely tied to the central administration. The palace favoured all activity of the merchants. A convention stipulated the regulations applied in favour of the *dam-gār* who travelled to Mari and Kiš (ARET 13.15). The treaty with Abarsal ensured that the *ga-eš₈* of Ebla enjoyed a monopoly over trade along the Euphrates (ARET 13.5 §§ 42–43). These merchants combined their private work with tasks allotted them by the palace, and whose profits mainly came from supplying the many smaller centres. An example is given in ARET 2.9, which relates to an expedition to the valley of the Euphrates by a certain Gida-na’im, who traded in cattle (Milano 2003).

9 Enna-Dagan, king of Mari, records the glorious acts of his ancestors in a letter sent to a king of Ebla, who is not named but is to be identified with Irkab-damu (ARET 13.4 = EDL). The aim of his message was to reaffirm Mari’s predominance over Ebla at the moment he came to the throne. Anubu and Sa’um had campaigned up the Euphrates far beyond Tuttul on the *Baliḥ*. Ištup-išar conquered Imar. Iblul-il defeated the army of Abarsal, who controlled the left bank of the Euphrates north of Imar, and proceeded beyond Karkamiš,

attacking two fortresses of Ḥassuwan [Til Bešar?]. Ebla avoided direct confrontation by paying tributes to Mari. The amounts paid during the reigns of Iblul-il and his successors, Nizi (not known in EDL) and Enna-Dagan, total 1,028.30 kg of silver and 63.15 kg of gold (Archi 1985b: 64). The administrative texts of Ebla mention only two of Enna Dagan's successors: Ikun-Išar and ḤI-dār. Of the five kings known to us from the votive inscriptions on statues and a vase from Mari, only Iblul-il also appears in the Ebla texts (Gelb, Kienast 1990: 8–15). Ikun-Mari, Ikun-Šamaš and Ikun-Šamagan are to be considered as predecessors of Anubu, whilst Išgi-Mari was the last king of Pre-Sargonic Mari, as has been confirmed by recent finds. [82]

The achievements of Iblul-il coincide roughly with the reign of Igriš-Ḥalab of Ebla. This was the king who succeeded in imposing Ebla's supremacy over Abarsal [T. Ḥuēra?]. A document summing up precious metals, ARET 14.1, records: a) quantities of gold and silver attributed to the king Kun-damu; b) 202.57 kg of silver from Abarsal; c) silver belonging to Igriš-Ḥalab. The treaty with Abarsal, ARET 13.5, which confirms Ebla's control over the right bank of the Euphrates, must date to the last years of this king. It includes a mention of Tir (sections 33–34), who was the most important official during the last years of Igriš-Ḥalab, together with Darmilu/Darmi'a, who died before him. Tir continued to serve right through the reign of Irkab-damu, even after Arrukum became minister. The fact that Ebla, distant as it was from the valley of the Euphrates, continued to pay tribute to Mari, demonstrates that Iblul-il did not merely carry out a raid, but that the threat represented by Mari was very real indeed.

Irkab-damu reigned for approximately 11 years, during which time he consolidated Ebla's dominions. He maintained political relations even with Ḥama-zi, capital of the region east of the Tigris (ARET 13.3). Imar became a solid ally when its king, Ruzi-damu, married the Eblaite princess Tiša-lim (ARET 13.7 and 8). Irkab-damu was aided by the fact that Nizi, who reigned for only about three years, was not capable of continuing the expansionist policy of his predecessor, Iblul-il. He is credited with no notable actions in EDL. Even Enna-Dagan, despite the menacing tones of EDL, failed to develop an offensive policy, and died after only five years (political relations between Ebla and Mari are examined in Archi, Biga 2003).

The reign of Enna-Dagan virtually coincides with the five years in which Arrukum was minister in Ebla. Arrukum died only a few months before Irkab-damu, who had time to appoint Ibrium to the post of minister. In the same year, Enna-Dagan also died, given that Ikun-Išar, his successor, is mentioned only in two documents of the first year of Ibrium. Therefore, two new kings came to the throne, in Mari and Ebla alike; of these, Išar-damu of Ebla at least

was a minor. Irkab-damu had celebrated his wedding only about four years before his death. The ritual for this marriage, ARET 11.1, mentions the minister Arrukum. His “queen” (*maliktum*), whose name we do not know, had died a few months after her marriage, possibly in childbirth. Išar-damu was the son of Dusigu, Irkab-damu’s favourite, who was never given the title of queen but who was the most important woman at court, even during the twenty years she continued to live following Irkab-damu’s death. Išar-damu married his own *maliktum* only fourteen years after ascending to the throne.

Thus, Ebla’s policy was, for many years, entrusted to the minister Ibrium, the prestige he built up permitting him to name his own son, Ibbi-zikir, as his successor. This latter, in turn, gave important positions to his son, Tubuḥu-Hadda, who would have succeeded Ibbi-zikir had Ebla not fallen. Five years before this event, Ir’ag-damu, whose father Išar-damu had named him next in line for the throne, married the daughter of Ibbi-zikir, Za’aše.

Three years after coming to the throne, Išar-damu and Ikun-išar felt it opportune to seal a peace treaty. Ebla no longer paid tributes to Mari and the two cities enjoyed diplomatic relations as equals (Archi 1999b). As they could not confront each other directly, Ebla and Mari preferred to consolidate their hegemony over the respective territories. Ibrium conducted a number of wars in northern and central Syria, but it was only in the 14th to 16th years of his mandate that he moved against the two strongholds of the Euphrates valley, Ilwi’um and Zaḥīran, previously conquered by Mari (EDL). In the same year of the treaty with Ebla (3rd year of the minister Ibrium), Mari successfully dealt first with Haddu (perhaps Malḥat ad-Dārū, situated about 70 km north of Der ez-Zor), which controlled the area west of the lower Ḥābūr, and then Nagar. Documents from the 2nd and 3rd years of Ibrium record numerous missions by Ebla’s messengers to Nagar and its dependent cities. It is as though Nagar was looking for help from Ebla in view of a possible attack by Mari. Communications with Nagar intensified again in the 7th year of Ibrium, when Mari defeated Nagar once more (7th and 8th years of the minister Ibrium). Nagar controlled eighteen relatively important cities, including Nabata [T. Beidar], Talhawum [Šaḡir Bāzār?] and Saggār (cf. Ġabal Sinḡār) (Archi 1998b: 7–8). There is no doubt that Nagar held undisputed dominion over [83] the entire Ḥābūr triangle, and both T. Leilān and T. Mōzān [later Urkeš], which had large lower cities in the late Ninevite phase, were overshadowed by Nagar in this period. Mari, however, never had any great difficulty in confronting Nagar, and would appear to want to expand at this latter’s expense, rather than avoid it to seek direct access to the valley of the Euphrates.

Mari, lying equidistant from Ebla and Kiš, had been in direct contact with Babylonia for centuries. It received artistic forms and cuneiform writing from

Kiš (then transmitting the latter to Ebla), two factors which set in motion a profound cultural process. Mesanepada, king of Ur, dedicated a lapis lazuli bead to the god Lugal-kalam, that is to say, *Šar-mātīm* (i.e. Dagan) (Westenholz 1979: 119). Eanatum of Lagaš defeated a coalition formed by Kiš, Akšak and Mari (Cooper 1986: 42). It was by means of messengers from Mari that Ebla received news of events from Babylonia. In the 4th year of Ibrium, Kiš was “defeated” (til). In the 9th year, the news was received, twice from Mari and once from Tuttul, that Akšak had been “conquered” (šu-ba₄-ti). Later, this unknown enemy turned against Kiš with a military campaign that lasted three years (the 10th–12th years of Ibrium). Kiš was repeatedly “defeated” (til), and its “towns were conquered” (uru^{ki}-uru^{ki} Kiš^{ki} šu-ba₄-ti).

In the 18th year of the minister Ibrium (the year of his death) the alliance between Ebla and Mari was renewed and, under Ibbi-zikir, who succeeded his father as minister, diplomatic relations between the two cities intensified and the exchange of gifts increased. In the first ten years Ibbi-zikir consolidated Ebla’s power over northern Syria. Of particular note is the war conducted against Ibal (8th year), an important centre in the steppe east of Qaṭna. Mari followed a similar strategy in the area of the Middle Euphrates, its greatest victory being that over Haddu (10th year of Ibbi-zikir).

An uninterrupted series of victories made Ebla so confident of its own power that it decided to attack Mari, where the king was then ḪI-dār. No other political event is represented in the Ebla archives so richly as the campaign against Mari (Ibbi-zikir 13th–14th year = Išar-damu 31st–32nd year). First, Ebla reinforced its links of fidelity with its Syrian allies. Contact was made with Haddu, Nagar and Kiš so as to isolate Mari. The first clash possibly took place near Tuttul. The army of Ebla, under Ibbi-zikir, then moved towards Ḫalabitu [Ḫalābīya], where a logistic base was established. At Terqa, 55 km upstream from Mari, two sons of the king of Ebla joined the minister, as well as messengers from Nagar and Kiš. The decisive battle was fought at Terqa, and Ebla proclaimed its victory to the kings of Nagar, Kiš and Haddu. Ibbi-zikir did not, however, consider it possible to conquer Mari, and so retreated. Ebla then continued by diplomatic means, alliances with Nagar and Kiš being reinforced through inter-dynastic marriages in an attempt to isolate Mari. A daughter of Išar-damu, Tagriš-damu, was given in marriage to the hereditary prince of Nagar, Ultum-ḫuḫu (Biga 1998a). Another princess, Kešdut, the only one described as being both “daughter of the king” and “daughter of the queen”, married the king of Kiš, but the document which recorded the objects given as dowry has been irremediably damaged. The animals sent to Kiš were as follows: “3290 bovines, 1,680 sheep, 159 mules, 1 ass, 5 pigs, 19 bison, 14 bears” (Archi 1987a: 122).

This policy failed miserably, and three years after the victory over Mari, Ebla suffered radical destruction. There is no continuity in settlement on the acropolis, where the royal palace had stood. Naram-Sin of Akkad claimed his victory over Armānum and Ebla amongst his greatest undertakings in Syria: “Whereas, for all time since the creation of mankind, no king whosoever had destroyed Armānum and Ebla, the god Nergal, by means of (his) weapons opened the way for Naram-Sin, the mighty, and gave him Armānum and Ebla. Further, he gave to him the Amanus, the Cedar Mountain, and the Upper sea. ... The god Dagan gave me Armānum and Ebla and I captured Riš\Řid-Hadda, king of Armānum.” (Frayne 1993: 132–34). Armānum should in all probability correspond to Armi(um), often mentioned in the texts of Ebla, which was, however, never capable of competing with this city. Moreover, the name of its king does not belong to the onomasticon of the Ebla archives. The political situation in Syria, as revealed in the inscription of Naram-Sin, had changed, therefore, from that of the period covered by the Ebla documents. [84] Had Ebla been destroyed at the time of Naram-Sin it would have been impossible for the Eblaites to ignore the Akkadian writing in use since the last decades of the reign of Sargon.

Sargon claimed also that “(the god Dagan) gave to him the Upper Land: Mari, Iarmuti, and Ebla as far as the Cedar Forest and the Silver Mountains.” (Frayne 1993: 30–31). Recent discoveries at Mari, however, preclude the idea that Ebla was destroyed by Sargon. Several seals impressions bearing the name of Išgi-Mari were found on the burnt floor near the doorway of the Pre-Sargonic palace (P1). This destruction marked the end of the “Ville II”. In room 11 few impressions were found of a seal of another king “IŠ₁₁-LAGAB-dār king”, and from the same area we have some impressions of the seal of a certain Idin-Dagan, a “governor” (*šakkanakku*). One of these had been made on a bulla sealing a door, together with the impression of the seal of “Ikun[-Išar] king (lugal) [of Mari]”. Stratigraphic soundings east of the palace (chantier H) had revealed the impression of a seal of “Ikun-Šamaš(?) king (en) of Ma[ri]”, which is stylistically earlier than those already mentioned (Beyer 2007: 237–58). This king receives the West-Semitic title of en (= *malikum*), whilst in the inscription on the statue, he is qualified as lugal (*šarrum*), the title used in Babylonia. The other inscriptions on the statues use also the title lugal. The EDL qualifies, instead, Anubu, Sa’umu and Enna-Dagan as en; Ištup-išar as lugal; Iblul-il both as en and lugal. The Ebla documents use the title en for Ikun-išar; lugal for Nizi, Enna-Dagan and Ĥi-dār.

While king Ikun-išar of Mari is only mentioned in the documents of the first year of minister Ibrium (= Išar-damu 1), Ĥi-dār appears as a king first in those of the 13th year of Ibbi-zikir (Išar-damu 31) and in those of the following

years. We are not able to determine the year in which ḪI-dār came to the throne of Mari. Four years after the defeat of Mari, we have the destruction of Ebla. The last king of Pre-Sargonic Mari was Išgi-Mari and his two seals, which celebrate in three registers a great victory, could refer to the victory of Mari over Ebla (Bretschneider, Van Vyve, Jans 2010). Such a momentous undertaking cannot be attributed to any other state. A few years later, it was the turn of Mari to undergo an equally radical destruction. The sequence of events which the information from Ebla and Mari enables us to reconstruct, makes it likely that the year name: “Year (in which) Mari was destroyed/defeated (ḫul-a)” (Gelb, Kienast 1990: 50) should, in fact, be attributed to Sargon.

Babylonia and the Middle Euphrates had been in contact for a lengthy period. The Sumerian King List preserved the memory of these relations, mentioning as it does some kings of Mari who, however, are not those found in the Syrian sources, with the exception of *An-bu* (for *Anubu*: Vincente 1995: 257–60). During the last decades of the Ebla archives, Babylonia and northwest Syria formed a single political system. The odd echo of the process, which led to the unification of Babylonia under the Akkadian dynasty, is to be found in the Ebla documents. The conquest of Akšak and Kiš (Ibrium years 9, and 10–12) could be attributed to Enšakušana of Uruk. Lugalzagesi (years 1–7?) could be responsible for the conquest of Adab, which occurs eleven years later (Ibbizikir 5). He defines himself as “ruler (énsi) of Adab”. During the war between Ebla and Mari, Sargon was already king of Kiš. The defeat of Lugalzagesi (year 25) took place at least 18 years after his capture of Adab (Sallaberger 2004). At that time, the king of Mari was Išgi-Mari. A few years later, Sargon launched his fatal attack on Mari. A further piece of information completes these synchronisms: the lid of an Egyptian alabaster vase with the cartouche of Pepi I was found in the level of the destruction of the palace of Ebla (Scandone Matthiae 1979: 37–38).

10 Shortly after it was destroyed, Mari was newly reoccupied. The scarce written sources suggest that it once again became an important centre from the time of Naram-Sin of Akkad on. Three inscribed bronze bowls, two of which bore inscriptions of daughters of Naram-Sin, were found in the burned “Maison Rouge” in a hoard together with bronze tools. One of these daughters was a priestess of the god Šamaš in Sippar (Frayne 1993: 157–58). The third bowl was voted by a scribe (a similar hoard from T. Munbāqa included a bowl with the inscription of the daughter of a high official: Gelb, Kienast 1990: 378–79, 384). A list of dynasts (*šakkanakku*), which also provides the number of years of each reign, begins with Ididiš, to whom 60 years are attributed, possibly a [85]

Chronological Table

Kings of Ebla	Ministers of Ebla	Kings of Mari	Events in Babylonia
Abur-lim			
Agur-lim			
Ibbi-damu		Ikun-Mari	
Baga-damu		Ikun-Šamagan	
Enar-damu		Ikun-Šamaš	
Išar-malik		Anubu	
Kun-damu		Sa'um	
Adub-damu		Ištup-išar	
Igriš-Ḫalab	Darmilu/Darmi'a	Iblul-il	
Irkab-damu (11 years)	(with) Tir	Nizi (ca. 3 years)	
	Arrukum (5 years)	Enna-Dagan (4/5 years)	
Išar-damu (35 years)	Ibrium (18 years)	Ikun-išar (x years)	4 th year of Ibrium: first defeat of Kiš; 9 th year of Ibrium: conquest of Akšak; 10 th –12 th year of Ibrium: conquest of Kiš by Enšakušana
(19 th year)	Ibbi-zikir (17 years)		5 th year of Ibbi-zikir: conquest of Adab by Lugalzagesi in his 1 st –7 th years
(31 th year)		Ḫl-dār (x ² + 1 year)	
(32 nd year: victory over Mari)	(14 th year)		

Kings of Ebla	Ministers of Ebla	Kings of Mari	Events in Babylonia
(35 th year: fall of Ebla)			(Lugalzagesi ± 15)
		Iš ₁₁ -LAGAB-dār (x years)	
		Išgi-Mari (10 years??)	(7 th year of of Išgi-Mari = Lugalzagesi ± 25)
		(10 th ?) year of Išgi-Mari: fall of Mari)	

symbolic number (Durand 1985b: 152–159). The marriage of a daughter of the *šakkanakku* Apil-kin to Šulgi of Ur, establishes an important synchronism (the identification of Puzur-Eštar with a high official of this name of the period of the Ur III Dynasty is improbable, Scharlach 2001). This event shows how important Mari was considered at that time. If the list of rebel kings of the Great Revolt has some historical foundation, Migir-Dagan of Mari can be positioned without difficulty before Ididiš, in the first half of Naram-Sin's reign (Goodnick Westenholz 1997: 221–61). [86]

Mari and Urkeš [T. Mōzān] show that Akkad, at the time of Naram-Sin, controlled the Middle Euphrates and the Ḫābūr (but not the western regions) through local dynasties, sometimes also linked by means of interdynastic marriages. From Urkeš we have the seal impression of “Tar'am-Agade ('Akkad loves <her>'), the daughter of Naram-Sin”, most probably the bride of a local ruler (Hurrian endan). It is in this period that the Hurrians settle in the Ḫābūr triangle. Of three officials who were contemporaries of Tar'am-Agade, two have a Hurrian name, the other bearing an Akkadian one (Buccellati, Kelly-Buccellati 2002). A later ruler (endan) was Tupkiš, whose wife bore the Akkadian name Uqnītum (“Lapis-lazuli girl”) (Buccellati, Kelly-Buccellati 1995–96: 9–24).

Nagar, however, was an Akkadian administrative centre. The bricks of a fortified building are stamped with the name of Naram-Sin. A votive inscription of Rimuš was also found. The officials had Akkadian names and used seals in Akkadian style, whilst a scribe qualifies himself as “servant of Naram-Sin”. One document (no. 14) lists workmen from Nagar, Urkeš, Šeḥna [T. Leilān], Tādum [T. Ḥamīdī], Lilabšnum (by Kaḫat [T. Barri]) and Kakkaban (possibly related to the volcano Kaukab), showing that Nagar exercised some degree of control over the entire region (Eiden, Finkel, Bonechi 2001). The Semitic onomasticon, even that of workers from Urkeš (Milano 1991: 23–25), was Akkadian and did not belong to the previous Semitic tradition. This means that the Akkadians conducted some form of colonization in the region.

The farthest point reached by Naram-Sin on the Tigris was commemorated by the stele of Pir Hüsein near Diyarbakir. The conquest of Armānum, with its citadel of unusual height on the river (the Euphrates), is described by this king as his greatest achievement in the north-west regions, and was depicted in a (lost) relief. This city has to be identified with Armi of the Eblaite documents, which has to be place at the border of the Semitized area. The identification of Armi/Armanum with the high tell of Samsat is therefore quite probable; the Nasiriyah stele, depicting Akkadian soldiers carrying some *depas amphikypellon*, is an illustration of this Syrian campaign (Archi 2011: 29–32).

The fall of the Akkad dynasty paved the way for the Hurrian expansion. At Nagar, a certain Talpus-atili defines himself on a seal as “Sun(-god) of the

country of Nagar” (text no. 3). Two royal names are known to us from Urkeš: “Tiš-atal, ruler (endan) of Urkeš”, “Atal-šen, ruler of Urkeš and Nawar (naw/v-‘pasture land’?, Wilhelm 2001)” (Gelb, Kienast 1990: 382–383). The continuity of urban life in western Syria until the end of the millennium is demonstrated by messengers from Gubla, Mukiš, Ebla, Yamḥad, Tuttul, Terqa, who reached the administrative centres of the Ur kingdom (Owen 1992). Syrian deities such as Dagan, Išḫara and Bêlat-Nagar (“the Lady of Nagar”) / Ḥaburītum (“She of the Ḥābūr”) were worshipped in Nippur and Ur (Sallaberger 1993: Index).

3 Eblaite in its Geographical and Historical Context

1 Semites of Syria and the Jezireh

At the 'IX^e Rencontre assyriologique Internationale', D. O. Edzard (1960: 253) argued that 'Semiten sind in Babylonien nicht jünger als Sumerer.'¹ At the same conference, I. J. Gelb (1960) had shown how cuneiform writing had developed its own characteristics in the region of Kiš during the proto-dynastic and Sargonic period.

Having, throughout his entire scholarly career, paid particular attention to the role which ethnic elements played in the history of the Ancient Near East, Gelb was more than capable of formulating an initial evaluation of the culture and language of Ebla on the basis of data presented only in preliminary reports and talks (Gelb 1977). Several Sumerian lexical texts reproduced, in both form and content, tablets from Abū Ṣalābīḥ.² This was a centre of the Semitic language, even though it lay only 22 km to the northwest of Nippur. Furthermore, some linguistic and writing elements were common both to Ebla and pre-Sargonic Mari and even to Mari of the *šakkanakku* period. For these reasons Gelb deduced that: a) the languages of Babylonia, Northern Mesopotamia and Northern Syria were closely related; b) the system of writing originated in Babylonia was the principal means by which the Kiš cultural tradition spread westwards along the Euphrates to Mari and thence to Ebla.

Pp. 96–109 in *The Akkadian Language in its Semitic Context. Studies in the Akkadian of the Third and Second Millennium BC*, eds. Guy Deutscher, and N. C. J. Kouwenberg. Leiden: Netherlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten. 2006.

1 The full passage is: 'Semiten sind in Babylonien nicht jünger als Sumerer. Während sumerische Siedlung sich auf Mittel- und Südbabylonien konzentrierte und sich – zumindest intensive – Besiedlung Nordbabyloniens durch Sumerer nicht nachweisen läßt, haben wir wahrscheinlich von der ältesten Siedlungszeit an in Nordbabylonien mit einem Übergewicht semitischer Bevölkerung zu rechnen. ... Bei sumerischem Vorrang auf geistigem Gebiet sprechen von einer Wechselwirkung alter sumerisch-semitischer Kontakte die ältesten semitischen Lehnwörter im Sumerischen, von denen in unserem Zusammenhang maš-ka(k)-en (akkadischen *muš-kēnum* entsprechend) und ird 'Sklave' hervorzuheben waren.'

2 It was recognised in later years that the Sumerian literary text IAS 278 is represented by two duplicates at Ebla: ARET 5.20 and 21; further, IAS 326+342 (in Semitic) has a duplicate in ARET 5.6. The other Semitic literary text, ARET 5.7, is not attested in IAS. For these texts, see Krebernik 1992 and Lambert 1992.

By restoring their language to the people of northern Syria in the Third Millennium BC, the Ebla archives have radically changed the traditional picture of ethno-linguistic geography of the period,³ a theme which Gelb was to develop in three extensive works over the following decade (Gelb 1981; Gelb 1987; Gelb 1992). Today it is clear that North-East Semitic is not represented [97] only by Akkadian, but by a *continuum* of dialects spreading from Northern Syria to Northern Mesopotamia and Babylonia (Edzard 2001: 296; Fronzaroli 2005; Krebernik 1996a: 249), a situation which fully justifies its label.

The populations inhabiting this wide area shared some cultural factors. The whole area used the decimal system in counting numerals: *mi-at* /mi'at/ 'one hundred', *li-im* /lim/ 'one thousand' (both are attested also at Abū Šalābiḥ, Gelb 1981: 62 and Tell Beydar, Sallaberger 1996b: 181–82), *ri-pab* /ribab/ 'ten thousand' (cf. *ribbatu* in early OB; OB Alalah; WSem., CAD, R p. 314), *ma-i-at*, *ma-i-ḥu(-at)*, *ma-ḥu-at* 'a hundred thousand' (Krebernik 1983: 44 derives it from *ma'du* 'large quantity'). The submultiples of the mina were counted, however, with the Sumerian sexagesimal system, received from the Kiš culture. This method of counting had been applied to the 'lighter mina' of 470 gr. (1 mina = 60 shekels of 7.83 gr.), used in Syria until the end of the second millennium at least (Ugarit) and also in Anatolia (Archi 1987d: 47–52; a mina from Tell Sweyhat of the end of the 3rd millennium was published by Holland 1975; for Ugarit, see Parise 1970–71).⁴

It is possible that the Early Semitic calendar, in use in Babylonia, spread into Northern Mesopotamia and Syria simply as a writing convention adopted by the learned scribes working for the central archive (Michalowski 1987: 173). This calendar is used in all the documents of the central archive of Ebla, with a single notable exception: the twenty monthly documents concerning the deliveries of sheep relating to the very last phase of the city, which present, in-

3 The full importance of the discovery of the Ebla archives may be perceived if we consider what Gelb himself, in evaluating the ethnic situation of Syria, had stated several years before: 'The first attested population of Syria was of unknown ethnic affiliation; this is shown by the Ur III sources pertaining to Syria and by the extraordinary number of Syrian geographical names which are neither Semitic nor Hurrian. The second population in time was West Semitic ...' (Gelb 1961: 40). A much larger number of personal names from Syrian centres is now attested for the Ur III period (Owen 1992). P. Fronzaroli, however, held different views: 'The study of the toponymy of the Syro-Palestinian cities of the Bronze Age indicates that, in addition to the semi-nomadic peoples, there were also Semites that led a sedentary life in the new urban centres which arose in the Syro-Palestinian region after the Chalcolithic crisis.' (Fronzaroli 1960: 141).

4 A weight with the name of Naram-Sin representing one mina of 504 grams has been published by Molina Martos 1989.

stead, the local calendar. This genre of tablets is peculiar, because they were not originally baked, and we know that they were destroyed after the total of animals had been recorded in documents that covered a number of months. In these latter documents, surely written by scribes of the central archive, the Semitic calendar was employed instead (Milano 1984a: 221–23). It seems probable that the documents concerning the single months were compiled in another office. The local calendar is regularly used also in the documents regarding the deliveries of foodstuffs to the palace, drawn up by scribes other than those of the central archive and collected in a specific archive, L. 2712 (two exceptions concern the month *a/i-nun-nun*; Milano 1990: 353). Most of these month names refer to gods and their festivals. The habit of using a local calendar in daily administration was a widespread practice, since a provincial centre such as Nabata (Tell Beydar) used only its own, local calendar (Sallaberger 1996a). The Mari administrative documents (from archives outside the palace) present, instead, the Semitic calendar (Charpin 1987).

The evidence from Ebla shows that it makes little sense to speak of a common, Semitic pantheon, with the exception of the astral deities, which represent a largely diffused phenomenon. The other gods had a local origin, as is usually the case in polytheistic religions. Aštar, venerated especially at Mari (where the deity appears both in its female and its male, warrior aspect, Kienast 1994: 17–18) was worshipped at Ebla also in the hypostasis of Ištar *šarbatum*, known from Mari (Charpin 1987: 99; Archi 1993: 75–76). In the marriage rituals for the royal couple, Išhara, the great Syrian goddess (whose cult spread into Babylonia in the Sargonic and Ur III periods) appears alongside her (Fronzaroli 1993: 131–32). This would seem to suggest that the two goddesses already had similar characteristics in the middle of the third millennium. The Moon-god Suinu is mentioned only in a few offering-lists, with the writing ^dEN.ZU already attested at Fara and Abū Ṣalābiḥ. [98] Alongside this god a local deity appears, Šanugaru, which represented another aspect of the Moon (Archi 1994: 252–56; Krebern timer 1993–97: 363–64).

The Sun seems to be in general a female deity at Ebla, as in the other Semitic areas, with the exception of Babylonia, where it became a male god.⁵ This indicates the extent to which the culture of the Semites of Babylonia was influenced by contact with the Sumerians. One significant factor enables us to judge the high esteem in which Sumerian culture was still held by Semitic language courts at the time of Ebla (a phenomenon which may, to a certain

5 In the incantation ARET 5.3 obv. I 1–2 ^dUtu is constructed with the 3f *ti-a-ba-an*, while in ARET 11.1 (81) and 2 (85), it is with the 3m *i-ba-na-a*, see Fronzaroli 1993: 47. ARET 3.637 I 7 has ^dUtu munus; TM.75.G.2593 rev. IV 6 has ^dUtu nita.

extent, be compared with the influence of Greek culture in Ancient Rome). Of the 33 names of 'singers from Mari' who performed their art in the palace of Ebla, 'nine names can be recognized as genuinely Sumerian, while three other are possibly Sumerian. Twelve other names, either Semitic or of uncertain affiliation, are documented also in Babylonia' (Steinkeller 1993a: 240). The Sumerian names were undoubtedly work names.

Ea/Haya (the L[exical] L[ist] has: ^dEn-ki = 'à-u₉; ^dEn-ki in the administrative documents) receives offerings with a certain frequency but no specific place of cult is associated with this god (apart from a single reference to the unknown place of *Gur-ad*^{ki}). He is perhaps the only god taken over from Babylonia. Enlil (LL: ^dEn-líl = *I-li-lu*) appears only in an incantation in Eblaite, ARET 5.1-3 (Fronzaroli 1988b), which could have some element of eastern origin, as (^d)*I-li-lu a-mu dingir-dingir-dingir 'Ililu the father of the gods'*.⁶

The other gods were strongly rooted in their own regions. Dagan, with his famous temple at Tuttul on the Balih, dominated the Middle Euphrates. Hadda of Halab was the most widely known god of northern Syria. The cult of Hadabal (^dNI-*da-bal*) was spread throughout the rural centres west of Ebla, with three principal sanctuaries: Hamadu (modern-day Ḥamath), (L)arugadu and Luban (located further to the north in the Orontes valley). The king of Ebla in person celebrated the annual rites in the temples of Halab, (L)arugadu and Luban. A characteristic common to these three gods, and also shared by Rašap of the towns of Tunip and Hadanni, is that they all belonged to minor centres and the popularity they enjoyed was not a result of the political strength of their cities. It was Hadda who made Halab great after the fall of Ebla, and not the other way round. Hadabal, as well as Kura, the god of the city of Ebla itself, disappeared after its destruction.

The fact that, on the one hand, some Syrian gods such as Dagan and Hadda were worshipped in several cities distant from each other (such as Ebla and Mari) and, on the other, that the Babylonian pantheon was deeply influenced by the Sumerian one, indicates that people speaking a Semitic language had settled in these countries several centuries before the dynasty of Akkad. The Ebla dynasty lists 25 ancestors of the last king and must, therefore, go back to roughly the 28th century. It must have had its roots in the area surrounding Ebla, since some of the earliest kings are mentioned in the cults of small centres in that region (Archi 2001).

There can be no doubt that it was these Semitic speaking peoples who wrought the transformation witnessed throughout the Syrian region and in the

⁶ The fact that Enlil is not worshipped at Ebla shows that this god cannot be attributed to the northern Semitic populations. On the interpretation of the name of Enlil, see Edzard 2003.

Jezireh which goes under the name of ‘second urbanization,’ dated to around 2600 (contemporary with the Early Dynastic IIIa period). Certain sections of the royal palace G of Ebla were restructured at least three times. [99] The first phase of the palace could date, therefore, to at least 100 years before its final destruction, to be dated some years before Sargon conquered Mari (Archi and Biga 2003: 29–34). Some of the earliest structures at Ebla, belonging to the initial palace organization, are dated to ED IIIa (Matthiae 1993: 618–24). Tell Banat, on the middle Euphrates, has a period IV dated to around 2600–2450, and a period III, around 2450–2300. Tell Chuera (Abarsal?) and Tell Beydar (Nabata), two *Kranzhügel* east of the Euphrates, and several centres in the Habur triangle, such as Tell Leilan (Šeḫna), Tell Mozan (Urkiš) and Tell Brak (Nagar), reveal a marked development in the process of urbanization towards 2600, and tend to decrease in size in the late third-millennium period. In the period of the Ebla archives, Nagar was the most important centre in the Ḥabur area, and Nabata was one of its satellites. Mari would appear to predate this trend. The foundation of the first, imposing urban phase (Ville I), which bears witness to metallurgy flourishing in the city, is dated to approximately 2900 according to C14 dating and thermo-luminescent analysis (Margueron 2004: 8–9, 557). This was the period in which the Jezireh reached its highest point in urbanization.

The Ebla documents of the 24th century also depict a situation of marked urbanization, whose foundations date to at least two centuries earlier. Ebla’s territory included Alalaḫ and Karkamiš to the north, Hamath and Tunip to the south, as well as a few other large centres and hundreds of villages. To the east, Ebla’s domain stretched as far as the Euphrates at some points whilst, to the west, the Jebel Ansariye would seem to have prevented the city from gaining direct control over the coastal region. Further north, beyond the modern border between Syria and Turkey, to the east on both banks of the Euphrates, and also along the coasts, there were a series of city-states, which were independent but recognized Ebla’s hegemony. Some of these, like Uršum, Ḥaššum, Irrite, Ḥarran, Tuba and Emar, survived the crisis that brought the Early Bronze Age to an end, and continued to play an important role throughout the following millennium. To the east of the Euphrates, the two most important centres were Abarsal and Haddu (Tell Maḥat ad-Dārū?). The kingdom of Nagar included seventeen centres with which Ebla had direct, if occasional, relations. They cannot, therefore, have been mere villages (these included, apart from Nabata, also Talḥawum, possibly Chagar Bazar) (Archi 1998b: 7–8). This shows how Nagar controlled the entire Ḥabur Triangle, and was, therefore, a regional state like Ebla.

It is increasingly clear that we must abandon the idea that nomadism, in one of its several manifestations, represented an inevitable form of society for

all of those who spoke a Semitic language. The environment in which they lived has always favoured pastoralism. Urban and sedentary societies could, however, have been directly involved in the transhumance of their flocks, without leaving much space for tribes with a dimorphic way of life, such as those known from the texts from Mari of the Middle Bronze period. The palace administration of Ebla, for example, controlled through its officials approximately 100,000 to 130,000 sheep and goats and more than 10,000 heads of cattle. This did not, however, mean that pastoralism was the dominant element in the economy of those states. The main function of the outer rings of the *Kranzhügel* in the Jezireh (whose environment has deteriorated greatly in our own age) was not to enclose an area for gathering animals (contrary to Lyonnet 2004: 25–26). The magnetometric map of Tell Chuera shows a dense urban network with roads generally orthogonal to the two rings (Ackerman and Schwartz 2003: 257; for Tell Mozan, see Pfälzner and Wissing 2004).

Dimorphic populations were probably settled in the semi-arid areas of central Syria. The state of Ibal was divided into a number of centres, each with its own ‘king’ (en = *malkum*, but also sometimes called *ugula*, in this case ‘chiefs’. There was an ‘Ibal of the steppe’, *Ib-al₆^{kl} lú EDEN*, [100] an Ibal ‘of the canal’, *lú pa₅*, and several place-names ‘of Ibal’. These must have occupied the area to the east of Selemye and Mishrife (Qatna). A document, ARET 1.5 § 31–37, lists first the king of Martu and his Elders, then several centres of Ibal. Martu also had up to six ‘chiefs’ (*lugal* = *ba’lum*) (at Ebla, the logogram *lugal* can alternate with *ugula*, see Archi 1993c: 297–99.)⁷

The Ebla administrative documents record only 50 years (around 2370–2320) of historical-political events in 24th century Syria, registering in precise order exchanges of messengers, wars and peace treaties. This kind of information is unlike that at our disposal regarding southern Mesopotamia, which is mainly based on commemorative texts. These ‘royal inscriptions’ (for which the kings of Ebla felt no need) disregard any chronological sequence of events and, therefore, do not enable us to synchronise the various dynasties.

7 P. Fronzaroli interprets the name *Ib-al₆^{kl}* as a collective /‘ib‘āl/ ‘lords’. One of the chiefs of Ibal was *Bí-ni-ma-ni* /bin-maní ‘Son of the Beloved’; see, further, *Bí-ne-li-im* /bin-li‘m/ in Fronzaroli 2003: 124–125, 142. /bin-um/ is, however, not only West Semitic: it is used also in Akkadian proper names, see *AHW*: 127a; *CAD*, B: 242–43. The chiefs of Ibal are called *ugula-ugula* in ARET 13.13 § 17, *maḥ-maḥ* in ARET 13.11 § 1.

2 The language of Syria and Babylonia

There are several grammatical features common to both Akkadian and Eblaite (see Fronzaroli 1982):

- Independent personal pronouns: 2sm gen.-acc. and dat. (*'anta*), *kuwāti*, *kuwāši*; 3sm (*šuwa*), *šuwāti*, *šuwāši*.
- Suffixed personal pronouns: 2sm gen./acc. *-ka* and dat. *-kum*; 3sm gen./acc. *-šu* and dat. *-šum*; 2sf gen./acc. *-ki*; 3sf gen. *-ša* and acc./dat. *-ši*; ldu. *-nā* (*-na-a*); 2du. *-kumayn* (*-gú-ma-a*) 3du. *-šumay(n)* (*su-ma*) (Fronzaroli 1990: 119–121); 2pm gen./acc. *-kunu*, 3pm *-šunu*; 3pf *-šina*. (Besides North-East Semitic, the dual forms are preserved only in the South Arabian area).
- Determinative pronouns: sg. masc. nom./gen./acc. *šu* (*su*, *su-wa* (Fronzaroli 2003: 296), *ši*, *ša*; sg. fem. nom./gen. *šātu*, *šāti*; du. gen./acc. *šay* (*sa-a*); pl. masc. gen./acc. *šūti*; pl. fem. nom. *šātu*, fem. gen./acc. *šāti* (Fronzaroli 1987).
- Independent possessive pronouns: 2sf nom. *kuwātu*; 3sm acc. *šuwā'a*; 1p masc. *niā'ā(n)* (*ni/ne-a-a*) (cf. Akk *niā'um*) (Fronzaroli 2003: 265, 288, 296).
- Only Eblaite and Akkadian present the entire nominal inflexion, including the dative *-iš*, and the locative *-ūm*.
- The verbal system presents three tenses: preterite, present and stative: *yiprus*, *yiparras*, *paris*. Some personal names show the prefix *ya-* instead of *yī-*, in the same name and also for the same person. The stems are: G, Gt, D, Dt, Š, Št, N.
- The prepositions are: *'ade*, *'al*, *balu*, and *qidimay* in the Lexical Lists, and IGI.TŪM in the administrative documents, which are all Common Semitic; *bayna* (only in the Lexical Lists), *min* and *minu*, which are also attested in West Semitic but not in Akkadian; *ana*, *ašta/ašti/ištu*, *in* and *maḥar* (only in the Sumerian form: *gaba*), which are also attested in Akkadian; *sin*, which also occurs in South Arabian (Archi 2002c).
- The treatment of the emphatics in Eblaite follows Geers's law, as it does in Akkadian (Conti 1990: 39–41). [101]

These features justify classifying Eblaite and Akkadian together as North-East Semitic. Eblaite is the dialect of Northern Syria proper (west of the Euphrates) as the scribes of the city of Ebla codified it over a period of about fifty years. The personal names of the Syrian region share the same tradition. Those from Kiš show a different cultural background, whilst those from Mari share both traditions (Archi 1985b; Archi 1987c: 130–132; Steinkeller 1993a: 240–44).

3 Literacy at Ebla

The oldest recorded data concern the amounts of gold and silver collected during the reign of Kun-damu (in ARET 14.1; between this king and Igriš-Ḫalab there was the evanescent Adub-damu); this registration precedes the gold and silver related to Igriš-Ḫalab. The oldest written documents do not go back before Igriš-Ḫalab, the third but last king, who died about 45 years before the destruction of Ebla. There is some evidence that writing was introduced at Ebla no earlier than the reign of Igriš-Ḫalab.

3.1 The unilingual lexical lists

It is possible that the first lexical and literary texts were copied already in the last years of Igriš-Ḫalab; most of them were written down surely at the time of his successor: Irkab-damu. These unilingual Sumerian lists appear more archaic than they are because they reproduce also the external features of their originals. They are large square tablets, with a convex reverse, large cases and large calligraphic signs. Only these texts have a colophon, which contain no part of the text (or only a few lines of it). The columns always bear the same number of cases, a rule that is applied regularly at Abū Ṣalābīḥ and rarely at Fara. They are completely different from all the other tablets that originated in the Ebla school (most of the texts are published in Pettinato 1981b, which in some cases can be completed by unpublished fragments; an overview of the lexical lists and their scribes was given in Archi 1992a).

Azi was the scribe who copied most of the unilingual Sumerian lists which present a colophon. They are: 1. ED lú A = MEE 3.2+5; 2. ED lú E = MEE 3.7–11(+); 3. Domestic Animals = MEE 3.12–17(+); 4. Fish List = MEE 3.29, 35+36(+); 5. Bird List = MEE 3.39; 6. List of Metal Objects = MEE 3.26+76(+); 7. List of Wooden Objects = TM.75.G.5197(+); 8. Word List = MEE 3.48+48(+).

Tira-il copied three tablets: 1. List of Geographical Names = MEE 3.56; 2. Word List, mainly domestic animals = MEE 3.47(+); 3. Word List = MEE 3.50.

Two tablets were copied by Aki-il: 1. List of Animals D = MEE 3.18(+); 2. List of Animals E = MEE 3.21(+).

The reverse of List of Animals C = MEE 3.19+24+25+75(+) is lost. We do not know if List of Animals A = MEE 3.20(+) had the name of the scribe on its reverse, for it is not completely preserved.

List of Thematic Sections A = MEE 3.45+46(+) was copied by Enna-il. The writing is accurate. The length of this list, however, necessitated a dense writing and required the text to continue on the reverse. The same applies to its

duplicate TM.75.G.10011(+), where part of the reverse is missing, which could have had the name of the scribe.

There are no factors enabling us to determine when Aki-il was active. Azi was older than Tira-il, since when the latter wrote down his manuscript of the List of Geographical Names, Azi acted [102] as his ‘expert’. The colophon of this tablet has: *Ti-ra-il* dub-mu-sar *A-zi* dub-zu-zu *En-na-il* Lugal-da-zi ‘Tira-il has written; Azi (was) the expert; Enna-il; Lugal-dazi’. Tira-il (who wrote down also the two copies of the Sumerian hymn to Utu) was active during the reign of Irkab-damu, since he was the scribe of the letter which this king sent to the king of Ḫamazi, ARET 13.3 § 9.

Azi’s scribal genealogy is the following, according to his colophons: *A-zi* dub-mu-sar *Ib-dur-i-šar* dub-zu-zu ab-ba *Dam-da-il* um-mi-a *A-zi* ‘Azi has written the tablet; Ibdur-išar (was) the expert; the elder Damda-il (was) the master of Azi’ (Pettinato 1981b: XXVII–XXVIII).⁸

Azi appears, together with the senior scribe and master (ummia) Damda-il, in the marriage ritual of King Irkab-damu, ARET 11.1 § 33. They are mentioned there probably because they had to supervise and ensure that the rites were inscribed on a tablet correctly following tradition. Besides these there is a certain Ennu-lum (perhaps the Enna-il who wrote one of the two Semitic literary texts). These scribes cannot have been very old as they also appear in the second version of the ritual, ARET 11.2 § 35, written for King Išar-damu, who married in the 14th year of his reign (22 years before the destruction of Ebla), that is to say, about 19 years after the marriage of his father Irkab-damu.⁹

It is certain that the scribe of ARET 11.2 was not the same as that of ARET 11.1 (see below 3.3). If Azi personally had to check the second version of the ritual on the tablet, he could not have been more than 45 years old at the time. If, instead, his task was that of orally reformulating certain sections of the text, without actually reading the tablet, then he could have been a few years older. If we assume that Azi was capable of copying his first lexical texts at the age of 20–22, and add the 10 years of Irkab-damu’s reign to the 14 years which

⁸ The archetype of the bilingual lexical list, manuscript *a*, has the sequence: dub-sar / dub-mu-sar / dub-zu-zu; manuscript *A*₂ gives *ù-me-a-núm* as an equivalent for dub-zu-zu. Manuscript B presents the sequence dub-sar / dub-mu-sar / *ù-me-a-núm* (without dub-zu-zu) instead, see Pettinato 1982: 324, nos. 1163–1165. This seems to mean that Eblaite had a single term for ‘expert, master (of writing)’.

⁹ The destruction of Ebla put an end to Išar-damu’s long reign. His father Irkab-damu reigned about ten years. We can deduce that he married four or five years before his death, given the fact that, in the marriage ritual ARET 11.1, the minister Arrukum appears, who held this position for four or five years and died in the same year as his king. For the chronological data concerning the kings of Ebla, see Archi and Biga 2003: 3–7.

passed before King Išar-damu's marriage, then we may deduce that he cannot have started his activity as a scribe before the very last years of Igriš-Ḫalab. He probably wrote most of his manuscripts during the reign of Irkab-damu.

Given the frequent contacts with Mari, it is likely that Ebla obtained this lexical material from the school of Mari. The colophons of the two Word Lists copied by Tira-il give us a precise indication for this: *Ti-ra-il dub-mu-sar Ibdur-i-šar dub-su-su in ud dumu-nita-dumu-nita dub-sar e₁₁ āš-du Ma-rī^{ki}* 'Tira-il has written; Ibdur-išar (was) the expert; when the junior scribes came back from Mari' (Pettinato 1981b: XXVII). Perhaps, at the end of his studies, Tira-il took these texts back to Ebla as proof of his ability? Did Azi follow the same curriculum? Where did Damda-il (Azi's 'master', um-mi-a) get his training in cuneiform studies? Since the Ebla archives contain only copies, we must consider the idea that the scribes drew up the manuscripts in another scriptorium, i.e. that of Mari.¹⁰

A few lists have been discovered in different versions. In some cases, the lists were copied onto small tablets in Ebla, without reproducing the archaic form of the original. There is a Fish List [103] in syllabic writing, on two small tablets. The List of Domestic Animals and Word List concerning foods and cuts of meat also have a syllabic version, and the List with Thematic Sections has a translation in Eblaite (Archi 1992a: 1–13).

The ED lú A List is represented by two manuscripts: that by Azi: A = MEE 3.2+5, and another one: B = MEE 3.3+4(+) 'established by Puzurra-malik' (*Puzur₄-ra-ma-lik* dub ki-gar). This latter tablet also has the aim of reproducing the form of an archaic original, but not as faithfully as that by Azi, since it is somewhat taller than it is wide. B must be more recent than A. Both manuscripts have 19 cases per column and belong to the same version. A few small variations indicate, however, that Puzurra-Malik was working from a different original from that used by Azi. In III 13, for example, A has DAM.ME, like the copy of Abū Šalābīḥ, whilst B has BAR.LAGAB.ME, like that of Fara. Text B was chosen for drawing up two other copies on small tablets: C = MEE 3.1 and D = TM.75.G. 10028(+). Although C faithfully reproduces B, the colophon says that the text was established by Abu-malik (it is unlikely that this is a mistake on the part of Puzurra-malik) and was copied by Buda-BE: *A-bù-ma-lik* ki-gar dub-mu-sar *Bù-da*-BE. Such close attention is paid to the layout of the text (possibly for mnemonic reasons) that there is a blank space every 19 cases to indicate the change of column in the original tablet (Archi 1992a: 2–3).

¹⁰ Fish List A = MEE 3.28,35+36(+) seems to be the sole lexical tablet acquired from another centre: it has particularly large cases and superb calligraphic writing. Its reverse is not preserved. It represents a version which is slightly different from Fish List B, copied by Azi.

3.2 The literary texts

The archives of Ebla have preserved only three literary texts, leaving aside the incantations (Krebernik 1992; Lambert 1992). One of them is a hymn in Sumerian to the god Ama-ušum-gal, which is known also from Abū Šalābīḥ: it is attested in two copies (ARET 5.20 and 21), both written by Tira-il (Archi 1992a: 27). This was the scribe who wrote the letter from King Irkab-damu to the king of Ḥamaṣi, and copied the Geographical List, having the above-mentioned Azi as ‘expert scribe’, dub-zu-zu. The other two texts are in honour of Šamaš and Nisaba respectively. They are in Semitic and go back to the Mesopotamian literary tradition. The Šamaš hymn has a duplicate in Abū Šalābīḥ. The palaeography shows that an Eblaite scribe copied both these texts. Only the colophon of the first hymn, however, has the name of the scribe: a certain Enna-il.

The second hymn (to Nisaba) presents mostly logograms. Only a few words are written phonetically. Of note are: the preposition *āš-ti* (cf. Akk. *išti/u*) and the writing *’a₅(NI)-na* for *ana*, both in use at Ebla. The Akkadogram *munus/dBE.AL₆* (*ba’lum/ba’altum*) is also known at Ebla. The sign AL₆ represents the form used at Ebla, which is different from the form attested at Mari.

The Abū Šalābīḥ manuscript of the hymn to Šamaš is written almost exclusively with logograms (among the few exceptions are the preposition *in* and the conjunction *ū*). The Ebla version introduces, instead, many phonetic writings. Some names of trees are provided with determinatives. Some logograms present different prefixes or other variants. Some logograms are rendered with syllabic spelling and are declined as Semitic words (AMBAR / *in a-bar-rí-iš*;¹¹ NÍG.SIG / *ne-si-gi-im*; ZABAR_x / *zi-bí-ra*). Several logograms are substitutions for other logograms. Among the verbal forms, there is the 3pm *ti-da-ḥu-ru₁₂* / *ti’taḥrū* / (*’ḥr/mḥr), probably introduced by the Eblaite scribe (the Abū Šalābīḥ duplicate does not preserve this section) (Krebernik 1992: 141, where *ti-ma-u₉* is also discussed). [104]

The 3pm forms with *ti-* of the Amarna period and of Ugarit had been considered either secondary or formed by analogy with the prefix *yi-*. D. O. Edzard (1985) suggested, in relation to the reforms of the *šakkanakku* documents from Mari, that the *ti-* prefix could be common Semitic, together with *yi-*, and that it was replaced by *yi-*.

¹¹ The terminative-adverbial *-iš* is added not only to verbs and adjectives (forming adverbs); it also forms the dative of names (also with GNs: *Ma-nu-wa-ti-iš^{kl}*) and pronouns: *me-ne-iš* / *min-iš* / ‘for what reason, why?’ (Fronzaroli 2003: 14, 119–20).

3.3 The documents of the chancellery and the marriage ritual

At that time, Edzard (1985) could only quote Eblaite forms with *ti-* from ARET 5, which were not certain. Beside the form in the hymn to Šamaš, mentioned above, we have another sure example in a text dated about 40 years earlier than the destruction of Ebla, the marriage ritual for King Irkab-damu, ARET 11.1 rev. V 6–7: *na-ti-lu ti-na-da-û* /tinaṭṭalū/ (Akk. *naṭālu* ‘to raise (the eyes)’). Another *ti-* form is: *dib-da-ru*₁₂ /tiṭṭarū/, from *pṭr ‘to loosen’, in a later document (ARET 13.9; ARET 13: 108).

Another such form, *ti-bi-na-û* /tipnawū/ (*pnw/y ‘to turn’) appears in a text of the same period as the ritual for Irkab-damu: ARET 13.1 obv. I 6, a text originally from Mari. It is a long document concerning the blessing for an undertaking by a king of Mari that is not clear, bestowed by the gods through two priests: the father of the gods (*abu* dingir-dingir-dingir) and the mother of the gods (*ama* dingir-dingir-dingir). This king should be the famous Iblul-il, because Enna-Dagan, the king of Mari contemporary to Irkab-damu, is mentioned there several times, as not yet being king. Palaeography shows quite clearly that this tablet was copied by an Eblaite scribe. It is, however, improbable that the *ti-* writing was introduced by the Eblaite scribe. As P. Fronzaroli, the editor of this text, has shown, the document has several Semitic words, and the scribe respected several orthographic rules foreign to Ebla, which must therefore belong to the Mari tradition, e.g. KI with phonetic value (Ebla uses GI); the use of DU, 2 DU and DU-DU for the verb ‘to go’ in singular, dual and plural, respectively; the Akkadogram -A for the suffix pronoun 1 sg.: in section 31 we read: ‘(The king said to the mother of the gods: “I came in order to ask you and to ask the father of the gods.) Advise me, both of you, in my decision (*me-li-ga-A ma-a-ki* /malāki/ or /malki/))’”, with /milk-ay-ni(m)/, imperative dual with the suffix pronoun of accusative or dative (Fronzaroli 1993: 12).

This document can only have been issued by the chancellery of Mari since it concerns the exercise of kingship in that city. The palaeography shows, however (as noted above), that this particular tablet was written undoubtedly by an Eblaite hand. This is the same situation as most of the Sumerian lexical documents of Fara and Abū Šalābīḥ (see 3.1 above). We are forced to admit that those scribes who were sent to Mari and brought back with them the tablets they copied there, were already expert, because they were not particularly influenced by the ductus of the tablets they copied. The most probable scenario is that some scribes learnt to write at Mari during the years of King Igrīš-Ḫalab. They introduced some minor changes in the form of a few signs and used some particular signs (e.g. AL₆ for AL; Krecher 1981: 142–43). Younger scribes contin-

ued to go to Mari to obtain new lexical material, which they copied in their ductus. There is, however, an incontrovertible fact: according to the colophons, junior scribes had senior Eblaite scribes as supervisors (dub-zu-zu; um-mi-a). That probably means that they usually worked in the scriptorium of Ebla, copying originals which have not reached us. [105]

In any case, during the years of Irkab-damu, Ebla was considered a learned centre by other Syrian towns. TM.75.G.2470 registers a delivery of clothes to three junior scribes from Hassuwan, a town that lay to the north of Ebla, rev.II 1-3: (3+3 clothes) *dumu-nita Ha-zu-wa-an*^{ki} *dub-sar*.¹²

P. Fronzaroli, the editor of ARET 13.1 mentioned above, has suggested that this text was used as an orthographic and perhaps also as a stylistic model for the ritual for the marriage of Irkab-damu (ARET 11.1). It is even possible, according to the palaeography, that the same scribe was responsible for both tablets. ARET 13.1 is a good starting point for registering some orthographic variations that developed within the same scriptorium in the space of only a few years. These are some of the remarks listed by Fronzaroli (2003: 12–26):

1. the alternation between *wa-a* and *ù*, which is found again only in ARET 11.1 with the following functions: *wa* is for coordination of sentences; *ù* is for coordination within the same sentence. ARET 11.2, which is at least 15 years later, uses *wa* in both functions. (The Abarsal treaty, ARET 13.5 [last years of Igriš-Ḫalab or first years of Irkab-damu] uses only *ù*, as well as the administrative documents of the period of Irkab-damu and his minister Arrukum, see Pomponio, NABU 1996/15. A scribe of about the same period as Irkab-damu used instead the anomalous *ú*, ARET 7.9 and 87; TM.75.G.2236 obv.VI 1, rev. V 6, XII 4. The administrative texts of the last 35 years use only *wa*.)
2. *ne-sa-a* ‘people’, can be interpreted as a gen.-acc. dual /*niš-ay(n)*/ with the function of an abstract used also as a plural; it appears also in ARET 11.1, while the parallel text ARET 11.2 has the reduplication: *na-se₁₁ na-se₁₁*, which is an Akkadogram (the administrative documents use *na-se₁₁* for a group of people, and the reduplication when the sum of several groups is given).
3. the personal pronoun 3sm *su-ú* could be a writing in use at Mari (Akk. *šu*), contrasting with the Eblaite *su-wa*.
4. ARET 13.1 uses both the prepositions *’a₅(NI)-na* and *si-in* for the same function: ‘to, towards, for’. *’a₅-na* appears twice, governing a PN. In a further eight passages *si-in* is used, governing the name of a function. This shows

¹² Fronzaroli (2003: 124 and 135) has provided data showing that writing was in use also by other chancelleries, e.g. in Manuwat and Ibal, south-east of Ebla.

that the preposition *ši-in* was diffused also at Mari. Besides the Syrian area (Tell Beydar 77 I 2: *ši-in*), it appears only in South Arabian. The use of *'a₅-na* was conditioned by the international formulary, possibly established by the documents from Kiš. It appears mostly in the address at the head of letters sent from foreign chancelleries to Ebla (such as the letter of Enna-Dagan, king of Mari) or from Ebla to other chancelleries (such as the letter of King Irkab-damu to the king of Ḥamazi and letters to several Syrian kings) (Tonietti 1997: 89–90). The treaty with Abarsal, ARET 13.5, uses only *'a₅-na* (14 times). This is a peculiar document. It has large cases with large signs written even on the flattened edges; it does not use verbal forms in phonetic writing but only logograms. It is not only an archaic tablet, as the mention of a particular official (Tir) proves; it also appears to reproduce intentionally some aspects of a tablet from Babylonia, in shape and perhaps in the general preference for logograms.

Another example of scribes at work is given by the ritual for the marriage of the royal couple. A feature which characterizes the earlier version (ARET 11.1) is the large use of phonetic writings, while the later version (ARET 11.2; written at least 15 years later, and 21 years before the destruction of Ebla) prefers logograms. The aim of the first scribe was to fix a text as intelligibly as possible, not to avoid writing difficult logograms. Similarly, the Eblaite scribe who copied [106] the Babylonian hymn to Šamaš introduced several phonetic writings into the cryptic version from Abū Šalābiḥ, which has mostly logograms instead. In general, the peripheral schools avoided using logograms widely, at the start of the adoption of cuneiform writing (see Old Hittite versus New Hittite; Middle Elamite versus Neo-Elamite and Elamite of the Persian period, Steve 1992: 10–11). Some examples (interpreted by Fronzaroli 1993) are:

ARET 11.1	ARET 11.2
(lú é) <i>a-bí-iš</i> (anomalous form of 3sm pron.suf., cf. Fronzaroli 2003: 273)	a-mu-sù
<i>a-ba-'à-su-ma-a</i> /'abab-ay-šumay(n)/, cstr. st. du. + 3du. pron.suf.	a-mu-a-mu-sù
<i>mu-si-im</i>	gi ₆ -an (LL = <i>mu-šum</i>)
<i>ma-sa-da</i> /mašadd-ay(n)/ (dual; *šdd 'to pull')	GIŠ-ma-du ₁₀ (BU) '(chariot) shaft'
<i>šar-mi-na</i> (dual ?)	GIŠ-šu-me (LL = <i>šè-ri-/ša-mi-nu</i>)
<i>da-ne-a-al₆</i> /tanīyal/ (Akk. <i>nīālu</i>)	ki-ná
<i>ti-ib-ù(-ma)</i> 3f (Akk. <i>tebū</i>)	zi-ga

3.4 The Sumerian acrographic lexical lists and the oldest manuscript of the bilingual lexical list

The bilingual lexical list was instrumental in achieving a higher level of literariness. The several manuscripts at our disposition enable us to follow the scribes at work, proving that this list (the oldest of its kind to have reached us) was entirely an achievement of the Eblaite school.

The unilingual lists, where the Sumerian words are ordered according to the acrographic principle, were essential for drawing up the bilingual list. It is possible that these lists follow a Mesopotamian model (Civil 1986: 5). Their aim was practical, since most of the lexemes included there recur also in the administrative documents of the chancellery. Moreover, the acrographic order made it easier to memorise Sumerian words and check their writing. The lists of the Uruk and Šuruppak tradition, however, whilst constituting part of the heritage of every self-respecting scribal school, were of no practical use, especially outside the centres of Sumerian culture with their particular ecological environment (in the administrative documents of Ebla, for example, fish are not mentioned, and only two or three birds!).

There are nine lists ordering the lexemes acrographically, which represent eight different versions since only two tablets duplicate each other. Their incipit, *éš-bar-kin_x*, means 'die richtige Entscheidung aussuchen' (Krecher 1981: 144). These tablets were all written at Ebla, judging from their palaeography (with the possible exception of two of them). They maintain the same number of cases for all the columns on the obverse and the reverse respectively (a rule that the scribes had learnt from the Sumerian unilingual lists of the Abū Šalābiḥ type). The one exception is the version used as the archetype for the bilingual lists, TM.75.G.2422(+) = *a*.

It must be stressed that these acrographic lists were not drawn up with the aim of producing bilingual lists, since only one version was used for the bilingual list. There is no reason to believe that manuscript *a* is the earliest. On the contrary, this list must have been one of the latest since it was chosen by all of the three or four scribes who drew up the bilingual manuscripts (a task that we can estimate lasted for a period of approximately ten years). This archetype *a* has 1204 lexemes, whilst the most complete list has more than 1500 (Archi 1992a: 15–17). If it had been decided to continue drawing up further acrographic lists after *a*, possibly when the decision was taken to compile [107] manuscript *B*, the longest of the bilingual lists, a more complete version would have been chosen as archetype. For the reasons outlined below, the creation of archetype *a* must be dated to Irkab-damu. It is, therefore, to the years of this king's reign that we must attribute the creation of most of the *éš-bar-kin_x* lists,

the period in which many of the list of the Fara and Abū Ṣalābiḥ type were acquired.

There are four bilingual manuscripts (and some abstracts).¹³ The oldest one, manuscript *D*, is made up of five tablets; it stops with lexeme no. 880. All five tablets could have been written by the same hand (it is, however, impossible to prove this). They follow archetype *a* very closely in listing the Sumerian words. Manuscript *D* presents more Eblaite glosses than the other manuscripts. It uses sometimes different roots than the other three; when it refers to the same root, it presents different stems. It is thus an independent source in relation to the three later ones, which present a consistent syllabary: the one also used in the administrative documents of the last 30–35 years (Conti 1990: 3–48).

According to this syllabary, the three sign series ZA, SA, ŠA usually express distinct phonemes:

- ZA (*za*, *zi*, *zu*; *D*: *zu* / *zú*): /s/, /z/, /ṣ/ (/ḏ/, /z/)
- SA (*sa*, *si*, *su*, *šum*): /š/ (/ś/)
- ŠA (*ša*, *šè*, *šu*, *sum*): /t/, /ḏ/

There are many exceptions, however, in the writings of the geographical and personal names. For example, the writing *zi-kir* in the PNs (e.g. *I-bí-zi-kir*) for /ḏ/ (Sem. *ḏakar* ‘male’) has to be considered as a kind of Akkadogram reflecting another syllabary. The few alternations of this kind which are found in the bilingual list belong exclusively to source *D* (e.g. *D*: *ma-ša-lu-um*; *A*: *ma-za-lum* / *mazzalum*/, cf. Akk. *mazzalum*, a type of vase). This shows that when *D* was written, these peculiarities of the syllabary were not yet established.

D uses the syllabogram *iš* for /it/: *iš-bí-lu* /’itḫīru(m)/ ‘finely crushed’, *ṭbr, Akk. *šebēru*. The other sources use *iš₁₁* for /it/, which is ignored by *D*, e.g. *A*, *B*: *iš₁₁-ga-um*, *D* *áš-ga-lum* /’a/itkālum/ ‘bunch of grapes’ (Arab., Hebr. *ṭkl).

It should be noted that ARET 11.1, written four or five years before the death of Irkab-damu, also uses *iš*, while the parallel version, ARET 11.2, has *iš₁₁*: *Iš/Iš₁₁-ru₁₂-ud-da-mu*. These correspondences between the different manuscripts of the bilingual list and the two versions of the Ritual for the marriage

¹³ Pettinato (1982: XXIX–XXX) recognized two major sources: *A* (which Pettinato almost entirely reconstructed) and *B* (three large fragments of which he identified). Practically all the bilingual fragments had already been joined by the present writer in the years 1980–83. Manuscript *A* was reconstructed by joining 16 fragments, one of which is very large; *B* contains 35 fragments, and *C* more than 70 fragments. *A* received this denomination because it was the best preserved manuscript whereas it was possible to join materially the fragments of *C* only some years later due to restoration problems. The former denomination of the manuscripts has been maintained. As can be seen from the data shown in 3.4 and 3.5, the chronological order of the composition is: *D*, *C*, *A* (+*A*₂), *B*.

of the royal couple date source *D*. Other uses were also introduced later. *D* uses the series RA for /r/. The later sources use also the series LA, or *a* for /la/, *i* for /li/, *u*₉ for /lu/ ('l-reduction'), perhaps under the influence of the substrate.¹⁴ Some later writings are more accurate, e.g. *D* has *-Ca* for both nom. and gen.-acc. dual; later sources have *-Ca-a* for gen.-akk. dual. [108]

The peculiarities of source *D* concern not only the syllabary but also morphology. The infinitive forms of the D- and Š-stems present the 'Assyrian' vocalization *PaRRuS* and *šaPRuS*, while the other sources have the 'Babylonian' vocalization: *PuRRuS*, *šuPRuS* (Conti 1996). A few examples are:

- LL nr. 170: KA.NI = *sa-ù-gú* (source *D*); *su-ù-gúm* (sources *B* and *C*)
- LL nr. 124: *níg-èšir*(LAK 173)-A/E-sá = *sa-bù-tum* (source *D*);
su-bù-tum (source *C*)

(cf. Akk. *ebētum* 'to be tied')

Conti (1996: 200) remarks that the forms *PaRRuS*, *šaPRuS* and *PuRRuS*, *šuPRuS* 'ne sont pas des allomorphes occasionnels et interchangeables; ils sont plutôt une preuve supplémentaire de la différenciation des deux recensions de la liste lexicale bilingue.'

This 'Assyrian' vocalisation is found also in chancellery documents, as well as in an incantation and in several administrative documents. It belonged, therefore, to the spoken language in Syria, as is proven also by the fact that it still appears in the Mari and Tuttul texts of the *šakkanakku* period:

- ARET 13.16: 6 *ga-du-ru*₁₂ *u*₉-*ga-da-ra* /qatṭuru(m)/ 'to smoke' (*qṭr)
- ARET 5.3: IV 6, V 2 'a₅-*bù-ḫu/ḫa* (/ʾabbuḫu/ā/) (*ebēḫum* 'to gird')
- ARET 5.3: IV 7, V 3: *da-nu-nu/na* /dannunū/ā/ (*danānum* 'to become strong') *na-gu-lum* /naqqurum/ 'to engrave'

(Archi 2005a, with reference to Conti).

3.5 The three manuscripts of the bilingual lexical list, and the additional tablet

Detailed comparative examination of the other three manuscripts of the bilingual lists has yet to be conducted. *D* was an initial attempt at written translation of Sumerian lexemes. For all of the 1204 lexemes of the archetype, a sixth, medium-sized tablet would have been required. This tablet may never have been written, since it was immediately clear that it was easier to consult a list

¹⁴ The documents of Irkab-damu's period have possibly a few exceptions to the rule that 'l-reduction' is possible for /l/, not for the L-signs representing etymological /r/ (Archi 2005).

on a large tablet, where the acrographic order made it possible to find the word sought quickly. It is obvious that, from the very start, the intention was that of having bilingual tablets of a similar size to the unilingual ones.

C is, without doubt, the earliest of the three manuscripts represented each by a single tablet. It has regular writing on the obverse; the reverse, instead, has more cramped writing, as though the scribe realised that he did not have enough space left for all of the material to be included. The list goes up to no. 1089 of the archetype. *C* was probably drawn up only a few years after *D*.

All three of the later manuscripts share the same syllabary established by means of a revision (reform would be too strong a term to use here) introduced at the start of Išar-damu's reign, when the minister Ibrium controlled the entire administration as the king was not yet of age (Archi and Biga 2003: 6–9).

The author of *C* follows archetype *a* (with very rare exceptions), as does the author of *D*. A new redaction, however, was established with *C*. The editor(s) of *D* made two major mistakes: the first tablet ends with lexeme no. 198 and the second begins with no. 210; the third tablet ends with no. 423 and the fourth starts with no. 458. *C* (followed by *A* and *B*) corrects this error. In one case, *C* is innovative compared to *a*, introducing the lexemes no. 631–641 (followed by *A* and *B*) which are also lacking in *D*.

C sometimes has Eblaite equivalents that are different from those furnished in *D*, but the same as those in *A* and *B*. Both of the latter sources give a larger number of Eblaite equivalents than *C*. [109] With regard to the syllabary, *C* very occasionally uses NI (*bu*₁₆) for /bu/, in line with *D*: no. 704, *D*: *na-ù-bu*₁₆, *C*, *B*: *na-ù-bu*₁₆-um, *A*: *na-ù-bu*-um; no. 715, *C*: *dal-da-bu*₁₆, *B*: *dal-da-bù*; *A*: *dal-da-bù*-um.¹⁵ Mimation is rather more frequent in *C* than in *D*, and this increases still further in *A* and *B*. *D*, with very few exceptions, uses *r*-signs for /r/; *C*, instead, prefers *l*-signs, more than *A* and *B*. The last two lexemes are nos. 1088 and 1089: *nam-en*, *nam-en-en*, that is 'kingship' and something related to kingship. This is undoubtedly not by chance since it would have been possible to add a further dozen or so lexemes.

A was drawn up later, taking *C* as its model, and it too stops at lexeme no. 1089. The lexical material is distributed better, the obverse has approximately 50 more cases than *C* and the reverse has a more regular writing. Whoever drew up *A* bore in mind also archetype *a*: no. 327 and 328, lacking in *C*, are restored in *A*. The Eblaite equivalents are, in general, those found in *C* but are more numerous. *B* introduces very few innovations compared to *C*, no. 686: *še-dù* = *ù-mu-tum* (*D* and *C*), *gi-za-lu*(-um) (*A* and *B*); no. 735: *igi-ḫi-du*₈ = *ša-gúm* (*D*), *ša-gu*-um (*C*), *mu-ša-gu*-um (*A*, *B*).

15 NI for *bu*₁₆ is used also in Enna-Dagan's letter to King Irkab-damu (Fronzaroli 2003: 39).

The two large tablets *C* and *A* did not have enough space for the last 112 lexemes of the archetype. It was therefore decided to prepare another, smaller tablet, *A*₂ (almost entirely reconstructed by joining nine fragments) which includes various other lexemes, reaching number 1475. The acrographic order is abandoned and previously ignored lexemes are gathered together by more or less obvious association between the terms.

This solution of a list large enough to contain almost 1500 lexemes but distributed on two different tablets, did not appear entirely satisfactory and thus, after an undefinable number of years, it was decided to prepare a rather larger tablet, (26 × 28 cm). Its writing is small and precise. The Eblaite equivalents are often found in the same case as the Sumerian word, so as to save space. In order to establish how large the tablet needed to be, a model was prepared for the first two columns, with 43 Sumerian words per column (TM.75.G.2414; Picchioni 1997: 94–96), all beginning with NÍG-, and without Eblaite equivalents. This list substitutes archetype *a* in the initial part of the NÍG- section. In general, the new Sumerian words introduced into the list are not given their Eblaite equivalents. Having finished this very first part, *B* then continues using *A* with a few variants. This manuscript ends 60 lexemes before the end of *A*₂.

Variations in the syllabary, scribal customs such as the use of mimation and grammatical standardisation (cf. *PuRRuS* vs. *PaRRuS*) were changes demanded by the chancellery over a period estimated at little over a decade. The scribes who did not work for the central archives had their own peculiarities. Those involved in recording foodstuffs delivered to the Palace, whose tablets were collected in room L. 2712, in the north-eastern corner of the Audience Court (only 20 m from the central archive), used the ‘local calendar’ (see above, 1.1), a particular form of the sign DAR (Milano 1990: 381–82, see *dar*, *dar-áb*), and wrote *Am₆-ma-ga* and *Ma-kum-^dKu-ra* instead of *A-ma-ga* and *Mi-kum-^dKu-ra* (/man-kum-DN/, /min-kum-DN/: interrogative pronoun animate and inanimate: ‘Who/what is to you, Kura?’). These documents are to be dated to the last three years of Ebla.

This state of affairs invites caution in formulating linguistic classifications since isolated data that does not fit into a system can be misleading.

4 Prepositions at Ebla

1: *al*₆; 2: 'a₅-na; 3: *in*; 4: *mi-in*; 5: *si-in*; {6: *šè*;} 7: *a-dè*; 8: *mi-nu*; 9: *áš-da*; 10: *áš-ti*; 11: *áš-tu*; 12: *gaba*; 13: *gi-ti-ma-a*; 14: *ba-lu/i*; 15: *si-gi*, 16: *ba-na*

Two studies were devoted to the prepositions in Eblaite soon after the publication of the first texts.¹ The number of documents now accessible allows us to discuss with greater precision some additional points concerning their use.

1 *al*₆, *a* (/‘a(l)/) ‘on, above, upon, to, debited to (the account of), on account of’²

1.1 Locative ‘on, upon, to’

ARET 11.1 § 61: en ù *ma-lik-tum* è tuš *al*₆ 2 GIŠ-uštil *a-bù-sù* ‘the king and the queen go out; they sit on the two thrones of their fathers’ (similarly in 1 § 21, § 84; 2 § 21, § 64, § 88). ARET 11.1 § 81 and 2 § 85: *al*₆ gùb en *ma-lik-[tum]* tuš/*al*₆-tuš ‘the queen sits to the king’s left’. ARET 11.1 § 69, 2 § 72: *al*₆ ^dUtu è ‘to the rising Sun’. TM.75.G.2429 obv. XVIII 9–14: (metal) nu₁₁-za 1 sag PN lú *al*₆ ká en ‘metal (to) plate the head of PN (placed) on the king’s gate’. TM.75.G.10144 rev. VI 19–VII 2: [2] 1 GIŠ-asar (silver) nu₁₁-za 4 sag lu_x *al*₆-sù ‘a dish; silver (to) plate the four buffalo heads on it’.

1.1.1 *al*₆-*a* /‘al-ay ?/’³ ‘on’

ARET 11.1 § 3: *wa-ma-sa* ì-giš *al*₆-*a* sag *ma-lik-tum* gar ‘and then he (the king) puts oil on the queen’s head’ (cf. 1.1.4. *a-li-iš*).

Pp. 1–21 in *Eblaitica* 4, eds. Cyrus H. Gordon, and Gary A. Rendsburg: Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2002.

1 Pennacchietti 1981; Limet 1984. The first lists of Eblaite prepositions were published by Gelb 1977: 23, 25, and Pettinato 1977b: 236–37. See also the indexes of the volumes in the ARET series. The word “*passim*” herein refers to these indexes.

During the delay in publication of the present essay, the following studies have appeared: Fronzaroli 1996a (see pp. 127–30), which I was still able to use; Dattilo 1996: 169–179; Toniatti 1997; Viganò 1996.

2 Beydar: *al*, see Ismail et al. 1996: 175. OAkk. *al*, Akk. *eli*; Ugar., Heb., Aram. *l(ē)*; Arab. *‘lā*. On the writing *a*, see Fronzaroli 1988b: 15.

3 See Fronzaroli 2003: 23.

1.1.2 *a-lu* (cf. Akk. *elu*), *a-lu-nu* /‘al(u)-’n-u(m) ?/ ‘on’

TM.75.G.10079 rev. II 14–18: (objects) níg-ba ḪÚB.KI tuš:ba *a-lu* GIŠ ‘objects: gift (for) the jumper who stayed on the pole’. See further: TM.75.G.1775 (MEE 7.48) rev. 5 6–8: (object) *Wa-da-’à* ba-TÚŠ *al*₆ GIŠ; TM.75.G.2365 rev. XVII 1–6: (silver) níg-ba ḪÚB.KI tuš:ba *a-lu-nu* GIŠ. TM.75.G.2464 obv. II 3–9: (silver) níg-ba ḪÚB.KI in ud *a-lu-nu* GIŠ tuš:ba.

There are parallel passages with *al*₆: ARET 3.336 VIII: ḪÚB.KI] tuš:ba *al*₆ giš. ARET 3.371 I: ḪÚB SA.ZA_x^{ki} ba-tuš^l(ZA) *al*₆ GIŠ. ARET 4.6 § 66: *Wa-da-’à* ba-tuš *al*₆ GIŠ⁴ (cf. ARET 4.9 § 25: *Wa-da-’à* lú Du-ur-NI SA.ZA_x^{ki} tuš:ba *mi-nu* GIŠ).

1.1.3 *a-li-iš* /‘al-iš/ ‘above’

TM.75.G.2520 obv. 4–8: níg-a-dé i-giš *a-li-iš* sag PNF ‘(for) the pouring of oil above the head of PNF’ (usually: níg-[a-]dé i-giš *al*₆ / *si-in* sag).⁵ TM.75.G.1464 obv. II 20–23: 1 *gú-li-lum a-li-iš* GIŠ-gu-kak-gíd DN. TM.75.G.2465 obv. VIII 25–29: *ni-zi-mu* 4 kù-sal *a-li-iš* kù-sal-kù-sal *zi-ba-da*.

1.2 ‘Debited to (the Account of), on Account of, Beside’

Goods *al*₆ PN – ARET 2.16 § 6: (barley) *al*₆ PN ‘barley on account of PN’. ARET 7.136: (copper) *al*₆ PN ugula simug ‘copper debited to the account of PN, the overseer of the smiths’. ARET 7.15 § 1–§ 2: (objects) *al*₆ PN₂ lú-kar *Ma-rí*^{ki} PN₂ GN ugula é-duru₅^{ki} ‘objects debited to the account of PN₁, the merchant of Mari, (for) PN₂ of GN, the overseer of the work-gang’. ARET 7.24 § 3: (garments) mu-DU (garments) *al*₆ ugula engar ‘garments: delivery; garments debited to the account of the overseer of the farmers’. MEE 2.1 obv. V 10–VI 1: (silver) mu-DU PN (silver) *al*₆-sù ‘silver: delivery of PN; silver at his expense’. ARET 7.63 § 1–§ 8: (gold) PN₁ i-na-sum (gold) *al*₆ PN₁ ‘gold: PN₁ has given; gold debited to

⁴ Most of the people called ḪÚB.(KI) ‘jumper, acrobat’ came from Nagar (in the Ḫabur region), from where Ebla imported onagers, BAR.AN. It has been deduced, therefore, that these people were specialists in equestrian arts; Archi 1998b: 10–11. Some other acrobats are said to be ‘of the palace’ SA.ZA_x^{ki}, and *Wa-da-’à*, probably an acrobat who used a pole, GIŠ, belonged to this second group. On the ḪÚB.(KI)- ḪÚB.(KI) at Ebla, see Catagnoti 1997a; for the passages with *al*₆ GIŠ, see p. 581.

⁵ Already quoted by Archi 1988d: 111. For *a-li-iš*, Akk. *eliš*, cf. the Lexical Lists: an-šè = *a-i-núm* /‘alínun/, Akk. *elēnu* ‘above’; see Krecher 1984: 157.

PN₁'. ARET 7.128 § 1: (garments) GN ì-na-sum (garments) *al*₆-sù: 'garments: GN has given; garments at their expense'. ARET 1.27: (garments) *gi*₄ *si-in* PN (garments) *al*₆-sù 'garments returned to PN; garments on his account'. TM.75.G.10168 obv. VII 18–23: 1 udu *al*₆ dumu-mí en PN nídba 'PN has offered one sheep for the well-being of a daughter of the king'. [3] TM.75.G.1705 obv. VII 10–16: (silver) lú nu-GIŠ-kiri₆ DU.DU *al*₆ dumu-nita PN GN 'silver (as provision for) the gardener (who) went on behalf of PN of GN'.

Metal *al*₆ PN in UNKEN-ag object – ARET 7.25, 27, 28, 29: (gold) *al*₆ PN in "KIN"-ag object 'gold debited to the account of PN in order to make an object'.

On account of animals – TM.75.G.2635 obv. V 7–12, VII 8–12: 3 udu ^dŠa-ma-gan PN nídba *al*₆ 1 sur_x-BAR.AN-sù ... 2 udu ^dŠa-ma-gan dumu-nita-dumu-nita en nídba *al*₆ sur_x-BAR.AN-sur_x-BAR.AN 'three sheep PN has offered (to) DN for the well-being of his pair of onagers ... two sheep the king's sons have offered (to) DN for the well-being of (their) pairs of onagers'.

On account of a situation, concerning – ARET 8.539 § 3: (objects) nídba en DN *al*₆ tu-ra dumu-mí-sù GN 'objects (as) offerings of the king (to) DN on account of (/for) the illness of his daughter (who lives in) GN'. TM.75.G.1464 rev. X 1–6: (silver) níg-ba en DN *al*₆ tu-ra ama-gal-sù '(silver:) gift of the king to DN for the illness of his mother' (*al*₆ is often connected with tu-ra). TM.75.G.10088 rev. XVII 16–21: (object) níg-ba DN lú sikil *al*₆ ama-gal en 'object: gift (for) DN for the purification of the king's mother'. ARET 2.54 § 3: (objects) *al*₆ 3 nídba DN 'objects on account of the three offerings (for) DN'. MEE 2.39 obv. X 12–XI 1: (garments) PN GN šè DU.DU di-ku₅ *al*₆ Zu-ḥa-lum^{ki} Ar-mi^{ki} wa Ib-la^{ki} 'garments (to) PN of GN which (is) for his going to judge the cities of Zuḥalum, Armi, and Ebla'. TM.75.G.2428 obv. XIII 3–13: (silver) níg-kaskal PN₁ PN₂ DU.DU si-in Ar-mi^{ki} di-ku₅ *al*₆ uru^{ki}-uru^{ki} Ib-la^{ki} 'silver (as) provision (for) PN₁ PN₂ (who) went to Armi in order to judge the cities of Ebla'. ARET 8.534 § 52: PN] GN šè DU.DU *al*₆ di-ku₅ 'Ā-du^{ki} 'PN] of GN, which (is) for (his) going to judge the city of Haddu'.

On account of goods, beyond – ARET 1.40, 41: (garments) diri *al*₆ mu-DU-sù 'garments: exceeding (amount) on his deliveries'. ARET 8.527 § 54: (a garment) *al*₆ túg-túg é ti-túg PN 'a garment on account of the garments of the t-store (for) PN'. ARET 8.523 § 5: *al*₆ 5 aktum-TÚG šeš-šeš-sù '(garments for the king of GN, his father, his brothers, and his sons;) besides (it), 5 garments (for) his brothers'. ARET 1.15 § 58: (wool) *al*₆ na₄-maḥ PN 'wool (to) PN for an excellent stone'.

1.3 Temporal 'at, on'

ARET 11.1 § 69, 2 § 72: wa *al*₆ 3-ma 'at the third time'. ARET 11.3 § 9: *al*₆ 3 ud 'at the third day'. TM.75.G.2403 rev. II 13–16: 27 udu kú guruš-guruš *al*₆ 4 ud '27

sheep to eat (for) the workers on four days'. ARET 11.1 § 32: *al₆ da-ma-ti* 'at the lamentations'. ARET 11.2 § 5, 3 § 2: (garments) *mu₄^{mu} ma-lik-tum al₆ kaskal nu-túg-ZI :ZI* '(garments:) dress (for) the queen, not to be worn during the trip'.

2 'a₅(NI)-na 'to'⁶

Akkadian *ana*. The Eblaïte writing is attested also in Pre-Sargonic Mari, in a votive inscription, MAM 3 317 no. 10 (Tagge), 2 1: 'a₅-na *be-li-sù*, and in an [4] economic document.⁷ Other votive inscriptions present the writing *a-na*: MAM 3 315 no. 7, line 1; and Thureau-Dangin 1934: 140 (Lamgimari), line 6.

2.1 Allocutive

'a₅-na appears in the allocutive formulas of the letters sent from one city-state to another. It belonged to the epistolary style in use in the Mesopotamian area, also adopted by the scribes of Ebla. In the letters sent to people dependent on the palace administration, *si-in* is used instead. TM.75.G.2367 obv. I 1-7: *en-ma En-na-Da-gan en Ma-ri^{ki} 'a₅-na en Ib-la^{ki}* 'Thus (speaks) Enna-Dagan, king of Mari, to the king of Ebla'. TM.75.G.2342 (letter to Ḥamazi) obv. I 1-7: *en-ma I-bù-KAXGĀNA-tenû* agrig é en 'a₅-na *sukkal-du₈* 'Thus PN, the (chief) steward of the house of the king, to the minister'; obv. VI 2-rev. I 1 (final section): *ù en-ma Ti-ra-il dub-sar gál* "tag₄" 'a₅-na *sukkal-du₈ Zi-zi ì-na-sum* "And thus PN, the scribe, has revealed (literally: opened) to the minister (so that) he will give (the message to) Z. (king of Ḥamazi)'. TM.75.G.2561 (letter of Suwama-wabar of Mari)⁸ obv. VI 6-10, rev. III 13-17: *en-ma en 'Ā-du^{ki} 'a₅-na Ma-ri^{ki}* 'Thus the king of 'A. to M.'; rev. I 12-II 2, V 1-4: *en-ma Ma-ri^{ki} 'a₅-na (en) 'Ā-du^{ki}* 'Thus M. to (the king of) 'A.' ('a₅-na is used in the addresses; *si-in* in the narrative

⁶ The value 'a₅ for NI was identified by Edzard 1981: 47; id. ARET 2: 136, s.v. NI-ti. For the reading 'a₅-na, see Fronzaroli 1982: 101 n. 18; Krebernîk 1984: 136 and 316-317, nn. 89 and 90 (also against Pettinato's interpretation: *li-na*, based on Ugaritic *ln*, in 1977: 239; id. MEE 2: 131 ad v. II 3); Milano 1984: 221.

⁷ See Lambert 1973: 96, obv. III 7-IV 3: 1 *ma-na kb. 'a₅-na é-é ù maškim-maškim šu-ba₄-ti*. This tablet surely comes from Mari. Further, a late copy of a votive inscription from Mari of the *šakkanakku* period published by Sollberger 1967: 104-107, has in obv. 6: 'a₅-na *maḥ-ri DN*. Gelb (1977: 11 and 23) transliterated *ì-na*, although he remarked that "*ì-na maḥ-ri DN* stands for Akkadian *ana maḥri DN* (not *ina maḥri DN*)."

⁸ See Pettinato 1986: 398-400; Heimpel 1989: 122.

sections, obv. 5–9: *wa du₁₁-ga si-in Su-wa-ma-wa-bar Ma-ri^{ki}* ‘and they said to S. of M.’). TM.75.G.12137+ obv. I 1–7: *en-ma En-na-da-mu en Ma-nu-wa-at^{ki} ’a₅-na en [Ib-la^{ki}]* ‘Thus E., king of M., to the king [of E.]’. In the opening formula of a royal decree, TM.75.G.1766 obv. I 1–4:⁹ *en-ma en ’a₅-na In-gâr* ‘Thus (speaks) the king (of Ebla) to PN’. Also in the decree of a certain Iri-gunu in favor of his sons, TM.75.G.2605 obv. I 1–3: *en-ma I-rí-gú-nu ’a₅-na dumu-nita-dumu-nita-sù*.

2.2 Allative (see also *si-in*, 5.2)

MEE 2.45 rev. I 5–II 5: *in Diš mu DU Tar₅-kab-du-lum ’a₅-na Kak-mi-um^{ki} simug-simug na-rú* ‘In the year of the going of PN to GN (when) the smiths (erected) the stele’. ARET 3.145(+163(+358(+440 *passim*: (silver) nam-ku₅ PN šu-mu-“tag₄” ’a₅-na GN ‘silver (for) the oath of PN (which) has been brought to GN’. ARET 11.2 § 99: *in ud DU.DU ’a₅-na SA.ZA_x^{ki}* ‘when they go the palace’ (the parallel text, ARET 11.3 § 21, has: *in ud DU.DU si-in SA.ZA_x^{ki}*). TM.75.G.2420 rev. I 2–5: *’à-na-sa ’a₅-na en nu-du* ‘if you on the contrary do not go to the king ...’.¹⁰

2.3 Uncertain

ARET 5.16 obv. II 2–7: *GAR KUN ’a₅-na ù-sakar al₆ kú* ‘... to the crescent ...’.¹¹ MEE 2,18 rev. I 3–II 5: *a-dè tuš gâr-ra ir₁₁ šu-du₈ GIŠ-DU ’a₅-na DU gar. [5]*

3 *in* ‘in’

I. J. Gelb has stated, “the preposition *in* ‘in’ regularly occurs in Babylonia in the pre-Sargonic and Sargonic periods. It is also found once in pre-Sargonic Mari, *passim* in the post-Ur III texts of Mari, and in the Old Assyrian dialect ... The preposition *ina* generally replaced *in* in the Ur III period, continuing in use to the end of the life of the Akkadian language. It is unknown anywhere else in Semitic.”¹²

⁹ Fronzaroli 1979a: 4.

¹⁰ Edzard 1992: 200 (Treaty with Abarsal).

¹¹ Krebernik 1984: 130 and 136.

¹² Gelb 1977: 23. Beydar, see Ismail et al. 1996: 179–80; Mari, see Charpin 1987: 68 no. 2 I 5; 71 no. 6 I 3; 73 no. 8 *passim*.

3.1 Locative ‘in’

GN – ARET 7.19 § 7: (object) PN ... šu-ba₄-ti *in* GN ‘object: PN ... has received in GN’. *Passim*.

Country – TM.75.G.2420 obv. X 11–16: en *A-bar-sal*₄^{ki} *in* kalam^{tim} lu é DU.DU ‘In (his) country the king of A. can go (and) come (?)’.¹³

Building – ARET 11.3 § 14: 3 *sa-ba-a-ti-su-ma in é ma-tim* igi-igi ‘They provide (for) their 3 rites of 7 days in the mausoleum’.

šu – TM.75.G.2420 1–111 *passim*: GNs *in* šu en *Ib-la*^{ki} / *A-bar-sal*₄^{ki} ‘GNs (are) in the hand of (i.e., belong to) the king of. I./A.’¹⁴ ARET 11.2 § 111 *in* 1 šu-sù ‘in one of his hand(s)’ (the parallel text, ARET 11.1 § 67, which is older, has: *mi-in* 1 šu-sù).

3.2 Temporal ‘in, for’

x mu – ARET 7.1 § 1: (silver and gold) níg-ba NI-zi *in* 1 mu lugal iti *i-si* ‘silver (and) gold: gift (for) N. (king of Mari) in the first year of his reign; month I’ (cf. ARET 7.16 § 41: *in* ud NI-zi lugal 3 mu ‘when N. [was] king: 3rd year’). ARET 7.115 rev. II 1–6: *in* mu *Ma-ri*^{ki} GÍN.ŠÈ *áš-ti* GN ‘in the year (in which) M. was defeated by GN’ (cf. ARET 9.35 *passim*: še-ba en 1 mu ‘allotments for the king [for] 1 year’).

x iti – ARET 9.11 § 1, § 6–§ 8: ... še ... *in* 1 iti ‘... barley (for bread and beer) ... for 1 month’. ARET 9.6 § 8: *in* 8 iti ‘for 8 months’ (cf. ARET 10.5 § 3–§ 4, § 6: 1 iti ‘[for] 1 month’; ARET 9.42 § 5: 1 iti iti *be-li* ‘[for] 1 month; month V’). ARET 9.6 § 9: 6 iti ‘(for) 6 months’. ARET 9, *passim*.

x ud – ARET 9.6 § 7: ... še ... 50 é duru₅^{ki} *in* 1 ud ‘barley (for bread and beer for) 50 squads of workers a day’. ARET 11.2 § 19: *in* 3 ud gibil iti *ha-li-ì* ‘in the 3rd new day of month V’. ARET 9.5 § 1: ... še ... kú guruš-guruš *in* 14 ud ‘barley (for bread and beer): food (for) the workers, for 14 days’ (cf. ARET 9.5 § 8–§ 10 1 ud ‘a day’). ARET 9, *passim*.

ud – ARET 11.3 § 28: *in* ud *su-wa-ti* ‘in that day’. ARET 7.54 § 4: *in* ud hùl-sù ‘in the day of his festival’. ARET 7.72 obv. II 1–5: ... geštin *in* ud en kú é-sù ‘... wine when the king ate (in) his (i.e., of Tupuḫu-Hadda) house’. ARET 7.111 § 2–§ 4: níg-ba en ... *ma-lik-tum in* ud níg-mu-sá PNF ‘gift of the king ... of the queen ... when PNF married’ (cf. ARET 7.117: [garments] níg-ba-níg-ba dam-dam *in* GN PN ì-na-sum *in* níg-mu-sá 1 bur-KAK PNF ‘garments: gifts for the women

¹³ Edzard 1992: 198.

¹⁴ Sollberger 1980 [= ARET 13.5].

[who work] in GN, PN has given for the marriage [and] the b. [ceremony] of PNF). [6] ARET 2.13 § 18: *in* ud DU.DU nam-ku₅ é DN ‘when (he) went to swear (in) the temple of DN’. Passim. Cf. OA *inūmi* (*in ūmī*) ‘in / at that day, at that time’; Oakk. *īnu*; OB *inūma*.¹⁵

ud-ud – TM.75.G.1953 obv. IV 4–V 3: *in* ud-ud *Ib-lul-il* lugal *Ma-rī*^{ki} ‘in the days when I. was king of M.’; rev. III 2–3: *in* ud-ud NI-zi ‘in the days when N. (was king)’.

gi₆-sā – ARET 1.8 § 42: (garments) en GN *in* ge₆-sā šu-ba₄-ti ‘garments: the king of GN has received in the *morning*’.¹⁶ ARET 1 and 4, passim (under mi-sā, MI.DI).

al₆-tuš – ARET 11.2 § 98, 3 § 11, § 13: *in* al₆-tuš é *ma-tim* ‘while they stay (in) the mausoleum’. ARET 9.27 § 28 and 82 § 10: *in* al₆-tuš en GN/PN e GN ‘when the king stayed (in) GN/PN stayed (in) the temple of DN’.

3.3 Terminative ‘for’

Administrative unit – ARET 9.101 § 1: (cereals) PN šu-ba₄-ti *in* é i-giš ‘cereals: PN has received for the oil house’.

nídba – ARET 2.5 § 2: (silver) *in* nídba DN ‘silver for the offering (to) DN’. ARET 8.529 § 3: (wool) *da-mi-mu in* nídba DN: ‘wool (for) the one who performed the lamentation for the offering (to) DN’. ARET 1.13 § 34: (garments) PN₁ PN₂ šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA^{ki} *in* nídba DN ‘garments (for) PN₁ (and) PN₂, the š-priests bound (to) the palace, for the offering (to) DN’. ARET 1.12 § 10: (objects) DN *in* nídba šeš-II-ib ‘objects (to) DN for the offering of the š’. ARET 9.33 § 5: (victuals) kú SA.ZA_x^{ki} *in* nídba i-giš ‘victuals (to) be eaten (at) the palace for the oil offering’. ARET 9.99 § 1 and § 2: (flour) *si-in* Ḫa-lab_x^{ki} *in* nídba PN / en ‘flour to Ḫalab for the offering of PN / of the king (for the weather-god)’.

Cf. ARET 2.12 § 7: (bronze for objects) *in ir-mi* ‘for (the festival of) month IX’. ARET 8.523 § 1: (garments) PN₁-PN₃ šeš-II-ib *in ir-mi* ‘garments (to) PN₁-PN₃, the š-priests, for (the festival of) month IX’.

ḫúl – ARET 8.532 § 19: *in* ḫúl-sù ‘for his festival’.

i-ti – ARET 9.69 § 1: (flour) è *in* i-ti GN ‘flour: issue for his being present (in) GN’. Cf. ARET 9.33 § 5; 95 § 8–§ 9.

šu-mu-nigin – ARET 8.521 § 34: PN₁ PN₂ šu-mu-“tag₄” uzu *in* šu-mu-nigin ‘PN₁ PN₂ (who) have brought the meat for the cultic journey’. ARET 8.532 § 14:

¹⁵ von Soden 1952: 169 § 116b; cf. Fronzaroli, ARET 11: 154.

¹⁶ For this interpretation of ge₆-sā, see Conti 1990: 196, with previous bibliography. In the administrative documents, however, this term must have a technical meaning.

PN šu-mu “tag₄” uzu *ma-lik-tum in* šu-mu-nigin ‘PN (who) has brought the meat (to) the queen for the cultic journey’.

še – ARET 2.33 § 10: *ap in* še lú *I-bí-zi-kir* PN nu-šu-ba₄-ti ‘further, concerning the barley of I., PN has not (yet) received (it)’.

še-ba – ARET 9.8 § 2: (bread and beer) ábba-ábba *in* še-ba guruš-guruš ‘bread (and) beer (for) the elders (delivered) together with the rations for the workers’; § 26: (bread and beer) *in* še-ba guruš-guruš ábba-ábba ‘bread (and) beer (for) the elders (delivered) together with the rations for the workers’; § 15: (bread and beer) ábba-ábba *in* še-ba ‘bread (and) beer (for) the elders (left) together with the rations (for the workers)’.

šu-mu-“tag₄” – ARET 7.4 passim: (silver and gold) *in* šu-mu-“tag₄” 1/17 PN₁ ù PN₂ *Ma-ri*^{ki} ‘silver (and) gold, for the 1st/17th consignment of PN₁ and PN₂ (to) Mari’.

“tag₄” – ARET 1.40 rev. I 4–II 5: (garments) diri è *al*₆ mu-DU-sù *in* “tag₄” túg-túg mu-ti ‘garments: deficit of the issues in regard to his income concerning the garments left as delivery’.

UNKEN-ak – ARET 2.2, passim, 48 § 2: (metal) *al*₆ PN *in* UNKEN-ak (objects) ‘metal in charge of PN in order to make objects’ (cf. ARET 2.35: [gold] *al*₆ PN *in* 1 GIŠ-šudul ‘gold in charge of PN in order [to make] a throne’; ARET 2.12 § 5: [silver] *in bu-di-bu-di* ‘silver in order [to make] earrings’).

3.4 *in-ma* ‘in’

An emphatic form of *in*.¹⁷ It expresses a locative referring to a GN previously mentioned.

GN – ARET 8.526 § 10: (3 + 3 + 3 garments) PN₁ *Û-nu-ub*^{ki} šu-du₈ *in-ma* *Û-nu-ub*^{ki} PN₂ *A-nu*^{ki} šu-du₈ *in Kab-lu₅-ul*^{ki} PN₃ *Da-ša-ba*₄^{ki} ‘3 + 3 + 3 garments: PN₁ of U. has kept (them) in possession in U.; PN₂ of A. has kept (them) in possession in K.; PN₃ of D’. ARET 8.538 § 26: (4 + 4 + 4 garments) PN₁ PN₂ *Maš-a*^{ki} šu-du₈ *in-ma* *Maš-a*^{ki} PN₃ *EN-šu-lu*^{ki} šu-du₈ *in A-mi-du*^{ki} PN₄ ‘*Ā-da-ni*^{ki} tuš-LÚxTIL *in-ma* ‘*Ā-da-ni*^{ki} ‘4 + 4 + 4 garments: PN₁ (and) PN₂ of M. have kept (them) in possession in M.; PN₃ of E. has kept (them) in possession in A.; PN₄ of ‘A., who dwells in ‘A’. ARET 8.523 § 21: (2 + 2 + 2 garments) PN₁ PN₂ *Ĥu-ti-mu*^{ki} šu-du₈ *in-ma* *Ĥu-ti-mu*^{ki}. ARET 8.526 § 4: (2 + 2 garments) PN₁ PN₂ *A-ba-nu*^{ki} šu-du₈ *in-ma* *A-ba-nu*^{ki}; 526 § 7: (2 + 2 t. objects) PN₁ *Ir-i-NE-du*^{ki} šu-du₈ *in-ma* *Ir-i-NE-du*^{ki} PN₂ *Gur-ad*^{ki} šu-du₈ *in-ma* *Gur-ad*^{ki}.

¹⁷ Sollberger, ARET 8: 60. For other terms with *-ma*, cf. Fronzaroli, ARET 11: 158.

4 *mi-in* ‘in’

The writing *mi-in* for ‘in’ (locative) opposes *mi-nu* ‘from’ in the two rituals for the enthroning of the royal couple, ARET 11.1 and 2.¹⁸

4.1 Locative ‘in’¹⁹

ARET 11.1 § 83: en ù *ma-lik-tum mi-in* duru₅ :é igi-igi nu igi-igi ‘the king and the queen in (their) room ...’; 2 § 87 is parallel: ... *mi-in* 2 é-duru₅^{ki}-sù; 1 § 67: *mi-in* 1 šu-sù ‘in one of his hand(s)’. (The parallel text, ARET 11.2 has § 73: *in* é-duru^{ki}; § 70: *in* da ‘at [his] side’; § 111: *in* 1 šu-sù ‘in one of his hand[s]’.) ARET 11, *passim*.

4.2 Temporal ‘in, on’²⁰

ud – ARET 11.1 § 17: *mi-in* ud ba₄-ti *ma-lik-tum si-in* SA.ZA_x^{ki} ‘on the day the queen arrives at the palace’. ARET 11.1 § 19, § 20, 2 § 19–§21, §38: *mi-in* 3/4 ud gibil iti ... ‘on the 3rd/4th new day of the month ...’.²¹ [8]

a-ḥé-ri ud-ud – ARET 11.1 § 86: *mi-in a-ḥé-ri* ud-ud *sa-ba-tum* maḥ ‘on the other days of the first rite of 7 days’. ARET 11 *passim*.

mu-si-im – ARET 11.1 § 86: *mi-in mu-si-im* ‘at night’.

5 *si-in* ‘to, for’

Cf. South Arabian *sn*.²² The functions of *sin* are similar to Akk. *ana* and to Common Semitic (except Akk. and Ebl.) *la*.

5.1 Allocutive ‘to’

si-in appears in the introductory formulas of the letters exchanged within the palace organization (in the letters sent from the chancery of one state to another chancery, *’a₅-na* is used).

¹⁸ Fronzaroli, ARET 11: 160–61.

¹⁹ Fronzaroli, ARET 11: 22, 29–30 and 160.

²⁰ Fronzaroli, ARET 11: 23 and 160–61. Brockelmann 1913: 400–401.

²¹ The parallel text, ARET 11.2, has *in* ud instead of *mi-in* ud, see § 3, § 19; but in § 21: *mi-in* 5 ud gibil ... al₆-tuš. Probably [*in*] al₆-tuš in § 98; see ARET 11.3 § 11 and § 13.

²² Fronzaroli 1979a: 13. Conti Rossini 1931: 255–56.

- a) TM.75.G.1444 I 10–13, III 10–13, X 9–12, XII 15–17(!): *en-ma Ib-rí-um si-in* en ‘Thus (speaks the vizier) Ibrium to the king’.²³ TM.75.G.2561 obv. VI 6–9: *wa du₁₁-ga si-in* PN ‘and they said to PN’.
- b) TM.75.G.1531 obv. I 1–4: *en-ma* en *si-in I-bí-zi-kir* ‘Thus (speaks) the king to (the vizier) I.’ TM.75.G.1391 obv. I 1–4, TM.75.G.2039 obv. I 1–4, TM.75.G.2175 obv. I 1–4: *en-ma* en *si-in Du-bù-ḫu^d-Ā-da* ‘Thus (speaks) the king to D. (the son of the vizier Ibbi-Zikir)’. TM.75.G.1449 obv. III 1–4: *en-ma* PN₁ *si-in* PN₂ ‘Thus (speaks) PN₁ to PN₂’.

5.2 Allative, Directive ‘to’ (see also ‘a₅-na, 2.2)

Verb (PN) GN – TM.75.G.1444 XVIII 4–7: *wa gi₄ si-in* GN ‘and he came back to GN’.²⁴ TM.75.G.2562 obv. I 3–10: *wa DU.DU si-in* GN₁ *wa è si-in* GN₂ ‘and he went to GN₁ and he went out to GN₂’; III 3–6: *lu DU.DU si-in* en GN ‘who went to the king of GN’. ARET 11.2 § 33: *in ud DU.DU si-in* GN ‘when she goes to GN’; ARET 11.1 § 39: *è mi-nu* GN₁ *si-in* GN₂ ‘They go out from GN₁ to GN₂’. ARET 2.15 § 1: (garment) en *in ud è si-in Ma-rí^{ki}* ‘a garment (for) the king when he left for Mari’. Passim.

GN – ARET 9.99 § 1: (malt) *si-in Ḫa-lab_x^{ki}* *in* nídba *I-bí-zi-kir* ‘malt to Ḫ. for the offering of I.’ ARET 9.20 § 12: (ninda) *níg-kaskal I-bí-zi-kir si-in Ma-rí^{ki}* ‘bread: victual (for) I. (leaving) for M’. ARET 4.1 § 119: (wool, objects) *si-in Bí-na-áš^{ki}* *En-na-ì pa₄-šeš^d KU-ra* ‘wool (and) objects to B. (for) E., the p.-priest of K.’ ARET 9.82 § 10: (oil) *^dKU-ra si-in Bí-na-su^{ki}* ‘oil (for) K. to B.’ ARET 4.23 § 36: (silver) *gi-tum ḫúb Ū-ti šu-mu* “tag₄” *si-in Ḫa-la-bí-du^{ki}* ‘silver (for) the agreement (with) the acrobats PN has brought to Ḫ’. Passim. Cf. ARET 1.11 § 18: (garments) PN GN *in ud Ib-rí-um du₁₁-ga si-in La-ru₁₂-ga-du^{ki}* ‘garments for PN of GN when I. ordered to (?) L. [9]

DU.DU *níg-kas₄* – ARET 4.21 § 9: 100 *ib. Ḫi-da-ar Ma-rí^{ki}* *šu-ba₄-ti lu DU.DU si-in níg-kas₄* ‘100 waistbands: Ḫ. of M. has received, who went on the journey’. ARET 9.86 § 2: (flour) *níg-kaskal guruš-guruš DU si-in níg-kas₄* ‘flour (as) victual (for) the workers (who) went on a journey’. ARET 9 passim.

ú-il – ARET 11.2 § 27, § 28: PN₁ PN₂ ... *ú-il si-in GIŠ-gígir-sum DN* ‘PN₁ (and) PN₂ bring ... to the wagon of DN.’ ARET 11, passim (also *ba₄-ti, mu-DU, šu-mu* “tag₄”).

ARET 1.11 § 41, TM.75.G.1935 obv. VIII 4–10: *níg-dé ì-giš si-in sag PNF* (*dumu-mí Ib-rí-um*) *in ud níg-mu-sá* ‘(when) he poured the oil on the head of

²³ Edzard 1981a: 36–46.

²⁴ Edzard 1981a: 46.

PNF, (the daughter of I.,) when she married’ (cf. TM.75.G.1250 obv. I 3–13: [garments] PN dumu-nita en GN níg-a-dé ì-giš *al*₆ sag PNF dumu-mí [en] ‘garments [for] PN, the son of the king of GN, [when] he poured the oil on the head of PNF, the [king’s] daughter’).

5.3 Dative ‘for, to’

PN – ARET 2.12 § 19: (garments) *si-in* GN PN šu-ba₄-ti ‘garments for GN: PN received (them)’. ARET 7.127: (garments) PN₁ ì-na-sum *si-in* PN₂ lú níg-ba: ‘garments: PN₁ has given to PN₂ as a gift’. Passim.

šu (cf. Akk. *ana/ina qati*) – ARET 2.29 § 5 and § 12: *wa* ì-na-sum-sù PN₁ *si-in* 2 šu (PN₂) GN ‘and PN₁ put them in the hands of (PN₂ of) GN’. ARET 2.34 § 1: *Ar-mi*^{ki} ì-ti *si-in* 1 šu uru^{ki} ‘Armi is in the hand of the City (i.e., Ebla)’.

GN – ARET 2.19 § 17: še *si-in* GN ‘barley for GN’. ARET 2.29 § 1: udu lú PN ì-na-sum *si-in* GN ‘sheep which PN has given to GN’.

5.4 To Express Cause, Reason, Purpose

ÉxPAP – ARET 2.15 § 6: (garments, objects) PN₁ lú PN₂ *si-in* ÉxPAP ‘garments (and) objects (for) PN₁ (son) of PN₂ for the funeral ceremony’. Passim.

ḫúl – ARET 1.14 rev. V 11: *in* ud GIŠ.DUG.DU en *si-in* ḫúl na-rú-sù ‘when ... (to?) the king for the festival of his stele’.

sikil – ARET 9.95 § 6: (malt) ... *si-in* sikil ^dAš-da-bíl nídba PN ‘malt ... for the purification of A., offering of PN’. ARET 9.82 § 9: (oil) ìl *si-in* sikil nídba ^dAš-da-bíl ‘oil: drawing for the purification (by) the offering of A’.

ARET 2.34 § 9: *wa* e₁₁ *si-in* ba-ḫa-da-núm ì-ti ‘and (if) they go down for a raid (and) come back’. ARET 8.521 § 1, § 15: (garments PNN) en níg-dug-DU *si-in* šu-mu-nígin DN ‘garments (to) PNN the king has ... for the cultic journey of DN’. ARET 9.17 § 19: (bread) *si-in* ud-zal-ud-zal ‘bread for dawn’.

5.5 To Show What Is Added

a-gar₅(-gar₅) – ARET 2.52 § 1 x an-na šub *si-in* x a-gar₅ (object) ‘tin to be blended with copper (in order to make) an object’. Passim.

5.6 Temporal

To express the end of a period of time – ARET 7.73 obv. II 2–5: áš-du-ma iti x *si-in* y ‘from month x to month y’. ARET 7.82 § 4: 6 iti áš-da (iti) ir-mi *si-in* iti

ik-za ‘6 months: from (month) IX to month II’. TM.75.G.1766 rev. I 6–II 4: *áš-du* ud-ud *si-in* ud-ud *al₆-tuš* uru-bar ‘from (these) days until (those) days you will stay in (that) village’; [10] obv. III 3 rev. I 2: *ap an-na* nu-ba₄-ti *si-in* 10 mu sag-du₈ ‘and so I will not take (it); for 10 years it is at (your) disposal’.²⁵

5.7 *si-ma* ‘to, until’

An emphatic form of *si-in*: /sin-ma/.²⁶

TM.75.G.1766 obv. I 5–II 4: *si-ma* 10 mu en sag-du₈ *wa i-na-sum-kum* é ‘for 10 years the king puts at (your) disposal and gives you (this) house’ (cf. obv. III 3 rev. I 2: *ap an-na* nu-ba₄-ti *si-in* 10 mu sag-du₈ ‘and so I will not take [it]; for 10 years it is at [your] disposal’). ARET 3.398 obv. III 1–7: lú-]kar GN₁ *wa gi₄ si-ma* en GN₂ ‘] the merchant of GN₁ and he came back to the king of GN₂’.

6 Šè Masculine-Singular Genitive of the Determinative-Relative Pronoun

At the beginning of Eblaite studies, I. J. Gelb identified the preposition *iš* in the *šakkanakku*’s texts from Mari.²⁷ According to him “the preposition is obviously the same as the dative-allative case ending *-iš* (originally a postposition), generally used in the Sargonic period, as in *qātiš* ‘to the hand’, and the common Akkadian adverbial ending *-iš*, as in *arḫiš* ‘quickly’. The preposition *iš* is, however, unknown in Akkadian or any other Semitic language.” At that time, Gelb was not directly aware of any passage in Eblaite with the supposed preposition *iš*.²⁸

The suffix *-iš*²⁹ is well attested in the documentation from Ebla:

- *a-li-iš* /al-iš/; see 1.1.2
- *ar-ḫi-iš* *ar-ḫi-iš*, TM.75.G.2420 359–361 (treaty with Abarsal): *maškim-gi₄ ar-ḫi-iš ar-ḫi-iš* DU.DU ‘the agents must go very promptly’
- *si-gi-iš*; see 15.2

²⁵ Cf. Fronzaroli 1979a: 4–5.

²⁶ Cf. Hecker 1987: 241 n. 85.

²⁷ See Gelb 1956: 4–5.

²⁸ Gelb 1977: 23. For Ebla, he relied on Pettinato 1975: 372. For the possible use of *-iš* in other Semitic languages, see Gelb 1969: 90–91.

²⁹ See Fronzaroli 1982: 105, who quotes *a-ba-rí-iš* and *a-ga-mi-iš*.

- *a-bar-rí-iš* (cf. Akk. *ebēru* ‘to cross’, *eber*, *ebar*) ARET 5.6 VII 1–3: ^dUtu u₅ *a-bar-rí-iš ti-’à-ma-dím* ̕U.DU NE.IŠ in *a-bar-rí-iš* ‘Šamaš rode to the other side of the sea ... on the other side of the sea’³⁰
- *a-ga-mi-iš* from *a-ga-mu-um*, *^kkm (cf. Akk. *ekēmu* ‘to take away’), TM.76.G.199 obv. I 11–13: *ì-na-sum a-ga-mi-iš guruš-guruš*
- *da-ma-ti-iš*, TM.75.G.10074 obv. X 17–24: PN *šè* DU.DU *da-ma-ti-iš ki-sur Ib-la^{ki} wa Ar-mi^{ki}* ‘(for) PN for his going to the lamentation at the boundary (between) Ebla and Armi’
- *du-rí-iš*, ARET 5.6 XII 3–4: *du-rí-iš* ^dEn-ki ‘to the fortress (?) of Enki’³¹
- *ma-lu-ga-iš*, TM.75.G.1730+ rev. 10–13: tu₅:a é *ma-tim Bì-na-áš^{ki} ma-lu-ga-iš* en ‘purification of the mausoleum (in) B. for the enthroning of the king’
[11]
- *mu-lu-iš* /mullû-iš/, TM.75.G.2502 obv. IV 1–14: (tin and copper) UNKEN-ak 200 gír mar-tu zú-ak ... 1 gír mar-tu *mu-lu-iš* 1 *li-im* gír mar-tu *A-la-ga^{kl}* ‘tin (and) copper in order to make 200 daggers m (and) 1 dagger m. in order to reach 1000 daggers (for the workers of) A.’; rev. X 12–16: (silver) níg-sa₁₀ 90 lá-2 gír mar-tu zú-ak lú *mu-lu-iš* gír mar-tu guruš-guruš ‘silver: value of 88 daggers m. in order to reach (the number of) the daggers m. (for) the workers’
- *wa-za-rí-iš*, /wašār-iš/ (cf. Lexical Lists *baḥar* = *wa-zi-lu-um* ‘potter’; Bab. *eṣēru*, Ass. *eṣāru* ‘to draw, to form’; Ugar., Heb. *yṣr*), TM.75.G.2428 obv. XVIII 8–14: (tin and copper) *wa-za-rí-iš* 1 gi-di ne-di en ‘tin (and) copper in order to make a flute (for) the dancers of the king’

The preposition posited by Gelb is, instead, written with the sign ŠĒ,³² whose only attested phonetic value is šè.³³ This is the form of the masc.-sg. gen. of the determinative-relative pronoun. P. Fronzaroli has therefore suggested always recognizing in šè this pronominal form, used as a logogram, as is also the case with the pronominal suffix, 3rd masc. sg. -sù.³⁴ This seems to be the only sound explanation. Eblaite šè cannot, therefore, be connected with iš ‘for’, now well attested in the Pre-Sargonic documents from Mari and Beydar.³⁵ According to O. D. Gensler, both IŠ in Mari (explained as an Akkadogram) and ŠĒ in Ebla

³⁰ Cf. Edzard ARET 5: 49; Krebernik 1992: 83.

³¹ Krebernik 1992: 109.

³² Pettinato MEE 2: 272 ad rev. III 22: éš. Pennacchietti 1981: 297–98: éš or, as a Sumerogram, šè. Limet 1984: 65: Sumerogram šè. Biga and Milano ARET 4: 321, and Archi, ARET 1: 303 read: ŠĒ.

³³ Krebernik 1982: 202; Conti 1990: 16.

³⁴ Fronzaroli 1987: 268–69.

³⁵ Charpin 1987: 68 no. 2 I 3; 71 no. 5 IV 1, no. 6 II 3; *passim*. Ismail et al. 180.

(supposed to be a Sumerogram) should stand for “standard” Akkadian *ana*.³⁶ But neither the range of meaning for Eblaitic ŠÈ nor that of Pre-Sargonic IŠ overlaps with that of the Akkadian preposition *ana*.³⁷ Instead of šè, Eblaitic can have: *in ud*, *in*, *lú* (which can stand for the determinative-relative pronoun), and (although rarely) *áš-du* and *si-in*.

DU.DU – ARET 7.122: (garments) PN šu-ba₄-ti šè DU.DU *I-bí-zi-kir si-in Na-gàr*^{ki}: ‘garments: PN has received, those of (= on the occasion of) I.’s going to N.’ MEE 2.40 rev. III 12–V 4: (garments) PN₁ GN₁-PN₁₁ GN₁₁ šè DU.DU nídba ì-giš *wa nam-ku*₅ é ^dKU-*ra* ‘garments (to) PN₁ GN₁ – PN₁₁ GN₁₁ on the occasion of his going for the oil offering and the oath in the temple of K’. MEE 2, *passim*.

šu-ba₄-ti – ARET 1.8 § 74: (garments, objects) mu-DU GN₁ šè šu-ba₄-ti GN₂ ‘garments (and) objects: delivery of GN₁ on the occasion of the conquest of GN₂’.

tu-da – ARET 4.7 § 9: (garments) *ma-za-lum* GN šu-mu-“tag₄” níg-ba *ma-lik-tum* šè tu-da-sù ‘garments (to) the messenger of GN (who) has brought a gift (to) the queen, which is for having given birth’. ARET 4.7 § 18: (garments) en é simug šè [12] tu-da *ma-lik-tum* ‘garments (to) the king (for) the house of the smiths of those (given because) the queen has given birth’ (ARET 4.7 § 16–§ 17: [garments] PN [garments] *maškim-sù ĩ-mar*^{ki} mu-DU níg-ki-za Ru₁₂-zi-da-mu en ĩ-mar^{ki} lú tu-da *ma-lik-tum* ‘garments [to] PN and his agents of GN₁ [in exchange for] the delivery belonging to [= from the side of] R., the king of GN₁, which [was delivered because] the queen [of Ebla] has given birth’).

ug₇ – ARET 1.1 § 61: (garments) ì-giš-sag *I-bí-zi-kir* šè ug₇ *Tiš-ma*-^dUtu ‘garments (for) the head(-purification) with oil of I., which is for (= on the occasion of) the death of T. (his wife)’. TM.75.G.1962 rev. III 13–15; TM.75.G.2428 obv. III 24–25; TM.75.G.2507 obv. III 24–25: šè ug₇ PN (cf. ARET 4.5 § 12: lú ug₇ PN; TM.75.G.2502 rev. IV 24–27: *áš-du* ug₇ *ma-lik-tum* GN ‘concerning the death of the queen of GN’).

nídba – ARET 8.534 § 26: (gold) nu₁₁-za 2 an-dùl níg-ba en DN šè nídba ‘gold: plate (for) 2 statues, gift of the king (to) DN on the occasion of (his) offering’ (TM.75.G.2465 obv. X 25–XI 4: [silver] PN *si-in* nídba en DN ‘silver [to] PN for the offering of the king [to] DN’).

níg-kas₄ – ARET 1.39 obv. I 1–II 5: (gold, objects) níg-ba *I-bí-zi-kir* šè níg-kas₄ *Ħar-zú*^{ki} ‘gold (and) objects: gift (to) I., which is for (his) journey to Ħ’. MEE 2.40 obv. X 6–13: (garments) PNF *ma-lik-tum ĩ-mar*^{ki} šè ì-ti níg-kas₄ GN ‘garments (for) PNF, the queen of I., which is (for when) she was present (after) a journey (to) GN’ (TM.75.G.1730 obv. XX 1–6: [objects] in-na-sum SA.ZA_x^{ki} *in ud* níg-kas₄ GN ‘objects given to the palace on the occasion of the journey [to] GN’).

³⁶ Gensler 1997: 129–56.

³⁷ Contrary to what Gensler believes. Moreover, the Sumerian terminative element -šè was known to the Eblaitic scribes only from a few literary texts of Mesopotamian origin; see Kreber-

7 *a-dè* ‘instead of’ Emphatic Form: *a-ti-ma* ‘until’

OAkk. OA *adi*, *adum*; Akk. *adi*; Heb., Ugar. ‘*ad(ē)*’; Aram. ‘*ad*’.³⁸

7.1 *a-ti-ma* ‘up to, until, as long as’

Temporal – ARET 2.5 § 30: (silver) *lú áš-du-ma še-gur₁₀ a-ti-ma hu-la-mu* (?) ‘silver concerning (the period) from (month) II to (month) X (?)’; ARET 2.34 § 14: *a-ti-ma sa-ri-im* ‘until evening’.³⁹ ARET 11.3 § 2: *nu-túg-ZI-ZI a-ti-ma mu-DU é DN* ‘she (i.e., the queen) does not put on (those dresses) before entering the temple of DN’. ARET 11.1 § 5, 2 § 7: *a-ti-ma mu-DU é DN si-in bàd nu mu-DU* ‘before entering the temple of DN (the queen) does not enter in(side) the walls’. ARET 11.1 § 84, 2 § 88: *a-ti-ma al₆ GIŠ-uštil a-bù-sù / a-mu-a-mu-sù tuš / al₆-tuš* ‘as long as they sit on the thrones of their fathers’. ARET 11, *passim*.

7.2 *a-dè* ‘because of, instead of, as a replacement for, value of’

Goods as a replacement for other goods or expressing the value of goods – ARET 2.24 § 4: (silver) *a-dè* 2 BAR.AN.SAL ‘silver as a replacement for 2 she-mules’. ARET 1.5 § 53: (1 + 5 + 5 + 5 garments) *PN₁-PN₆ a-dè bar₆:kù lú áš-da PN₇ šu-ba₄-ti* ‘1 + 5 + 5 + 5 garments (for) *PN₁-PN₆* instead of the silver they have received from *PN*’. ARET 4.6 § 9: (5 + 5 + 5 garments) 50 gín *bar₆:kù PN₁-PN₅ mašk-im PN₆ i-ti áš-da Mi-mi-a-du a-dè níg-ba-sù šu-ba₄-ti* ‘5 + 5 + 5 garments (for) 50 shekels of silver (for) *PN₁-PN₅* agents of *PN₆*, instead of the gift they received when they were in the presence of (?) *M.*’ (*M.* was an official of *Armi*, and MEE 10.29 obv. IX 22–36 concerns the same transaction: 50 gín *bar₆:kù PN₁-PN₅ mašk-im PN₆ a-dè níg-ba-sù lú šu-ba₄-ti in Ar-mi^{ki} i-ti áš-da Mi-mi-a-du mašk-im* ‘50 shekels of silver [13] [for] *PN₁-PN₅*, agents of *PN₆*, instead of the gift they received in *A.* when they were in the presence of [?] *M.*, the agent’). TM.75.G.1730 rev. VI 24–26: (silver) *a-dè* 1 an-dùl ‘silver for 1 statue’. TM.75.G.10235 *passim*: (silver) *a-dè* x gud ‘silver: value of x heads of cattle’.

nik 1992: 70 and 139. IŠ could be in fact a logographic writing, standing for *isqu* ‘lot’ = ‘that concerning’; cf. MAḤ for *mahrû*, in Eblaite; see below, § 12.

³⁸ Beydar: *a-ti*; see Ismail et al. 1996: 175.

³⁹ Cf. Fronzaroli 1989: 14.

TM.75.G.1985 obv. VII 6–8: 1,480 *gú-bar* še *a-dè* 3 ma-na bar₆:kù ‘1,480 measures g. of barley: value of 3 minas of silver’.

Replacement of the same kind of objects (the same function is expressed by *áš-du*) – ARET 8.539 § 19: 8 ma-na bar₆:kù *šu-bal-ak* 2 ma-na kù-gi 1 dib *a-dè* 1 dib-sù sikil DN ‘8 minas of silver in exchange for 2 minas of gold (for) 1 ingot, as a replacement for 1 ingot from him (for) the purification (by) DN’. MEE 10.29 obv. XVII 16–22: (gold) 1 *ma-da-u-um* dam *a-dè* 1 *ma-da-a-um-sù* lú ì-na-sum *Ti-ša-li-im* ‘gold (for) 1 m. from a woman, as a replacement for 1 m. of her that T. had given’. TM.75.G.2507 rev. IX 2–8: (silver) níg-sa₁₀ 1 gír mar-tu kù-gi en *a-dè* 1 gír mar-tu-sù sikil DN ‘silver (for) the purchase of 1 dagger m. of gold from the king, as a replacement for 1 dagger m. of him (for) the purification (by) DN’ (in rev. XXI 11, in the same context, *áš-du* instead of *a-dè*). TM.75.G.10201 rev. VII 8–15: (gold) 1 *ma-da-u-um* *I-bí-zi-kir* *a-dè* 1 *ma-da-a-um-sù* ì-na-sum en GN ‘gold (for) 1 m. from I. as a replacement for 1 m. of his that the king of GN had given him’.

(The term LUL-gu-ak has an analogous function; cf. MEE 10.29 obv. X 3–10: [gold] 1 dib PN₁ LUL-gu-ak 1 dib-sù in-na-sum-sù PN₂ lú PN₃ ‘gold [for] 1 ingot of PN in replacement of 1 ingot of him, his donation to PN₂ (son) of PN₃’. TM.75.G.2508 obv. V 18–23: [silver] 1 *zú-zú-ba-tum* PN LUL-gu-ak 1 *zú-zú-ba-tum* *zâh* ‘silver for 1 z. of PN as a replacement for 1 z. [which was] lost’.)

To express the value of gold in silver, when the amount of gold comes from outside the palace (for the bookkeeping of metals inside the palace, *šu-bal-ak* is used, cf. ARET 7.234) – ARET 7.31 § 1: 1 ma-na bar₆:kù *a-dè* 24 (gín) kù-gi 2 ½ PN ì-na-sum ‘PN has given 1 mina of silver in exchange for 24 shekels of gold (in the ratio) of 2.5 : 1 (60 : 24)’. ARET 7.31 § 2: 3 ma-na bar₆:kù *a-dè* 1 ma-na 12 (gín) kù-gi 2 ½ PN ì-na-sum ‘PN has given 3 minas of silver in exchange for 1 mina 12 shekels of gold (in the ratio) of 2.5 : 1 (180 : 72 shekels)’.

Uncertain – MEE 2.18 obv. IV 3-rev. I 6: mu-DU in-na-sum bar₆:kù *I-ti* *hul-hul* *a-dè* *tuš gâr-ra ir*₁₁.

8 *mi-nu* ‘from’

Attested in Arab., S. Arab., Aram., Heb.

8.1 Expressing the Starting Point or Separation

ì-ti GN – ARET 1.13 § 20: (garments) PN SA.ZA_x^{ki} ì-ti *áš-ti* en *mi-nu* GN ‘garments (for) PN of the palace, who was present (coming) with the king from GN’. Cf. ARET 3.467 rev. VII 6–10; ARET 8.527 § 10; ARET 11.3 § 22.

ì-ti níg-kas₄ – PN₁-PN₂ ... ì-ti *mi-nu* níg-kas₄ GN ‘PN₁-PN₂ ... present (coming) from the journey (to) GN’. Cf. ARET 3.259 III 1–8; ARET 3.309 III 1–6. [14]

ì-ti – ARET 1.16 § 3: PN₁-PN₃ ì-ti *mi-nu* mè GN ‘PN₁-PN₃ present (coming) from the battle of GN’ (cf. ARET 3.737 obv. IV 1–5)]. ARET 1.19: (garments) PN₁ šu-ba₄-ti *in* ud ì-ti *en mi-nu gi-ba-i* ‘garments: PN₁ has received when he was present (with?) the king (coming) from GN. Cf. ARET 3.882 III 1–5; ARET 4.3 § 24.

ba₄-ti GN – ARET 3.8 II 2–4: ... ba₄-ti *mi-nu* GN ‘... he returned from GN’. Cf. ARET 4.17 § 40.

DU GN – ARET 1.30 § 46: mu-DU PN *in* ud *mi-nu* GN DU ‘delivery of PN when he came from GN’.

DU a building – ARET 11.1 § 97: DU *en mi-nu é ma-dím* ‘the king comes from the mausoleum’.⁴⁰

è GN – ARET 3.257 rev. II 1–6: (garments) 3 dam lú-kar è *mi-nu* GN ‘garments (for) 3 women of the merchant (who) returned from GN’. ARET 11.1 § 39, § 42, 2 § 42, § 45, 2 § 52: è *mi-nu* GN₁ *si-in* GN₂ ‘to go out from GN₁ to GN₂’.⁴¹ Cf. ARET 3.467 obv. IV 1–8; ARET 4.2 § 4, § 8; ARET 8.524 § 12; ARET 8.533 § 39; ARET 8.538 § 25.

è PN – ARET 8.526 § 17: PN₁ GN è *mi-nu* PN₂ ‘PN₁ of GN (who) returned from PN₂’.

e₁₁ GN – TM.76.G.271 obv. VI 1–7: 1 *na-se*₁₁ *Ma-rí*^{ki} e₁₁ *mi-nu* SA.ZA_x *si-in* *Armi*^{ki} ‘1 man of M. (who) went out of the palace to A’.

GN – ARET 3.722 obv. II 1–5:] PN₁ *áš-du* PN₂ *mi-nu* GN ‘] PN₁ with PN₂ from GN’. Cf. ARET 4.9 § 21.

a building – ARET 11.1 § 4: *mi-nu é a-bí-iš* ‘from the house of her father’.

gi₄ GN – ARET 3.269 rev. I 1–4:] GN gi₄ *mi-nu* GN ‘(PN (of)) GN (who) returned from GN’.

GIŠ – ARET 4.9 § 25: (garment) PN ... TUŠ:ba *mi-nu* GIŠ *in* GN šu-ba₄-ti (cf. ARET 3.371 I 1–5, IV 6 § 66 and TM.75.G.1775 [MEE 7.48] rev. V 6–8: ba-TUŠ *al*₆ GIŠ; TM.75.G.10079 rev. II 14–18: níg-ba HÚB.KI TUŠ:ba *a-lu* GIŠ, with the peculiar writing *a-lu* for the usual *al*₆; TM.75.G.2464 rev. II 6–9: *in* ud *a-nu* GIŠ TUŠ:ba).

níg-kas₄ – ARET 3.415 II 1–6: PN šu-mu-“tak₄” igi-du₈ *mi-nu* níg-kas₄ GN ‘PN (who) has brought a present (coming back) from the journey (to) GN’. Cf. ARET 8.521 § 8; 8.527 § 32.

⁴⁰ The parallel text, ARET 11.2 § 107, has (it seems mistakenly): ba₄-ti *en si-in é ma-tim* ‘the king arrives to (!, for: from) the mausoleum’.

⁴¹ Notice that, while ARET 11.2 § 48, § 50, and § 52 has: (animals, objects) *mi-nu* GN è DN ‘He issues animals and objects (for) DN from GN’, the parallel text, ARET 11.1, uses a different construction, § 45, § 47, § 49: (animals, objects) *in* GN è DN ‘He issues animals and objects (for) DN in GN’.

šu-du₈ – ARET 3.100 rev. IV 1–10:] ne-di-ne-di SA.ZA^{ki} in ud šu-du₈ mi-nu GN ì-ti é PN šu-ba₄-ti.

9 áš-da ‘from, with, by’

áš-da, *áš-ti*, *áš-tu* (*áš-tum*) are three variants that are derived from *wist. OAkk. has *ište* ‘with’ and *ištum* ‘from’.⁴² Outside of Akkadian, the only existing cognate is Eth. *wusta* ‘in’.⁴³ [15]

9.1 ‘from’

9.1.1 Showing the Source of Origin

PN – ARET 7.14: (barley) lú-kar GN *áš-da* PN₁ PN₂ šu-ba₄-ti ‘barley of (?) the merchant of GN PN₂ has received from (?) PN₁’. ARET 7.123: (garments) PN₁ šu-ba₄-ti in GN *áš-da* PN₂ ‘garments: PN₁ has received in GN from PN₂’. ARET 1.6 § 53: (garments) PN₁-PN₆ a-dè (silver) lú *áš-da* PN₇ šu-ba₄-ti ‘garments (to) PN₁-PN₆ as a replacement for silver that they received from PN₇’. ARET 2.55: (bronze) 40 ḥa-zi e₁₁ *áš-da* PN ‘bronze (for) 40 axes supplied by (?) PN’.

GN – TM.75.G.2429 obv. XX 4–12: (silver) níḡ-du₈ 1 dam Adab^{ki} ama-gal dumu-nita nar *áš-da* Ma-rí^{ki} ‘silver: *payment* (for) 1 woman of A., mother of a young singer from M.’ ARET 2.29 § 1: (sheep) lú PN ì-na-sum si-in Ma-rí^{ki} *áš-da* Ḥa-ra-an^{ki} šu-ba₄-ti-sù ‘sheep that PN has given for M. (and) that he received from Ḥ’.

9.1.2 Temporal

ARET 7.82 § 4: 6 iti *áš-da* ir-mi si-in iti ik-za ‘6 months: from (month) IX to month II’. TM.75.G.11010+ obv. III 9–13: 3 udu *áš-da* 2 ud-zal en nídba ‘3 sheep: the king offered from the 2nd (?) dawn’. TM.75.G.1452 obv. IV 6-rev. I 6: wa ì-na-sum PN₁ PN₂ in ud ḥúl-sù *áš-da* ud-zal-ud-zal-sù ‘and PN₁ has given (those fields to) PN₂ on the day of his festival (to have) forever’.

⁴² Gelb 1957: 80. Beydar has *áš-ti* and *áš-tum*, Ismail et al. 1996: 176; Mari: *áš-ti*, Charpin 1987: 66 nos. 1, 2; 69–70 nos. 3 and 4, *passim*.

⁴³ AHw 1, 401.

9.2 ‘with, together with’

ARET 2.33 § 8: *áš-da-a* ‘with me’. ARET 2.33 § 20: *áš-da-ga* ‘with you’. ARET 1.6 § 51; ARET 4.22 § 18; TM.75.G.10201 obv. I 27: *áš-da-sù* ‘with him’. TM.75.G.2094 rev. V 2: *áš-da-sa* ‘with her’. TM.82.G.265 obv. VI 3–16: 1 dug ‘geštin’ PN₁ in lú PN₂ é en *áš-da* kú mu-DU ‘1 vessel <of wine> (to) PN₁ in (addition to) what PN₂ of the royal house delivered together with the food’.⁴⁴

9.3 ‘by’

PN – ARET 7.82 § 1, § 2: (silver and barley) lú 1 / 2 mu *áš-da* PN ‘silver (and) barley of the 1st / 2nd year by PN’. ARET 9.72 § 6, § 7: (barley) šu-ba₄-ti *áš-da* PN ‘barley received by PN’. ARET 9.3 § 7, § 8, ARET 9.70 § 3: (barley) *áš-da* PN ‘barley by PN’. ARET 4.6 § 9: (5 + 5 + 5 garments) 50 gín bar₆:kù PN₁-PN₅ maškim PN₆ ì-ti *áš-da* Mi-mi-a-du a-dè níg-ba-sù šu-ba₄-ti ‘5 + 5 + 5 garments (for) 50 shekels of silver (for) PN₁-PN₅, agents of PN₆, instead of the gift they received when they were in the presence of (?) M’ (cf. MEE 10.29 obv. IX 22–36: 50 gín bar₆:kù PN₁-PN₅ maškim PN₆ a-dè níg-ba-sù lú šu-ba₄-ti in Ar-mi^{ki} ì-ti *áš-da* Mi-mi-a-du maškim ‘50 shekels of silver [for] PN₁-PN₅, agents of PN₆, instead of the gift they received in A. when they were in the presence of [by] M., the agent’). ARET 8.524 § 24: (garments) PN₁ of GN₁ al₆-tuš *áš-da* PN₂ GN₂ ‘garments (for) PN₁ of GN₁ who dwells by PN₂ of GN₂’. TM.75.G.2224 rev. I 5–II 3: (silver) “tak₄” *áš-da* PN ‘silver: left by PN’.⁴⁵

an official – ARET 4.20 § 32: (garments) PN ... òi-mu-DU (objects) *áš-da* en ‘garments (for) PN (who) will deliver objects by/concerning the king’. [16] TM.75.G.2396 obv. IV 4–5: *áš-da* en ‘by the king’.⁴⁶ TM.75.G.10228+ rev. II 3–III 4: (oil, barley) *áš-da* ugula engar ugula engar en ‘oil, barley by the the overseers of the farmers, of the king’ (a duplicate is TM.75.G.1700 rev. II 1–III 2: [oil, barley] lú en ugula engar ‘oil, barley of the king [by] the overseer[s] of the farmer[s]’).⁴⁷ ARET 1.6 § 54: *áš-da* ugula GN ‘by the overseer of GN’. TM.75.G.10092+rev. V 1–4: (barley) “tak₄” *áš-da* ugula-ugula ‘barley left by the overseers’.

DN – ARET 4.9 § 27: (garments) PN ... šeš-II-ib *áš-da* DN in GN šu-ba₄-ti ‘garments: PN ... has received in GN (because PN was) š. by DN’.

⁴⁴ Archi 1993b: 20.

⁴⁵ Archi 1982: 185.

⁴⁶ See Fronzaroli 1984a: 10.

⁴⁷ For the last text, see Archi 1982: 182.

GN – ARET 8.524 § 25: níg-dingir-dingir-dingir Mar-tu^{ki} TIL *áš-da* GN ‘(for) the news (that) M. was defeated by GN’. Cf. ARET 8.527 § 39), ARET 8.533 § 33.

10 *áš-ti* ‘from, by, with’

10.1 ‘from’

ARET 3.155 III 1–6: ‘(object) PN šu-du₈ *áš-ti* en šu-ba₄-ti ‘object: PN has received (as) possession from the king’. ARET 7.11 § 3, § 6, § 8, § 11, § 12, ARET 7.13 § 1, § 5, ARET 7.77 § 1–§ 4, § 12: (silver) níg-sa₁₀ (objects, garments) *áš-ti* PN / an official / GN ‘silver (for) the purchase of objects (and) garments from PN / an official / GN’. ARET 7.16 § 27: (silver) níg-du₈ dumu-mí *áš-ti* GN ‘silver: *payment* (for) a girl from GN’.

10.2 ‘by’

GN – ARET 3.4 II 5–13: PN₁ lú PN₂ maškim PN₃ tuš:lú *Kak-mi-um*^{ki} *áš-ti* Šu-ra-an^{ki} lú *Kak-mi-um*^{ki} ‘PN₁ of PN₂, agent of PN₃, who dwells (in) K., by Š. of K.’ ARET 7.115 rev. II 1–6: *in mu Ma-ri*^{ki} GÍN.ŠÈ *áš-ti* GN ‘year in which M. was defeated by GN’.

PN – ARET 1.26 rev. I 1–2: (garments) *áš-ti* PN ‘garments by PN’. ARET 1.18 § 1: (garments) lú *Ib-ri-um* “tak₄” *áš-ti* PN *in* GN ‘garments of I.: left by PN in GN’. ARET 3.861 I 1–8:] PN₁ GN₁ al₆-tuš *áš-ti* PN₂ *in* GN₂ šu-ba₄-ti ‘[garments:] PN₁ of GN₁, who dwells by PN₂ in GN₂, has received’.

10.3 ‘with’

Express the idea of company – ARET 5.7 III 6, V 4: *áš-ti-sa* ‘with her’.⁴⁸ TM.75.G.2420 575: *áš-ti* dam guruš *ma-nu-ma* ná ‘whoever lies with a man’s wife’. TM.75.G.2465 obv. V 24–VI 8: (silver) níg-ba en-en lú *áš-ti* en *Na-gàr*^{ki} DU.DU nam-ku₅ é DN ‘silver: gift for the kings who went with the king of N. to swear (in) the temple of DN’. ARET 1.13 § 20: (garments) PN SA.ZA_x^{ki} ì-ti *áš-ti* en *mì-nu* GN ‘garments (for) PN of the palace who was present (coming) with the king from GN’. ARET 4.16 §48: (garment) PN₁ *ma-za-lum* DU *áš-ti* PN₂ PN₃

⁴⁸ Cf. Kreberník 1992: 105.

GN ‘garment (for) PN₁, the messenger, (who) went with PN₂ (and) PN₃ of GN’. ARET 4.17 § 61: (garments) GN DU *áš-ti guruš Ma-rí^{ki}* ‘garments (for a man of) GN (who) went with a man of M.’ [17]

11 *áš-du* (*áš-tum*: ARET 3.635 rev. I 3) ‘from, as a replacement for’

11.1 ‘from’

11.1.1 Showing a Starting Place in Space

GN – MEE 3.47+ rev. II 1–7, MEE 3.50 rev. II 1–7; ARET 5.20+ XVI 1–6:⁴⁹ *in* ud dumu-nita-dumu-nita dub-sar e₁₁ *áš-du Ma-rí^{ki}* ‘when the young scribes came up from M.’ ARET 7.10 § 7: (silver) *maškim raš:ga áš-du Ma-rí^{ki}* e₁₁ ‘silver (for) the agent of the merchant (who) came up from M’.

11.1.2 Showing the Origin

hi-mu-DU ... PN – ARET 8.529 § 5: (garments) PN₁ lú PN₂ hi-mu-DU (sheep) *ma-lik-tum áš-du I-bí-zi-kir* ‘garments (to) PN₁ of PN₂ (who) will deliver sheep (for) the queen from I’. (Some passages in 11.2. may belong here.)

šu-mu-“tak₄” ... PN – ARET 1.7 § 40: (garments) PN₁ lú PN₂ šu-mu-“tak₄” KA-aš *áš-du I-bí-zi-kir m[a-lik-tu]m* ‘garments (to) PN₁ of PN₂ (who) has brought the resolution (for) the queen (?) from I’. ARET 8.532 § 33: (garments) PN₁ lú PN₂ šu-mu-“tak₄” *bíl:’à en áš-du I-bí-zi-kir in* GN ‘garments (to) PN₁ of PN₂ (who) has brought ... (for) the king from I. in GN’. ARET 8.541 § 43: (garments) PN₁ lú PN₂ šu-mu-“tak₄” *igi-du₈ áš-du I-bí-zi-kir in* GN ‘garments (to) PN₁ of PN₂ (who) has brought a present from I. in GN’. ARET 8.532 § 36: (garment) šu-mu-“tak₄” *igi-du₈ áš-du* PN *in* GN šu-ba₄-ti ‘garment (to whom) has brought a present from PN₁ he has received (it) in GN’. TM.75.G.10076 obv. III 14–IV 13: (garment) PN₁ *maškim* PN₂ šu-mu-“tak₄” *igi-du₈ áš-du I-bí-zi-kir* dumu-nita *Ib-rí-um mi-nu* šu-mu-nígin DN ‘garment (to) PN₁, agent of PN₂, (who) has brought a present from I., son of I., on the cultic journey of DN’ (some passages in 11.2. may belong here).

⁴⁹ For the last text, see Archi 1992a: 28.

ARET 3.635 rev. I 2–6: (lapis-lazuli) *áš-tum I-ti* raš:ga *Ma-rí^{ki}* ‘lapis-lazuli from PN, the merchant of GN’.

11.1.3 Temporal

11.1.3.1 ‘from’ (*áš-du-ma*)

TM.75.G.2396 obv. II 3–7: *ap áš-du-ma* ud in-na-sum GIŠ.ÉRIN ‘Further, from today on he gives (these fields) ...’. ARET 2.5 § 30: (silver) *lú áš-du-ma še-gur₁₀ a-ti-ma hu-la-mu(?)* ‘silver concerning (the period) from (month) X to (month) VI(?)’ ARET 7.73 § 1: *áš-du-ma iti ha-li si-in* iti è ‘from month V to month XI’. TM.75.G.2655+ rev. VII 6–9: *áš-du-ma iti ik-za si-in* iti *ik-za* ‘from month II to month II’.

11.1.3.2 ‘For the Period of’

ARET 7.21 § 1: (silver) PN *áš-du* 5 mu mu-DU é en ‘silver: PN has delivered for the period of 5 years (to) the house of the king’. ARET 7.77 § 18: (total: ... silver) *dub-gar níg-sa₁₀ áš-du* 7 mu ‘total: ... silver. Document (concerning) purchases for the period of 7 years’. ARET 2.4 § 18: (total: ... silver ... gold) *lú lugal áš-du* 4 mu ‘total: ... silver, ... gold, of the king (of Mari) for the period of 4 years’ (the list of [18] the months given in the document covers 4 years). ARET 2.20 § 4: (grain, oil) e *áš-du* 4 mu ‘grain, oil outgoing for the period of 4 years’.

11.2 ‘near, concerning’⁵⁰

TM.75.G.1531 obv. II 5–III 1: *en-ma* en *áš-du-na* ì-ti *mi-na* kú kalam^{tim.ki}-kalam-tim.ki ‘Thus the king, “Near us there is everything to eat (for) the countries”’. TM.75.G.2171 rev. V 3–5: *áš-du-nu* še ì-na-sum ‘he put the barley near us’. ARET 7.130 § 3: (garments) PN GN maskim *I-bí-zi-kir* ì-ti *áš-du I-bí-zi-kir* ‘garments (for) PN of GN, the agent of I., (who) was present with I.’ ARET 7.156 rev. III 2–7: *dam-dingir áš-du* 3 šeš-šeš nu-è *è-ma ki-sù* ‘the priestess did not go out near (her) brothers but went out (to) her place’.

ARET 7.17 § 10: (total: ... silver, ... gold) *áš-du En-na-^dDa-gan* lugal 1 mu ‘total: ... gold, ... silver; concerning E. king (of Mari for) 1 year’. MEE 2.13 rev. VI 3–V 3–5: 1 mu *áš-du En-na-^dDa-gan* lugal ‘1 year; concerning E., king (of Mari)’.

⁵⁰ The meaning ‘concerning, near’ was identified by Krecher 1987: 193–95.

ḥi-mu-DU – ARET 1.7 § 61: (garments) ḥi-mu-DU GIŠ-x-NÍG *áš-du* PN ‘garments (to someone) because he will bring ... by/from PN’. ARET 4.20 § 14: (garment) PN₁ lú PN₂ ḥi-mu-DU GIŠ-ti *du-nu-LUM áš-du* en ‘garment (to) PN₁ from PN₂ because he will bring arrow(s) ... concerning the king’ (the parallel passage in § 32 has: *áš-da*).

šu-mu-“tak₄” – ARET 1.11 § 49: (garment) PN SA.ZA_x šu-mu-“tak₄” *uzu áš-du* DN ‘garment (to) PN of the palace, (who) has brought meat concerning (the festival of) DN’. ARET 4.9 § 15: (garments) *l-mar*^{ki} šu-mu-“tak₄” *bil:’à áš-du Ti-ša-li-im* ‘garments (to someone) of I. (who) has brought ... by/from T’; § 21: (garments) PN dub-sar šu-mu-“tak₄” *ga-raš-SAR áš-du I-bi-zi-kir mi-nu* GN ‘garments (to) PN, the scribe, (who) has brought ... by I. from GN’. ARET 8.527 § 32: (garments) PN maškim *Du-bù-ḥu-d’À-da* šu-mu-“tak₄” *ba-ḥi-GABA áš-du Du-bù-ḥu-d’À-da mi-nu níg-kas₄* GN ‘garments (to) PN agent of D., (who) has brought ... concerning D. from a journey (to) GN’.

11.3 ‘As a replacement for’ (same function as *a-dè* and LUL-gu-ak; see 6.2.)

ARET 3.445 I 2–8: 1 dib en *áš-du* 1 dib-sù sikil *d’À-da Ḥa-lab_x*^{ki} ‘1 ingot (for) the king as a replacement for 1 ingot from him (for) purification (by) ’A. of Ḥ’. ARET 8.534 § 31: (silver) níg-sa₁₀ 1 gír mar-tu kù-gi en *áš-du* 1 gír mar-tu-sù *ì-na-sum* PN ‘silver: purchase of 1 dagger m. of gold (for) the king as a replacement for 1 dagger m. of his that he gave (to) PN’. MEE 10.20 rev. XII 18–28: (silver) níg-sa₁₀ 1 gír mar-tu kù-gi en *áš-du* 1 gír mar-tu-sù sikil DN *al₆ tu-ra* PN *dumu-nita-sù* ‘silver: purchase of 1 dagger m. of gold (for) the king as a replacement for 1 dagger m. of his (for) the purification (by) DN of the illness of PN, his son’. MEE 10.29 obv. III 19–24: 1 GIŠ-gígir-II ... *I-bi-zi-kir áš-du* 1 GIŠ-gígir-II sikil DN ‘1 chariot ... (for) I. as a replacement for 1 chariot from him (for) the purification (by) DN’. Cf. MEE 10.29 rev. VI 30 ff., VIII 4 ff.; TM.75.G.1464, passim. [19]

12 gaba ‘before, in front of’

For gaba = (*ana*) *maḥar*, as in Akkadian,⁵¹ notice the use of MAḤ as a logogram for *maḥrû* ‘first’ in the sequences of work gangs; see, e.g., TM.75.G.1669:

⁵¹ Edzard 1981: 53.

é-duru₅^{ki} MAḪ, é-duru₅^{ki}-II/III/IV ... ‘the first, second ... gang’.⁵² The administrative documents have gaba-ru ‘receipt’,⁵³ and the Lexical Lists, VE no. 947, have the entry: gaba-ru = *ma-ḫa-lum/lu-um*; see Akkadian verb *maḫārum*.

12.1 Locative

ARET 7.154 rev. II 8–12: 3 *mi* gána-ki gaba é ^dAš-dar in-na-sum ‘he gave 300 measures of land in front of the temple of DN’. ARET 11.1 § 30, § 31, § 70; ARET 11.2 § 30, § 31, § 73: gaba ^dKU-ra (ù / *wa* ^dBa-ra-ma) ‘before, in front of DN’. TM.75.G.1444 XIV 14–20: *wa* ì-DU en gaba ^dKU-ra *wa* du₁₁-ga ‘and the king entered in front of DN and declared’.⁵⁴

12.2 Temporal

ARET 11.1 § 54; ARET 11.2 § 57: gaba mu-DU ^dKU-ra ù / *wa* ^dBa-ra-ma ‘before the entrance of DN’. TM.75.G.1689 rev. II 11–III 1 and TM.75.G.2320 rev. III 1–2: gaba *sa-ma-ti* ‘before the sunset’.⁵⁵

13 *gi-ti-ma-a* ‘before’

The Lexical Lists, VE no. 0128, have IGL.ME = *gi-ti-ma-a* /qidimay/ ‘before’; cf. also VE no. 721: IGL.TÙM = *ga-ti-mu* /qadimu(m)/ ‘former’, Akkadian *qadmu/qudmu*, Sem. **qdm*.⁵⁶ In ARET 11.1 § 81 the adv. *gú-ti-im* ‘in front’ is attested, while the parallel text, ARET 11.2 § 85, has IGL.TÙM. This lexeme is connected in the administrative documents with *à-da-um-TÚG-II* ‘mantel with a front side (?)’; see TM.75.G.1918 rev. XIV 18–19: 5 *’à-da-um-TÚG-II* IGL.TÙM 44 *’à-da-um-TÚG-I*; XVI 23–24: 21 *’à-da-um-TÚG-II* IGL.TÙM 75 *’à-da-um-TÚG-I*; TM.75.G.2508 rev. XX 19–20: 17 *’à-da-um-TÚG-II* IGL.TÙM 1 *mi-at* 5 *’à-da-um-TÚG-I*.

⁵² For the text, see Archi 1980a: 11–15.

⁵³ See ARET 1: 282; 9: 385.

⁵⁴ Edzard 1981: 44.

⁵⁵ Fronzaroli 1989: 6 and 16.

⁵⁶ See Steinkeller 1984a: 35–37; further, Archi 2000a.

14 *ba-lu/li* ‘without’

Akk. *balu*, *balī*; Ugar. *bl*; Heb. *bal*, *balī*; Arab, *bal*

14.1 *ba-li*

TM.75.G.2587 rev. III 9–IV 2: *ba-li* en *Ib-la*^{ki} ‘without the king of Ebla’s (approval)’.⁵⁷ ARET 5.2 + ARET 3.186 obv. III 12–13: *ba-li ma-da-na* ‘without tendons’.⁵⁸ [20]

14.2 *ba-li /bali-i/*

TM.75.G.2420 323: *ba-li* ⁵*a*-*na* *kalam-tim ma-na-ma nu-kas*₄-*kas*₄ ‘You may not send any messenger to the land without me (my approval)’.⁵⁹

14.3 *ba-lu-ma*

ARET 7.69 rev. I 2–4: *ba-lu-ma* *bar*₆ :*kù* (!) *lú túg-túg* ‘without the silver of the garments’. TM.75.G.2251 obv. IV 2-rev. I 2: 1 *ma-ḥa-ne-lum* *kù-gi* *GÁxLÁ* 3 *ma-na* 15 *kù-gi* *ba-lu-ma* *giš* ‘1 m. of gold weighing 3 minas and 15 shekels of gold without the wood’. MEE 7.13 obv. VI 4–6: (objects) *ba-lu-ma* *mu-DU DU-lu*^{ki} ‘(objects) without the delivery from GN’. TM.75.G.2508 rev. XXI 14–15: (silver) *níg-sa*₁₀ 217 *ma-na* 36 *gín a-gar*₅-*gar*₅ *ba-lu-ma túg-ZI.ZI-sù* ‘(silver:) value of 217 minas and 36 shekels copper without his/its t.-garments’. TM.75.G.5082+5083 rev. IV 2–4: 1 *dib* *ba-lu-ma* *na*₄ ‘1 ingot without stone’.

15 *si-gi* ‘together’

15.1 *si-gi(-ma)*

TM.75.G.1986+3221+4544 obv. V 10-rev. I 3: *na-se*₁₁ [*na-s*]_{e11} *Ti-š[a-]li-im* ... *si-gi-ma na-se*₁₁ *na-se*₁₁ *A-bí-ḥa-du*^{ki} *šú-ti* en *ki-ki kú* ‘the people of PN ... together

⁵⁷ See Fronzaroli 1996a: 129.

⁵⁸ See Fronzaroli 1988b: 16.

⁵⁹ See Fronzaroli 1982: 101; Pettinato 1986: 392; Lambert 1987: 361; Edzard 1992: 201.

with the people of GN belonging to the king will have the usufruct of (these) lands'.⁶⁰ TM.75.G.2428 obv. XIV 12–17: (objects and garments) *mu-DU NI-zi ur₄ en wa I-bi-zi-kir si-gi-su-ma* 'objects and garments: delivery of N., the ... (of Na-gar) (for?) both⁶¹ the king and (the minister) Ibbi-Zikir together'. TM.75.G.1730 (MEE 7.34) rev. II 26–30: (gold) *ni-zi-mu nu₁₁-za si-gi 1 GIŠ-gu-kak-šub en* 'gold for both decoration and plating (for) the point of a lance of the king'.

15.2 *si-gi-iš* (Adverb)

ARET 7.79 § 11: (silver) *si-gi-iš GIŠ-gu-kak-gíd-šub DN* 'silver for all together (the decoration of) the point of a lance of DN'.⁶²

16 *ba-na* 'within'

The Lexical Lists have MI.SĀ = *ba-na me-si-im* 'in the middle of the night'. For Ebl. /bayna(y)/, cf. Arab, *bayna*, Heb. *bēn*.⁶³ [21]

Eblaite Prepositions

' <i>al</i> Sem.	<i>ana</i> Akk.	<i>in</i> Akk.	<i>min</i> Sem.	<i>sin</i> S.Arab.	<i>ade</i> Sem.	<i>min(u)</i> Sem.
<i>ašta/ašti/ištu</i> Akk.		<i>gaba</i> Sem. <i>maḥru</i>		<i>qidimay</i> Sem.	<i>balu</i> Sem.	<i>sigi</i>

Eblaite has in common with Akkadian all the prepositions studied here except *min* (which occurs elsewhere in West Semitic) and *sin*:

- *sin* is an old Semitic element that occurs only in Eblaite and in South Arabic
- *ana*, *in/ina*, *ašta/ašti/ištu* appear only in Eblaite and in Akkadian
- *adi* occurs, besides in Eblaite, in Akkadian and in Northwest Semitic

Eblaite and Akkadian do not have /b-/ and /l-/, which are common in the other Semitic languages.

⁶⁰ See Fronzaroli 1996a: 130, who has determined the value of this preposition.

⁶¹ For *-su-ma* as the suffix of the the third-person dual, see Fronzaroli 1990: 121.

⁶² The interpretation given to this passage by Waetzoldt 1990: 4 does not seem convincing.

⁶³ See Krebern timer 1983: 32.

5 The Archives of Ebla

1 Location of the archives and lots of tablets¹ (fig. 1)

A first group of cuneiform tablets, **A**, was found in a storeroom (L. 2586) immediately to the north of the Audience Hall during the campaign of 1974. It consists of thirty-two small administrative documents and a kind of school exercise (TM.75.G.120): a list of 73 personal names, the first ones ordered according to their first element, followed by those of the 26 kings of the Eblaite dynasty (Archi 2013a: 77–78 [16–17]; for the content of the other tablets, Biga 1988a). This lot of tablets has to be dated to the third year before the destruction of Ebla, giving the following dating indications in two documents: DIŠ mu šu-ra luḡal *Ma-ri*^{ki} “Year (in which) the king of Mari (i.e. ḪI-dar) was wounded(?)” (Pasquali 2012); DIŠ mu nídba i-giš *Ma-ri*^{ki} “Year of the offering of oil of Mari (for the peace treaty)”.

Archive **B** was found during the 1975 campaign in a room (L. 2712) built in the north-east corner of the Audience Hall, about 15 meters from the podium made of mudbricks for the royal throne. The king could reach this podium descending from his apartments on the first floor by a flight of stairs, built inside a square tower in the north-east corner of the hall. It is made up of 211 tablets, as well as many minute chips. Only two documents cover a period of more than a year: the first deals of expenditure for two years and five months, the other (TM.75.G.427) registers deliveries of flour for the palace, the workers and the messengers for a period of seven years.² This last document stops two years before the destruction of Ebla and its monthly drafts are not found in the archive. This means that at a certain moment some data were selected and copied in a recapitulatory tablet, and the monthly documents were then destroyed.

The vast majority of the tablets of archive **B** register rations of cereals, oil and malt-bread for beer preparation. Many allotments are for the court: the king, the queen, the princes, the elders, the lords of other towns received at

¹ For the archaeological data concerning the archives, see Matthiae 1986a; for an initial presentation of these archives, see Archi 1986a; further, Archi 2003a.

² This second document was edited by Pettinato 1974–77.

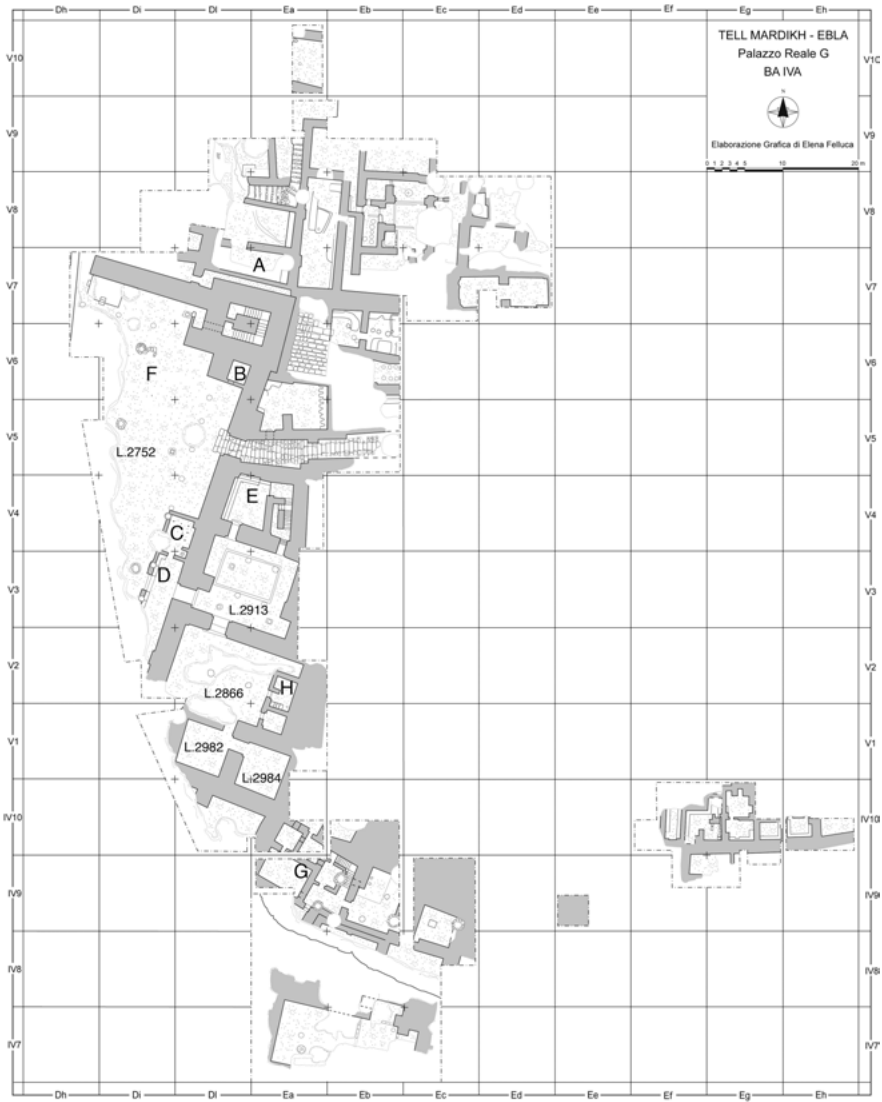


Fig. 1: Ebla, Royal Palace G, general plan and identification of the archives.

Ebla. There are also provisions for messengers sent to important cities such as Mari, Nagar and even Kiš. Small quantities were intended for the gods. Other tablets, instead, deal with rations for the female servants assigned to the work of spinning and of grinding cereals. This archive concerned therefore the supply of victuals for the whole palace. Most of these documents have been published by L. Milano in ARET 9. Several dozen cups also found in this room, were used for the receptions held in the Audience Hall.

A small group of tablets, **D**, was found in vestibule L. 2875, constructed under the east portico of the Audience Hall, whose entrance was in front of that of the main archive **C**. **D** would have collected the documentation for some sectors of the administration for the year in progress. The original number of the tablets was about 100 (276 inventory numbers, including the fragments). The letters received and the copies(?) of those sent are about 30, a high number if compared with those of the main archive (Biga 1988b). This shows that this genre of document was selected before being transferred to the main archive.

The modest archive **E** was found in room L. 2764, reached through the covered hall L. 2913. The documentation concerning some totals of the cereal production for the year in progress was temporarily collected here. The 215 fragments and 960 chips originally belonged to only about a dozen large tablets. A further 17 small tablets deal with the registration of precious metals, as well as of ovines and draught animals.

The central archive **C**, found during the 1975 campaign, was placed in a room (L. 2769) measuring 5.10 × 3.55 m, built under the eastern portico of the Audience Hall. Immediately south of this archive, an entrance opened along the eastern wall of the Audience Hall which led to the Administrative Quarter, where the king would usually have fulfilled his administrative duties since from room L. 2913, covered with a portico, one reached the large Throne-room L. 2866. In the royal palaces of Mari and Ugarit, dated to the Middle and Late Bronze periods respectively, as well as in the Mycenaean Pylos, the archives were also directly connected to the Audience Hall or the Throne-room.

Thirteen lenticular tablets (in part fragmentary), a clay sealing with seal impressions, and some small objects, including a piece of a jewel consisting of six bands in gold threads, were found during the excavations conducted in 2004 in L. 8496, **H**, one of the two small rooms along the eastern side of the Throne-room (L. 2866), with walls just one brick thick. All the tablets register objects in gold. One of them mentions Ibbi-zikir, surely the last minister, another one his son Uti, who also was a member of the administrative staff. These tablets were kept there temporarily, in relation to the activities in the Throne-room, at the time of the fall of the city. In general, such kinds of documents were not transferred to the central archive because their data were later copied

into annual or monthly accounts, and the original registrations destroyed. The fact that the month names in texts 3 and 11 are those of the so-called Semitic Calendar, used by the scribes of the central archive, and not of the local calendar in use by the scribes of the archive **B**, devoted to the registration of the food supplies for the court, confirms that these documents concerned the circuit of precious goods controlled by the scribes of the central archive. This is not contradicted by their cursive writing, used also for some lenticular tablets of the central archive (Archi 2015b).

Five tablets have been found in the Southern quarter, **G**, consisting in an irregular line of medium and small rooms with quite thin walls, immediately south of the Administrative quarter, with which, however, there was not direct access. In fact, the most southern two rooms of the Administrative quarter (L. 2982, L. 2984) were reachable only from the Throne-room through a sole narrow entrance, and were protected by thick walls. They might have been the rooms of the treasure, named with the archaic term of “the house of wool”, *é-siki* (Archi, ARET 7: 211), where the precious metals were stored. One of these five tablets, TM.82.G.266, is an account of large numbers of fields, cattle, and sheep, and large amounts of silver and gold, whose more detailed data could have been obtained from documents of the central archive (Archi 1993: 10–18). It is possible that this quarter was the office of the minister.

2 Relative chronology and position of the tablets in the central archive, **C**

It was only with the mandate of minister Arrukum (40 years before the destruction of Ebla) that the documents were systematically collected and stored in the central archive. This means that room (L. 2769) was built halfway through the reign of Irkab-damu under the portico along the east wall of the Audience Hall. Only around 70 earlier tablets were considered important enough to be chosen and transferred to this archive. Amongst these, apart from a few chancery texts like the treaty with Abarsal and the letter of Enna-Dagan king of Mari (see ARET 13.1–5), there are several annual accounts of sheep and cattle³ and, above all, records of the delivery of precious metals and fabrics (ARET 14.1, 4–40).

³ Archi 1984a: 68–73, nos. 17–21.

No text is dated according to the regnal years of a king. Moreover, the ruling sovereign was referred to solely by his title, and only the dead kings by name. In contrast, the minister who headed the administration was referred to by name and never with a title, thus enabling an initial chronological sequence of several documents to be constructed. The five annual accounts concerning incomes (ARET 14.47–51) and the 58/60 monthly documents for the distributions of textiles (ARET 15) attributed to Arrukum, indicate precisely how many years he was in office. The annual accounts of minister Ibrium are 18 and those of Ibbi-zikir, his son and successor, 17 (Archi, Biga 2003: 8–9). It has been possible to assign a chronological sequence to these documents of the last two ministers on the basis of prosopographic data. Events which appear also in the monthly accounts of textile expenditures allow us to link the two series of documents.

The lack of dates made the consultations of these accounts difficult, as their precise chronological order could be detected only from the sequence which the tablets presented on the shelves of the archive room, aside from actual remembrance of the events registered in the tablets (only in the case of the mu-DU documents was a rough scratch for each year added). In a society where the use of writing and reading was limited to such a close group of people, administrative inspections may be excluded. It is, however, proven that in particular cases some documents were used in order to draw up accounts which register data over a period of several years.⁴

The original position of the documents in the central archive may be deduced only in a very general way from records of the place in which the tablets were found at the time of the excavations (figs. 2 and 3). The complete collapse of the wooden shelving threw the tablets to the floor, so that it is extremely difficult to establish from which shelf they originally came.

In the first two sections starting from the north-eastern corner, the highest shelf of the eastern wall (2.90 m long) held the monthly accounts of deliveries of textiles. The earliest records of this genre belonged to minister Arrukum. When Arrukum was succeeded by Ibrium, this kind of document continued to be kept on the highest shelf, the sequence being continued on the next one down once this was full. The monthly textile accounts of Ibbi-zikir were kept on the north wall (3.15 m long), probably on the highest and middle shelves. Below these, still on the middle shelf of the north wall, the bilingual and monolingual lexical texts were placed, the earliest of which were drawn up when

⁴ This is the case, e.g., of some documents concerning the tributes delivered to Mari during the reigns of Igrīš-Ḥalab and Irkab-damu (Archi 2015a), as well as the two documents which collect records over the years of Ibbi-zikir's mandate (below, § 6).

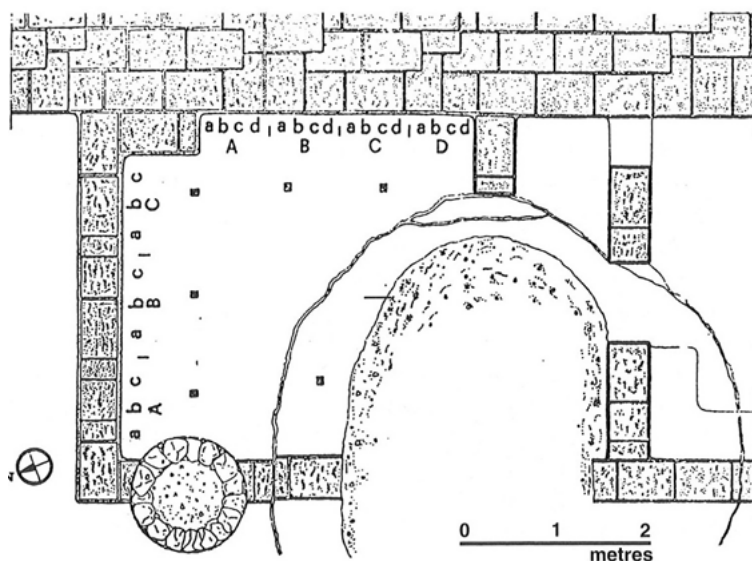


Fig. 2: Plan of the central archive (C).

Irkab-damu was king and Arrukum his minister. The literary texts ARET 5.6–7, 20–21 were also on the north wall (sectors B, C), as well as the incantations (ARET 5.8–19), whose small round format caused that some of them fell far away from its original position. The chancellery documents such as edicts and letters establishing relations with other states (ARET 13) were kept on a shelf on the northern wall (sectors A and B). Several letters of the time of Ibbi-zikir (ARET 16.4, 8–12, 21–22) were instead on a shelf on the eastern wall. Besides Ibrium's monthly accounts of textiles, the other archival material of this minister was also kept on the east wall, on the lower shelves: the annual accounts of expenditures in silver and gold objects in the centre, those concerning the incomes of textiles and metals close to the north-east corner. The annual accounts of incomes of minister Ibbi-zikir were in the north-east corner of the northern wall, those for outgoing quantities of objects in precious metals towards the north-west corner. Agricultural administrative documents were kept along the eastern wall, some resting directly on the floor. In the corner between the north and east walls, probably in wicker baskets which have left no trace, the lenticular tablets with single registrations of precious objects delivered were kept.

It has been possible to establish also the original orientation on the shelves of the large square tablets, which were less likely to have been accidentally moved. The monthly accounts of deliveries of textiles were stood upright on

the shelves (which had a width of 80 cm), with the obverse facing the centre of the room and in rows of 10–15 tablets (each of which was between 3 and 5 cm thick). These were turned through 90° in relation to the direction according to which we are used to reading the tablets, which is also generally considered to have been the direction of the writing in that period (Archi 1988c). In this way the first column of the obverse was completely legible if one merely pulled slightly forward the outer tablets leaning against the one to be consulted. The heavy annual accounts of expenditures of silver and gold were generally placed directly on the floor, again with the reverse facing the wall. Thus, the colophon, with the totals of the silver and gold “expended” (è) and “present (as reserve fund)” (al₆-gál), could be consulted only if a tablet was removed. Also these tablets presented the writing oriented in the same way as the textile accounts, with one exception: a tablet turned in the direction we believe to be that of the writing.

3 Source and destined recipient: the coefficient of completeness of the archival documentation

According to the inventory numbers, the central archive included 1,757 tablets, in large part well preserved, 4,875 fragments, and several thousand very small fragments. In total, the number of the tablets of the central archive and the other administrative offices may be estimated at about 3,000/3,500 for a period of forty years.

The lot of tablets **A** was probably written by a single scribe who had not yet reached the proficiency required to belong to the group of scribes employed in the central archive **C**. The typology of these documents is absent from the central archive; the writing presents some peculiarities and the month names are those of the local calendar. The documents in **C** are instead dated according to the Semitic calendar (so-called because in use in several centers of Babylonia such as Abū Šalābīkh, Lagaš, Umma), with the exception of the registrations of sheep delivered for the offerings to the gods or the consumption at the palace, and the agricultural documents. These last, at least, were drawn up in an administrative center perhaps outside the city, and present a cursive script with some simplified signs. The list of 73 personal names (TM.75.G.120) in **A** mentioned above (a first section of a few dozen of names ordered according to their first element is followed by the name of the kings of Ebla) seems to have been drawn up so as to demonstrate the mnemonic and writing skill of this

scribe. It is sure that these tablets, found in a jar broken during the destruction of the palace, were intended to be eliminated.

The scribes had, therefore, different levels of literacy and were not interchangeable. A few graphic variants of the texts in **B** (some sign forms; the writing of some personal names, like *Ma-kum-dKu-ra* (/man-kum-DN/) instead of the standard form *Mi-kum-dKu-ra* (/min-kum-DN/: “Who/What concerns you, god Kura?”) make it clear that **B** was a bureau administered by scribes different from those of **C** (Milano 1990: 323–24).

The few tablets in **E**, concerning the year in progress, probably were to be transferred (at least in part) to **C**, where a large number of similar agricultural documents with cursive script were kept.

The material in **D** must also have been submitted to a selection (as noted above) with the elimination of most of the roughly 30 letters concerning inner affairs:⁵ the chancellery documents of the central archive were only 52 (published by P. Fronzaroli, ARET 13; P. Fronzaroli and A. Catagnoti, ARET 16), and most of them concern relations with other states.

The archive devoted to the alimentary supplying of the palace, **B**, does not follow fixed patterns, because the documents may be accounts of fifteen days, one month, and even several months. After an undetermined period they were destroyed, transferring only occasionally a few data for several years in another document (e.g. TM.75.G.427, mentioned above, § 1). Documents of this typology are in fact very rare in the central archive **C**.

This procedure of selecting documents immediately indicates that even a practically integral archive such as **C** is far from offering a comprehensive textual evidence.⁶ One has to add further the limits highlighted by M. Civil discussing the Mesopotamian documentation of the 3rd millennium BC:

“(Dans la transmission de l’information) source et destinataire se servent d’un modèle identique, ou presque identique, de leur monde de sorte qu’ils partagent une somme de mémoires communes et leur prognose de l’avenir est à peu près la même [...]. Les éléments connus par la source et par le destinataire peuvent être éliminés du message sans perte d’information. Le contenu du message est donc fonction des connaissances de desti-

⁵ An edition of these texts is in preparation by P. Fronzaroli and A. Catagnoti, ARET 18.

⁶ There was, however, an attempt to remove some documents at the moment of the final destruction (or immediately after it): 22 tablets (all published in ARET 8 plus ARET 1.5) have been found on a plank of burnt wood in the Audience Hall, 15 metres far away from the entrance of the central archive, **F**, to which they originally belonged, because some of them join fragments found in this archive. ARET 8.539 is in fact a fragment of the 13th yearly account of metals expenditure of minister Ibbi-zikir. Also the other tablets have to be dated to the last years of the city (Archi 1997–98: 109).

nataire. ... (Un certain nombre de questions fondamentales restent sans réponse:) Les poissons livrés au palais représentent-ils la totalité des poissons pris? Sinon, comment les pêcheurs pourraient-ils disposer du reste? Dans un marché libre? Pour des usages rigoureusement contrôlés par l'administration? Quelle était la relation entre le pêcheurs et le palais? Étaient-ils des serfs ou étaient-ils des agents libres liés au palais par quelque sorte de contrat?" (Civil 1980: 226–27).

4 The emic classification of the administrative documents of the central archive, C

A few thick tablets (datable to the first years of the king Irkab-damu), with rounded corners, flat on the obverse and markedly convex on the reverse, with large signs deeply impressed (e.g. ARET 2.4) present the peculiarities proper to the more ancient tablets of the archive. Later administrative documents are less thick, with smaller cases and signs. One of the earliest documents, dated to king Igrīš-Ḫalab, ARET 14.1, preserves some totals of silver and gold concerning the reign of Kun-damu, the fifth-but-last king. The memory of these amounts might imply former written accounts: writing, already in use during the reign of Igrīš-Ḫalab, could have been introduced in Ebla via Mari immediately before, at the very end of the 25th century. The paleography presents very few changes over the 46 years documented by the tablets. Two colophons of Sumerian lexical texts run as follows: “Tira-il, the scribe, being Ibdur-išar the expert of the tablets; when the young scribes came up from Mari” (Archi 1992a: 29). Although Tira-il was active during the reign of Irkab-damu, this record suggests that Ebla had received from Mari its expertise in writing, and proves that its scribes continued to increase their proficiency at that school.

The sequence of the last five kings of Ebla and their ministers is the following:

kings	years	ministers
<i>Kūn-da-mu</i>	?	?
<i>A-dub-da-mu</i>	? (a short reign)	?
<i>Iḡ-rī-iš-Ḫa-lab_x</i>	?	?
<i>Īr-kab-da-mu</i>	11 (ca. 2381–2371)	<i>Dar-mi-a Tī-ir</i> (6 years) <i>Ar-ru₁₂-kum</i> (5 years)
<i>Iš₁₁-ar-da-mu</i>	35 (ca. 2370–2335)	<i>Ib-rī-um</i> (18 years) <i>Ib-bī-zi-kir</i> (17 years)

Only three administrative sectors are more or less completely documented. They concern a) the distribution (Sum. è “expenditure”) of textile;⁷ b) the distribution of silver and gold objects, and in some cases also of copper and bronze;⁸ c) the delivery (Sum. mu-DU; that is “incomes”) of textile and metals to the central administration.⁹ Not a single document concerns instead the supplying of silver, gold and copper from outside the inner administrative circuit, with the exclusion of the small tributes delivered (mu-DU) by the city-states under the Eblaite hegemony, although the amounts of these metals in the yearly accounts of incomes are unusually high in comparison with those of other written sources of the 3rd millennium. That the preserved documentation neglects the procedure for obtaining metals from their place of origin is the most puzzling aspect of this administrative system; moreover, commercial expeditions (Sum. kaskal) are documented just by dozen or so accounts.

The primary production, provided by agriculture and animal-breeding, is instead documented only in an erratic way. There are several yearly accounts concerning the consistence of the flocks for the period of king Irkab-damu (Archi 1984a: 68–73), but only a single account for an undetermined year of the very last period (TM.82.G.266; Archi 1993b: 8–18). Few documents take cattle into account. The documents registering the deliveries of cereals by the villages are numerous, but they do not follow a common basic pattern, even for a short number of years, because many villages are different from text to text. Moreover, there is not a single hint that would enable us to arrange the texts chronologically. At an initial level, cereal deliveries could have been registered locally, even with a “para-writing” system; then, presumably, some officials, travelling from place to place, drew up general accounts of the amounts due to the palace, which therefore do not present the same sequence of villages. These documents, first deposited in archive E, were then transferred to the central archive, and later destroyed from time to time.

The accounts relating to sheep delivered to the palace present two stages. Twenty-two tablets, measuring about 20 cm per side and distinguished by a particular shape – rather thin, flat on the obverse, regular convex on the reverse, rounded corners and edges – are monthly accounts referring to the last months of the city’s life. Each document presents three sections concerning respectively animals to be sacrificed to the gods in the city, those to be consumed at the palace, and those for the officials sent on some expedition or the

7 Several monthly documents are published: ARET 1.1–17; all those in 4; 8.521–527, 529–533; 15 (those of minister Arrukum).

8 ARET 8.533; MEE 12.35.

9 These documents are collected in ARET 14.

king when he celebrated rites outside Ebla. The totals vary between 800 and 1,000 head per months. A single document registers, further, the animals delivered over three months according to the three categories considered in the monthly documents. Two other tablets simplify this kind of registration, for seven and twelve months respectively, according to only two categories: animals which had been offered (*nínda*) and those which had been killed.¹⁰ These multi-month tablets must refer to the years immediately preceding the twenty-two months documented through the monthly accounts, because there is no coincidence between the totals of the two groups of documents. One has to deduce that the monthly documents were destroyed from time to time after that some data had been transferred to another one concerning a longer administrative period. The administration had not elaborated a standard document for summarizing these data, also because it was not interested in keeping this kind of document in their files for a longer period.

More than 20 tablets list fields (*gána-kešda-ki*) or productive units (*é* “house”) located in the territory of several villages (which it is impossible to locate geographically) in the possession of the royal family, the minister, and others officials. About half of these cadastres have to be dated to the mandate of the minister Arrukum, which means that most of the last 35 years are not documented.

This emic classification of the documentation, therefore, gave preference to transformed goods: the textile and metallurgical production, ignoring completely from the documentary point of view the circuits involved in obtaining the raw materials to be transformed: wool and metals.

The conceptualization of administrative operations followed the Sumerian tradition, adopting its terminology for the basic movements of goods: *níg-ba* “gift”; *mu-DU* “delivery”; *è* “expenditure”; *ì/in-na-sum* “has/have given”; *šu-ba₄-ti* “has/have received”; *šu-mu-‘tag₄’* “has/have consigned”; *še-ba* “ration”; *lul-gu-ak* “as a substitute (for)”; *níg-kaskal* “victuals”; *níg-sa₁₀* “value, price”; *šu-bal-ak* “exchange, value”. Ideological concerns could in some way condition the use of this terminology. The goods which Ebla was compelled to give to Mari were called “delivery (i.e. tribute)” at Mari, while the Eblaite administration preferred to define them as “gifts”.

¹⁰ These three documents have been published by Pettinato 1977a.

5 Form of the tablets and the accounting of the secondary production

Giving different forms to the tablets of large and medium size meant that it was possible to identify immediately the sectors to which they belonged.

a) The most common typology is that of the monthly accounts of textile distributions: tablets of about 16–18 cm per side, slightly wider than thick, with rectangular corners, flat obverse and convex reverse. The tablet size increased to 21 cm per side during the mandate of minister Ibbi-zikir because of the increasing registrations related to economic growth. Besides the 58/60 tablets of Ar-rukum, 173 (covering 14 years and 5 months) have to be assigned to Ibrium, and 275 to Ibbi-zikir (theoretically 22 years and 11 months). A further 36 tablets, covering ca. 3 years, cannot be dated at the moment to either Ibrium or Ibbi-zikir. One has to deduce that a single tablet was not enough to register all of the accounts of a month in the last period of the city.

b) The annual documents of expenditures of silver and gold – mostly in the form of objects – or copper evaluated in silver, were drawn up first under Ar-rukum, to whom at least four have to be dated. They have the same but enlarged shape (ca. 20 cm per side) as the documents concerning the deliveries to the palace, a form which ultimately derives from a Mesopotamian model: the so-called pillow tablets (thick, with rounded corners, regularly convex on the reverse). Two of these texts have in the colophon, after the totals, the notation: “document (concerning) the expenses (è) of the second/third year”, which can only refer to the mandate of the minister.

Under the minister Ibrium this type of document changed its inner and outer morphology. The corners are squared off and the maximum point convexity is two-thirds of the way down on the reverse. The two opening registrations invariably concern “1 mina of silver (470 gr.) for the silver head of Kura (the god of the city)”, and several minas of silver to two priestesses (sisters or daughters of the king) of Hadabal, the god of the countryside. The final notation in the colophon is a kind of balance: “x minas of silver expended; x minas of silver present in the treasury (house of the wool) / at the palace (al₆-gál é-siki / é-gal), without adding a progressive number. With an increased volume of delivered goods, the tablets became as large as 37 cm wide and 32 cm high in the last years of the city. Of these annual documents 18 are attributed to Ibrium and 16 to Ibbi-zikir.

c) The traditionally shape of medium size tablets (pillow tablets: flat on the obverse, regularly convex on the reverse, and with rounded wedges and cor-

ners) was reserved for the documents concerning the “deliveries” (mu-DU), that is incoming goods. During the very last years of Igriš-Ḫalab and the first six years of Irkab-damu, when the ministers were Darmia and Tir, the annual documents are very few, and concern either textiles or precious metals (mostly silver). Most of this kind of texts were monthly documents. The four annual documents of Arrukum, larger in format, include instead both textiles and metals.

Under Ibrium, to whom 18 annual tablets are attributed, the document followed a scheme in four sections: the deliveries of the minister (which greatly surpassed all the others put together), those of the lords (the major officials, Sum. lugal-lugal, Ebl. *ba'alūm* “lords”), of the city-states under the hegemony of Ebla and, lastly, the total number of the goods. The 13 documents of Ibbi-zikir (the very last documents are missing or were not drawn up) kept the same order, but now the third section divided the deliveries made by the city-states into the first and the second half of the year. The deliveries of Ibbi-zikir were twice as many as those of Ibrium, and consequently his documents are also larger than those of the former minister. Neither the tablets of Ibrium nor those of Ibbi-zikir are dated.

d) About 60 lenticular tablets concern textile production and 380 similar tablets relate to metallurgical production. Many of these are single registrations to be transferred to the annual accounts (and perhaps to be destroyed at a certain moment); a few others give totals concerning a year: something like an administrative statement. Two lenticular tablets, ARET 7.18 and ARET 8.535, for example, give the deliveries in gold from the king of Kablul over four years, and those of the king of Armi over two years, amounts which are registered also in the yearly accounts concerning the incomes (mu-DU) of metals. Another 300 medium to large tablets record distributions of daggers, plates in gold, and similar goods. They cannot be evaluated within the economic system because most of them are not provided with any useful chronological data for a chronological sequence.

e) The roughly 12 texts registering commercial expeditions and also the journeys of messengers bearing ceremonial gifts (*kaskal*) are of medium size, thick and not rounded edges.

f) The documents concerning the agricultural production are of medium size, thin, with rounded corners and edges (above, § 4).

g) The monthly documents of sheep deliveries to the palace have their own typical shape: large size, thin, with rounded corners and edges, therefore identifiable at first glance (above, § 4).

6 Multi-annual statements

The statements summing up data from several years are very rare. ARET 14.92 (TM.G.75.2271) records, year after year, the amounts of precious metals consigned personally by the minister Ibbi-zikir to the palace over the period of the 17 years of his mandate, giving a total of 287;33 minas (135.15 kg). The total of silver is illegible. The document copies the data from the yearly accounts of the incomes (*mu-túm*) in chronological order: “x minas of gold; x minas of silver; object x: x year”, giving the final sums at the end.

ARET 14.93 concerns also the 17 years of Ibbi-zikir’s mandate. Differently from the previous document, this one was kept not in the central archive but in **E**, where the most recent documents were collected. The only explanation for these two multi-annual accounts is that at that time Ibbi-zikir (whose death is not registered in any text) was about to transmit his office to his son Tubuḥu-Hadda, who had already acquired an important position within the administration. Although this document is rather fragmentary, the final sum of silver is preserved: 5,602[+x] minas (1,973.06 kg). This amount (absolutely unusual for this period) should refer to hoarded metal because it was in the form of bars (*ni-gi-tum*) or vases.

7 The lexical lists of the central archive, C

Cuneiform writing requires the knowledge of the complex Sumerian logograms and syllabary. The scribes of Ebla ordered a list of 123 signs, which they then increased to 150 and provided with phonetical values (MEE 3.52+TM.75.G.12680) (Archi 1987b); moreover, they collected several Sumerian lexical lists, most of which went back to the Uruk period (beginning of the 3rd millennium). These Ebla copies reproduce precisely the external features of their Mesopotamian originals, as they are presented by the Abū Šalābīkh tablets: the form of the tablet (medium-large size, rather thick and rectangular corners), the same number of cases for each column, the convex reverse containing only the colophon, and the paleography. A few lists were also provided with cursive copies: small tablets with small cases written both on the obverse and the reverse.¹¹

¹¹ This corpus was published by Pettinato MEE 3. The publication of some fragments joining these tablets, and a few other lists, is in preparation. For a survey of the lexical material, see Archi 1992a.

The Eblaite scribes created further their own lexical lists ordering groups of words according to the acographic system, a principle already attested at Abū Šalābīkh. It is possible that, also in this case, they had at their disposal Mesopotamian models (a tablet unusually inscribed on all four edges could have been imported from abroad). These lists written at Ebla use mostly large tablets, comparatively thin, with small cases and (not calligraphic) writing. Those of large size (9 in number) present oddly different recensions, as each scribe aimed to draw up his own lexical selection (although the sequence of the signs under which the lexemes are ordered is almost the same) with the exception of the longest one, TM.75.G.3043+, which has a duplicate for roughly its first half in TM.75.G.10020 (Archi 1992a: 15–17).¹²

One of these recensions, TM.75.G.2422+, with 1,204 Sumerian words, was chosen for providing these (with the exception of the most common ones) with Eblaite equivalences. This enterprise had the result of creating the first vocabulary in the history of mankind known to us, preserved in four main manuscripts: an extraordinary achievement to be ascribed to Eblaite scholars. Some scribes of the time of minister Arrukum drew up a series (D) made up of five medium-sized tablets (at least two different hands are recognizable) which include 880 lexemes in all.¹³ Another scribe later drew up the large tablet TM.75.G.5653+ (C) including 1089 lexemes; its obverse presents a very elegant writing, while the cases on the reverse are very close and with small signs, as the scribe tried to include the greatest possible number of lexemes. In order to correct this unevenness, a duplicate with the same number of lexemes was prepared, TM.75.G.2000+ (A), with a regular elegant writing and very few variants. C and A should be dated to the period of minister Ibrium. More words were added in a new tablet, smaller than C and A, with the lexemes no. 1090–1457, TM.75.G.10023+ (A2). Some time later, in the period of minister Ibbi-zikir, the effort was made to collect all this lexical material in a single tablet, TM.75.G.2001+ (B): a very large tablet, with a smaller fine writing, including 1410 lexemes in all.¹⁴

¹² This group of texts received a partial edition by Picchioni 1997.

¹³ This series has been studied by Conti 1990.

¹⁴ An edition of the bilingual lists has been provided by Pettinato MEE 4. For this classification of the manuscripts, see Archi 1992a: 17–23.

6 Chronologie relative des archives d'Ébla

One uses what one has,
and there is work to be done
*Ronald Syme*¹

1 Les noms d'année

L'habitude de dater les documents par des noms d'années fut une création de la chancellerie d'Akkad et fit depuis partie de la tradition scribale mésopotamienne. Il est vrai qu'à Ébla on a une trentaine de formules de datations qui se réfèrent à un événement; celles-ci ne datent, cependant, qu'un seul document ou exceptionnellement deux.²

Leur usage est arbitraire. Elles sont utilisées par un tout petit nombre de comptes rendus annuels, précisément parce que le caractère de ces textes était déjà clair de par lui-même, même si, par la suite, leur succession dépendait de l'ordre dans lequel ils étaient rangés au sein de l'archive et du souvenir des faits enregistrés! L'acribie des scribes semble en effet s'épuiser dans l'enregistrement des données et tout se passe comme si le texte, une fois archivé, perdait tout intérêt documentaire. Les recherches archivistiques, joie des seuls historiens, ne doivent pas avoir trop préoccupé les administrateurs d'Ébla.

Seuls deux des grands comptes rendus annuels de sorties de métaux précieux (= CAM)³ ont un nom d'année; (TM.)75.(G.)2429 (I.Z. 9): DIŠ mu šu-ba₄-

Amurru 1 (1996) 11–28.

1 R. Syme, *Roman Papers* II, Oxford 1979, p. 711.

Abréviations: Ib.: le ministre Ibrium. I.Z.: le ministre Ibbi-zikir. CAM: Compte rendu annuel de métaux; CMT: compte rendu mensuel de tissus; muDU.Ann.: texte d'apport (mu-DU) annuel.

Je tiens à remercier nos amis de Paris pour leur aide dans l'établissement du texte français de ce article.

Une liste provisoire des noms d'années est donnée par G. Pettinato, MEE 1: XXXII–XXXIII, et les numéros entre parenthèses se réfèrent à l'ordre qui y est donné.

2 1) DIŠ mu ug₇ *Ma-ri*^{ki}: ARET 1.34 et TM.75.G.1452, published in Fronzaroli 1980a: 33–36; 2) DIŠ mu ug₇ *ama-gal* en: TM.75.G.2341, 10088+; 3) DIŠ mu ug₇ *Ib-rí-um*: MEE 2.1 et ARET 3.436, où pourtant la formule, bien qu'étant dans le colophon, ne conclut pas le document.

3 Voir Archi 1996c.

ti NI-li-ga-ù^{ki}; (no. 28) 75.10088+ (I.Z. 3): DIŠ mu ug₇ ama-gal en iti *ga-sum* ug₇ sù «année de la mort de la mère du roi; vii^e mois, (celui) de sa mort». On trouve encore cette dernière formule de datation dans 75.2341, un texte de muDU annuel (= muDUAnn.), lui aussi du ministre Ibbi-zikir, sans indication du mois pendant lequel l'événement s'est déroulé (ce qui est inhabituel dans un nom d'année).

Un événement identique, la mort du ministre Ibrium, date un autre texte muDUAnn., MEE 2.1: (no. 23) DIŠ mu ug₇ *Ib-rí-um*. ARET 3.436 semble être un fragment de CAM, où la même formule de datation est insérée à la moitié du colophon: (no. 24) [x ma-na bar₆:kù è] DIŠ m[u] ug₇ *Ib-rí-um ab 4 mi-at* [x ma-na [bar₆:kù al₆-gál é-siki] «[x mines d'argent; sortie]. Année de la mort d'Ibrium. [12] En plus, 400[+x mi]nes [d'argent qui se trouvent dans le 'magasin de la laine' (= dans le trésor)]». Un troisième muDUAnn., 75.1746, qui remonte au début de la carrière d'Ibrium, est daté: 2 mu ug₇ en «Deuxième année (de la) mort du roi (Irkab-damu ?)»; cette formule est suivie d'une autre quantité d'argent, reliquat de l'année précédente (*in* DIŠ mu). On a une formule incomplète dans le colophon d'un compte rendu de sortie de métaux, 75.1796 (MEE 10.4): [DIŠ mu ...] *wa Ib-la*^{ki} *áš-ti Ti-sum*^{ki}.

Plus nombreux sont les noms d'année enregistrés dans de très brefs comptes rendus de biens dont ils constituent le seul indice chronologique. Les documents ARET 1.34, 35, 40, 41, 75.2959 – petites tablettes lenticulaires – concernent uniquement des totaux de vêtements relatifs au «magasin de la laine» et sont datés respectivement par les formules: (no. 26) DIŠ mu ug₇ *Ma-rí*^{ki} «Année de la défaite de Mari»; (no. 19) DIŠ mu šu-ba₄-ti *Da-ra-šum*^{ki} «Année de la prise de Darašum»; (no. 27) DIŠ mu tu-da *Íl-'à-ag-da-mu* «Année de la naissance d'Ir'ag-damu»; (no. 20) DIŠ mu šu-ba₄-ti *Ha-za-ma-nu*^{ki} «Année de la prise de Hazamanu»; (no. 5) DIŠ mu É.SAR GÁ.KI en «Année de ... du roi». 75.2086 est au contraire, sur plusieurs mois, un compte de l'or distribué à différents personnages, daté de cette façon-ci: (no. 13) DIŠ mu níg-kas₄ *Na-bar-ni-sum*^{ki} «Année du voyage à Nabarnisum».

Dans d'autres textes brefs, à enregistrement unique ou peu nombreux, de quantités modiques, il est difficile de savoir si la formule de datation ne constitue pas aussi l'occasion du mouvement des biens; (no. 1) 75.410 = ARET 10.2: DIŠ mu BE DU.DU.A *Ar-mi*^{ki} = «Année du ... à Armi»; (no. 2) 76.145: DIŠ mu DILMUN.KUR₆ [...-]še = «Année de la moisson [...]»; (no. 3) 75.1633: DIŠ mu DU.DU *ma-lik-tum Na-gâr*^{ki} = «Année où la reine est allée à Nagar»;⁴ (no. 4) 74.126: DIŠ mu DU *Gâr-mu*^{ki} = «Année du voyage à Garmu»; (no. 6) 75.1642:

⁴ Cette formule fait référence à Tagriš-damu, fille du roi Iš'ar-damu, qui est devenue l'épouse du roi de Nagar, Biga 1998.

DIŠ mu *Ib-la*^{ki} *ma-NI-lum* al₆-tuš [i]n *Za-bù-lum*^{ki} = « Année (où) Ebla ... résida à Zabulum »; (no. 10) ARET 1.20: DIŠ mu níg-kas₄ *Aš-da-rúm*^{ki} = « Année de la campagne contre Aštarum »; (no. 12) 75.263 = ARET 10.47: DIŠ mu níg-kas₄ *Ma-rí*^{ki} = « Année de la campagne contre Mari »; (no. 17) 75.2612: DIŠ mu níg-mu-sá bur-kak *Kéš-du-ud* = « Année du mariage de Kešdut »; (no. 18) 74.102: DIŠ mu nídba i-giš *Ma-rí*^{ki} = « Année de l'offrande de l'huile de Mari (et d'Ébla) »; (no. 21) 74.101: DIŠ mu šu-ra lugal *Ma-rí*^{ki} = « Année de ... du roi de Mari »; (no. 30) ARET 7.115: in mu *Ma-rí*^{ki} GÍN.ŠÈ *áš-ti 'À-ti-ni*^{ki} = « Dans l'année (où) Mari a été battue près d'Atini »; 76.968: DIŠ mu gibil *I-bí-z[i-kir ...]* = « La nouvelle année d'Ibbi-z[ikir ...] ».

Un nom d'année date un verdict royal, (no. 26) 75.1452:⁵ DIŠ mu ug₇ *Ma-rí*^{ki} = « Année de la défaite de Mari »; tandis que dans un autre document de la chancellerie, un traité politique, la formule se trouve exceptionnellement tout de suite après l'en-tête, (no. 25) 75.2290 f. I 1-7: [du]b *ù-su-rí Ib-al*₆^{ki} DIŠ mu ug₇ en *Ír-kab-da-mu* = « Document de l'accord avec Ibal; année de la mort du roi Irkab-damu ». En fait, la place de ce type de formule n'est pas strictement fixe; dans 75.1574, texte récapitulatif de moutons relevant du roi,⁶ elle précède le total final: (9) in DIŠ mu lugal *Ma-rí*^{ki} ug₇ *ù* en [Ka]k-mi-um^{ki} [u]g₇ = « (65.300 moutons ... 18.950 moutons ...) »; l'année où le roi de Mari mourut et où le roi de Kakmium mourut. (Total: 84.250 moutons ...) ». De même dans MEE 2.45, le nom d'année est intégré dans un registre: (no. 7) in DIŠ mu DU *Dar₅-kab-du-lum i-na Kak-mi-um*^{ki} simug-simug na-rú = « (1 mine de cuivre pour Igris-Ḫalab, roi d'Ébla, pour la stèle.) L'année du voyage de Tarkab-Dulum à Kakmium; aux ouvriers, pour la stèle. »

On a l'impression que, dans beaucoup de ces cas, on a simplement voulu noter un événement particulier, parfois dramatique; il n'est pas certain que l'on ait voulu un découpage du temps d'année en année. ARET 2.4, qu'il faut dater des dernières années d'Igriš-Ḫalab ou des premières années d'Irkab-damu, est symptomatique. Il concerne des livraisons à Mari pendant une période de quatre ans (section § 18: ... *áš-du* 4 mu), où chacun des enregistrements est daté seulement selon le mois. La dernière, elle aussi datée selon le mois, coïncide avec un événement qu'il n'est pas possible de passer sous silence: la mort du destinataire, le roi de Mari: § 22 ARET 2.4 § 16: ... šu-mu-«tag₄» *Ib-lul-il* lugal DIŠ mu ug₇ ÉxPAP [13] iti i-nun = « ... ont livré à Iblul-Il roi (de Mari) (l')année de (sa) mort (pour) la cérémonie funèbre; VIII^e mois ».

De même, on ne voit pas clairement le souci de caractériser les années au moyen d'un nom, dans 75.427 = ARET 10.100 (règne d'Íš'ar-damu), un docu-

⁵ Fronzaroli 1980a: 34–36.

⁶ Archi 1984a: 68–69.

ment qui couvre plusieurs années.⁷ Il s'agit d'un compte de céréales distribuées au Palais pendant une période de sept ans. La première année reçoit le nom d'un voyage mentionné précédemment (f. IV 23–26): § 15 è 1 mu níg-kas₄ *Si-da-lu*^{ki} = « Sortie; la première année, (celle) de la campagne contre Sidalu » (f. V 27–30). Il en est de même pour la seconde: è 2 mu *Šè-za-lu*^{ki} = « Sortie; la deuxième année (de la campagne ?) contre Šezalu » (f. XII 5–7). Les autres années (de la troisième à la septième) n'ont pas de nom. Dans le colophon, cependant, on revient encore à des noms d'année: šu-nígin ... DIŠ mu níg-kas₄ [...] ... še-ba 5 mu DIŠ mu níg-kas₄ *Har-ba-tum*^{ki} šu-ba₄-ti guruš = « Total final ... Année de la campagne contre [...] ... distribution d'orge pendant cinq ans. Année de la campagne contre Harbatum. Reçu par le personnel ». On ne sait pas pourquoi le colophon n'envisage que cinq années au lieu de sept. De même il n'est pas sûr que le dernier nom d'année dénote la septième (dans f. XII 29–30, on mentionne un « campagne contre Harbatum », mais la troisième année!). Le no. 11, DIŠ mu níg-kas₄ *Har-ba-tum*^{ki}, date aussi 75.2089, une réception faite par la reine d'un petit nombre d'étoffes.

L'absence de caractère officiel de formules de ce genre se montre encore dans une autre occurrence. Dans le CAM 75.2508 r. IV 12–14, on peut lire: (no. 14) DIŠ mu níg-kas₄ *Za-bù*^{ki} = « Année de la campagne contre Zabû ». Le texte documente une certaine activité à Zabû: la localité apparaît dans f. XVIII 5 et, déjà dans f. IX 13–14, comme ensuite dans XIX 2, mention est faite d'une campagne militaire. On ne comprend pas pourquoi la dénomination de l'année est à la moitié du document et pourquoi l'on n'a pas senti la nécessité de la mettre dans le colophon.

Quelques documents (dont les plus anciens sont en général pourvus du mot clé mu-DU « apport ») ont une indication chronologique exprimée par un chiffre suivi de mu.⁸ C'est un système de datation en usage dans la Mari présargonique pour *tous* les textes administratifs,⁹ bien qu'à Lagaš on trouve seulement un chiffre (sans « mu »), lequel fait référence à l'année de règne du roi en fonction.

⁷ Pettinato 1974–77.

⁸ Voir § 6.

⁹ Charpin 1987: 90.

2 La dynastie¹⁰

Dans les comptes rendus administratifs, le roi et la reine sont indiqués seulement par leur titre: respectivement en et *ma-lik-tum*. De même, les documents de chancellerie, comme les traités politiques, ne sont pas introduits par le nom du roi qui les a promulgués, ce qui en empêche l'attribution immédiate. Il est exceptionnel que le roi soit mentionné par son nom, de son vivant, comme dans la lettre à la ville de Hamazi d'un fonctionnaire éblaïte, où celui-ci communique un message du roi en le citant par son nom et par son titre: *Îr-kab-da-mu* en *Ib-la*^{ki} (75.2342 f. IV 6–8, V 7–VI 1).¹¹ Dans un acte d'attribution de terrain par Irkab-damu à Tiša-lim, reine d'Émar, 75.2369 (texte parallèle: 75.1986+),¹² ils sont cités sans titre: « Les terrains (que) ... Irkab-damu donne à Tiša-lim ... » (f. I 1–II 2).

Seuls deux noms royaux sont suivis des titres de « roi d'Ébla », respectivement ceux d'Igriš-Ḫalab et d'Irkab-damu, dans deux ou trois documents.¹³ Il y a ensuite cinq textes où sont mentionnés (sans titre) Igriš-Ḫalab et Irkab-damu, avec Ibrium (trois fois) et d'autres, en relation avec [14] des cérémonies funèbres (*si-in* ÉxPAP),¹⁴ fait qui oblige à admettre qu'Irkab-damu a eu au moins un successeur.

Une tablette, ARET 7.150, énumère des offrandes à dix rois divinisés selon le schéma: « (un mouton au) dieu de NP » (dingir NP). Ces dix personnages sont qualifiés de « rois » (en-en; f. III 6). Suivent des offrandes à huit divinités. Le colophon conclut ainsi: « Les dieux des rois qui résident à Darib » (dingir-dingir-dingir en-en al₆-tuš in *Da-rī-ib*^{ki}), une localité où avaient apparemment lieu des cérémonies funèbres.¹⁵ La liste s'ouvre avec Irkab-damu, suivi d'Igriš-

¹⁰ Les problèmes de ce paragraphe ont déjà été traités dans Archi 1993c: 205–221; est donnée ici une discussion mise à jour.

¹¹ Texte publié par Pettinato 1979b: 120–122 = 1981a: 96–98. Cf. aussi ARET 7.115, avec le nom d'Irkab-damu dans r. I 3.

¹² Textes publiés Fronzaroli: 1984a: 1–22.

¹³ Igriš-Ḫalab: 75.1237 f. II 6–8; 1371 (= MEE 2.45) f. V 4–r. 12; Irkab-damu: 75.1536 (= Archi 1986: 197) r. IV 6–7; 2342 f. IV 6–8 (mentionné ci-dessus); 12497 f. I 2–4.

¹⁴ Cf. § 5 et n. 67.

¹⁵ Archi: 1986c: 213–217; cf. ARES 2: 193–195. Dans r. III 2', on doit corriger l'édition en « en-en », signes qui présentent une forme cursive.

Pettinato (1992: 276) retient qu'en-en dans f. III 6 et r. III 2 indique « les offrants », mais la syntaxe ne favorise pas cette interprétation. Il est de plus impossible d'intégrer au début de f. I le nom de *Iš₁₁-ar-da-mu*, comme le voudrait Pettinato, parce que les noms composés avec *-da-mu* occupent toute la case (voir f. I 3, 7, etc.), tandis que la partie supérieure de la col. I, qui est conservée sur le côté droit, n'est pas inscrite. Cette partie initiale est divisée en deux cases (la marque de division, même si elle est légère, est visible à la photographie). La case

Ḫalab, Adub-damu et Kun-damu. Puisque l'on ne trouve dans les textes administratifs que les deux premiers noms et le quatrième (celui-ci avec trois attestations), il est évident que la liste suit un ordre inverse à l'ordre chronologique. On a des offrandes de pain pour trois de ces souverains, Ba-damu, Enar-damu et Iš'ar-malik (ici aussi précédés du signe dingir), dans ARET 9.17 § 20–22, où on enregistre des provisions (sá-du₁₁-ga) pour le « mausolée » (é *ma-wa-tim*).¹⁶

Les dix mêmes noms se retrouvent au début de 74.120, où pourtant Irkab-damu est précédé d'Iš'ar-damu lequel doit être son successeur. Ceux-ci sont suivis de: a) quinze noms de personnes; b) Ibla (sans le déterminatif géographique KI); c) six noms; d) quelques noms de personnes rangés selon l'élément initial: *Du-bi*-, *Du-bù-ḫu*-, *En-na*-, etc.¹⁷ Ce dernier fait prouve que le texte est un 'exercice scolaire', même s'il provient de L. 2586, une pièce où a été retrouvé un lot de trente-deux tablettes économiques lenticulaires, peut-être originellement conservées dans une jarre. Il s'agit de l'unique document non administratif qui ne provienne pas de l'archive centrale L. 2769.

Puisque quatre (sinon cinq) des seize personnes qui précèdent *Ib-la* dans 74.120, semblent divinisées (« le dieu de NP », avec dingir et le NP dans deux cases différentes) et reçoivent des offrandes lors du rituel pour le mariage du couple royal, ARET 11.1 et 2, on en déduit que les seize noms se réfèrent aux ancêtres des dynastes éblaïtes. Ceux qui se retrouvent divinisés dans le rituel sont: 'Ā-ma-na, *Sa-gi-su*, *I-bi-ni-li-im*, *Iš₁₁-ru₁₂-ud-da-mu*, qui, dans 74.120, se trouvent aux 5^e, 8^e, 10^e et 11^e places ('Ā-ma-na est une graphie anormale pour EN-ma-nu),¹⁸ en plus de *A-bur-GIM* qui correspond peut-être à *A-bur-li-im* à la 16^e place, et d'Igriš-Ḫalam, le prédécesseur du roi pour lequel on célèbre le rituel no. 1, c'est-à-dire Irkab-damu, dans l'exemplaire plus récent.

Les noms des souverains, selon l'ordre chronologiquement inverse donné dans les listes, sont les suivants: [15]

I 2 (plutôt basse) dans la partie manquante (la moitié à droite) ne pouvait contenir qu'un seul signe, c'est-à-dire AN. La restauration [10 udu] dans I 1 est rendue très probable par les contextes dans la section § 2.

16 Dans 75.1536 f. I 1–4, 172 jarres de farine et 120 mesures *gubar* d'orge sont destinées à la maison d'Išar-malik divinisé, é dingir I.; cf. Archi 1986: 195.

17 Cf. Archi 1993c: 212–214. Sur Iš'ar-damu, cf. Biga, Pomponio 1987.

18 Cf. Krebernik 1982: 186: « Ein vokalisch endender Lautwert 'e_x hat sich vielleicht aus *en* entwickelt, da *n* in Ebla gewöhnlich an den folgenden Konsonanten assimiliert wird. Deutlichstes Beispiel ist: *ri*·'e_x-mu, *ri*-mu-um /riḫmum/ ».

74.120	ARET 7.150 ¹⁹	Autres sources ²⁰	
<i>lš₁₁-ar-da-mu</i>	(26)		
[l̄r]-kab-[d]a-mu	(25)	[l̄r-k]ab-[d]a-mu	
[l]g-rí-[l̄]š-[h]a-lab _x	(24)	[l]g-rí-[l̄]š-<h̄a->lab _x	<i>lg-rí-iš-h̄a-lab_x</i> ARET 11.2
[A-d]ub-da-mu	(23)	<i>A-dub-da-mu</i>	
[Kùn]-da-mu	(22)	<i>Kùn-da-mu</i>	
<i>l-šar-ma-lik</i>	(21)	<i>l-šar-ma-lik</i>	<i>l-šar-ma-lik:</i> ARET 9.17 § 22 ^a
<i>En-ḪAR-da-mu</i>	(20)	<i>En-ḪAR-da-mu</i>	[En]-ḪAR-[da]-mu ARET 9.17 § 22 ^b
<i>Ba-ga-da-mu</i>	(19)	<i>Ba-<ga->da-mu</i>	[Ba-<ga->da]-mu ARET 9.17 § 20
<i>l-bí-da-mu</i>	(18)	<i>l-bí-da-mu</i>	
<i>A-gur-li-im</i>	(17)	<i>A-gur-li-im</i>	
<i>A-bur-li-im</i>	(16)	<i>A-bur-li-im</i>	<i>A-bur-GIM</i> ARET 11.1
<i>Tal-da-li-im</i>	(15)	(en-en;	
<i>lg-su-ud</i>	(14)	dingir-dingir-dingir	
<i>lš₁₁-ru₁₂-ud-h̄a-lam</i>	(13)	al ₆ -tuš	
ʾl̄-si-du	(12)	<i>in Da-rí-ib^{ki}</i>	
<i>lš₁₁-ru₁₂-ud-da-mu</i>	(11)	<i>lš/lš₁₁-ru₁₂-ud-da-mu</i>	ARET 11.1 § 2
<i>l-bí-ni-li-im</i>	(10)	<i>l-bí-ni-li-im</i>	ARET 11.1 § 2
[D]a-NE-n[u] ^d	(9)		
<i>Sa[-gī]-s[u]</i>	(8)	<i>Sa-gī-iš/šū</i>	ARET 11.1 § 2
<i>Da-[x]-ʾx^ʾ</i>	(7)		
<i>Na-ma-nu</i>	(6)		
<i>EN-ma-nu</i>	(5)	<i>ʾĀ-ma-na</i>	ARET 11.1 ^c
<i>Zi-a-lu</i>	(4)		
[Sa]-mi-ù ^e	(3)		
<i>Aš-sa-nu</i>	(2)		
<i>Kul-ba-nu</i>	(1)		
<i>lb-la</i>			
<i>Du-mu-dar</i>			
<i>NAM-NE-la-num</i>			
<i>A-bū-gār</i>			
<i>La-da-ù</i>			
<i>Š[u^ʾ]-ʾx^ʾ-[...]</i>			
<i>Sa-kùn-e</i>			

a Attesté aussi dans la liste d'offrandes 75.2598 f. XII 3–4 et dans 75.1318 r. II 6–7.

b Attesté aussi dans les listes d'offrandes 75.1764 f. X 20–21; 2075 f. VI 3–4; 2238 r. I 8–9 (cf. Pettinato 1979a: 136, 150, 169); 2397 f. VIII 22–23.

c Attesté aussi dans la liste d'offrandes 75.10147 r. II 21–111 2 (*in Ū-du-ḫu-du^{ki}*; une localité mentionnée aussi dans le rituel de mariage du couple royal).

d Les traces du dernier signe ne permettent pas l'identification avec le nom de 75.1585 f. IV 19–20: (1 gada-TÚG) dingir Da-NE-ru₁₂, qui pourrait faire référence à un autre prédécesseur.

e dingir *Sa-mi-ù* est attesté aussi dans les listes d'offrandes 75.2397 f. IX 5–6; 2403 f. XII 22–23.

¹⁹ Chaque nom est précédé d'une case avec: dingir.

²⁰ Chaque nom est précédé d'une case avec: dingir.

3 Compréhension chronologique des archives

Les données textuelles montrent que les archives couvrent uniquement les périodes de règne des trois derniers souverains: Igrīš-Ḫalab, Irkab-damu et Iṣ'ar-damu. Parmi leurs prédécesseurs, on n'a mention que de Kun-damu, dans trois documents en rapport l'un avec l'autre, tandis qu'Adub-damu (que les listes insèrent entre Kun-damu et Igrīš-Ḫalab) est ignoré, vraisemblablement parce qu'il eut un règne éphémère. Le premier document, 77.23+80.207, fut probablement rédigé au début du règne d'Irkab-damu et enregistre des quantités d'or (40 mines = 19 kg) et d'argent (961 mines = 452 kg) réunies pendant le règne de Kun-damu, outre 431 mines (203 kg) d'argent remises par Abarsal (peut-être les préliminaires des accords qui amenèrent à la rédaction du traité politique bien connu²¹), 310 mines (146 kg) **[16]** du roi Igrīš-Ḫalab et d'autres quantités moindres. En gros, le total de ce document est repris dans 75.2286,²² qui doit être plus récent d'une génération, quand Ibbi-zikir était ministre. Celui-ci s'ouvre avec 2.869 mines d'argent et 39 mines d'or (respectivement 1.348 kg et 18 kg) qui sont globalement attribuées à Kun-damu et Igrīš-Ḫalab. S'y ajoutent 4.169 mines d'argent (1.959 kg) rassemblées sous Ibrium, qui fut ministre à l'extrême fin d'Irkab-damu et pour la moitié environ du règne d'Iṣ'ar-damu. D'autres quantités suivent encore.²³

Pour la période plus ancienne, correspondant au règne d'Igrīš-Ḫalab, seule a été conservée pour l'essentiel la documentation concernant « les apports » (mu-DU) d'argent et de tissus remis par les « Seigneurs » (lugal-lugal) au Palais. Avec le ministre Arrukum (qui prend part à la cérémonie du mariage du roi Irkab-damu) commence la rédaction des comptes rendus mensuels de distributions d'étoffes (CMT) effectués par le Palais. Il s'agit de tablettes d'environ douze colonnes par face, avec des angles carrés, ce qui représente le type le plus banal de documents d'archive. Parallèlement sont aussi rédigés des

21 Le texte a été publié par Sollberger 1980 [= ARET 13.5]; cf. Edzard 1992.

22 On trouve le texte transcrit dans Pettinato 1986: 401–402 (quelques-unes de ses interprétations sont à corriger).

75.12312, une tablette dont on a pour le moment identifié uniquement le bord gauche, devait contenir un compte intermédiaire entre ceux de 77.23(+) et 75.2286. On y lit (f. I 1–5): [x mi-at bar₆:kù mu-DU (?)] *Kūn-da-mu* 1 li 6 mi-at 82 ma-na tar bar₆:kù m[u-DU (...)] *Ig-rī-iš-ḫa-lab*_x. En soustrayant aux 2.869 mines d'argent de 75.2286, les 961 mines attribuées à Kun-damu dans 77.23(+), on obtient cependant 1.908 et non 1.682,5 mines, ce qui est le total dans 75.12312.

23 A une époque relativement récente, on vénérât encore une « Iṣḫara de Kun-damu », probablement la représentation de la divinité tutélaire de cet ancien roi: ARET 3.334 III; 75. 2455 r. X 6–10; cf. Archi 1993d: 74.

comptes rendus de sorties de métaux, dont quelques-uns ont un caractère annuel (CAM). Ces derniers possèdent une typologie bien définie, avec le ministre suivant, Ibrium.²⁴ Les CMT des ministres Arrukum et Ibrium étaient conservés sur des étagères adossées à la paroi E(st) de l'archive centrale, L. 2769; ceux du dernier ministre, Ibbi-zikir, l'étaient à celle du N(ord), excepté quelques tablettes aussi archivées en E. Les textes relatifs aux métaux d'Arrukum étaient sur les étagères N. Les CAM d'Ibrium étaient adossés à la paroi E, sauf quelques-unes des tablettes plus tardives (75.2465, 2502) qui étaient en N, secteur C (près de l'angle avec la paroi E). Les CAM d'Ibbi-zikir continuent la disposition des derniers CAM d'Ibrium et furent conservés sur les étagères N, secteurs C et B.²⁵

4 L'information prosopographique

Puisque la quasi-totalité des documents est sans datation annuelle (les registres mensuels de distributions d'étoffes se limitent au seul nom du mois), il n'y a plus qu'à essayer de tirer de l'étude prosopographique les éléments propres à ordonner chronologiquement les textes.²⁶ Il s'agit de classer les fonctionnaires, de reconstruire les principales familles, à commencer par celle du roi, à mettre en relation les événements enregistrés dans différents documents: un travail qui doit concerner aussi les autres centres urbains attestés dans les archives d'Ébla.²⁷ Le genre de la documentation, en général [17] de simples

²⁴ Voir Archi 1996c.

²⁵ Pour les archives et les typologies des tablettes, cf. Archi 1986a: 72–86 (à la p. 84, un plan de l'archive centrale); pour les données archéologiques, Matthiae 1986: 53–71.

²⁶ Les études prosopographiques ont été relativement négligées dans la reconstruction historique du Proche-Orient antique. C'est N. Schneider qui, le premier, s'est rendu compte de leur importance et a recueilli, dans *Orientalia* (Series prior) 23, 1927, 24, 1927, 45/46, 1930, une quantité importante de données pour la troisième dynastie d'Ur. Dans la recherche de ces dernières années, on peut citer Harris 1975 pour la documentation de Sippar. De nombreux chercheurs ont toutefois travaillé à propos des textes paléo- et médio-assyriens, néo-babyloniens et babyloniens-tardifs (pour ce dernier secteur d'études, cf. Kümmel, 1979, avec la bibliographie précédente), ou encore de Mari et, récemment, de Nuzi, sur la base d'une classification des familles et des fonctionnaires.

²⁷ Ce type de recherche a été commencé par quelques contributions dans ARES 1: 205–306. Voir encore: Biga, Pomponio 1990 et 1993. Pour des considérations sur les nar « chanteurs » et les dam « femmes », cf. Toniatti, 1988, 1989a, 1989b; sur les ne-di « jongleurs », Catagnoti 1989, et Archi 1992b; sur les femmes de la cour, Archi 1996d. Pour l'utilisation de la prosopographie pour la datation des textes, voir aussi Archi 1996c et Biga 1996.

registres de distributions, ne permettra de toute façon pas d'écrire ne fût-ce qu'un de ces brefs portraits biographiques qui sont le propre des études prosographiques de l'époque classique.

5 Cérémonie funèbre (ÉxPAP) et cérémonie de purification (î-giš-sag)

Quand les documents enregistrent un accouchement, ils ne donnent jamais le nom du nouveau-né mais seulement celui de la mère: NPF (ou titre) tu-da. Plus riche d'indications est la « sortie de scène », c'est-à-dire la mort, d'une personne, laquelle est marquée par une cérémonie funèbre (ÉxPAP)²⁸ et par une purification qui prévoyait l'onction de la tête (î-giš-sag) pour les parents du disparu et aussi, exceptionnellement, de la personne qui lui avait été la plus proche. Ce sont des éléments importants pour la chronologie des documents.

On est finalement parvenu à déterminer la signification du terme î-giš-sag, moyennant une lecture qui mette en rapport plus de données qu'un seul texte ainsi que la compréhension des rapports de parenté qui liaient les personnes en question²⁹. Quelques textes montrent avec clarté les rapports entre ug₇

28 Dans les extraits des listes lexicales ÉxPAP est glosé: 'à-ra-tum, à-ra-tum et dans B: sa-'à-bù (la source D a: 'x'-u₉-[x]-um, et les traces ne permettent pas de restaurer 'du'-u₉-[nu]-um, comme suggéré dans ARET 4: 292); cf. Conti 1990: 117-18, où ont aussi été données des interprétations désormais dépassées. Civil 1987a: 33 a rattaché la première glose à l'akk. *arūtum* « tuyau (pour les libations aux défunts) ». Pettinato 1988: 312-16, suit Civil et identifie sa-'à-bù avec l'akkadien *sābu(m)* « atteindre (eau ou autre liquide) », ar. *s'b* « étancher la soif »; cf. AHw: 1000. Pettinato traduit ÉxPAP par « cimetière » (« sépulcre » serait plus heureux); pour la correction d'interprétations syntaxiques de certains passages, dues à Pettinato, cf. Pomponio 1989. ÉxPAP est toujours en référence au nom d'un défunt (en relation avec ÉxPAP on peut aussi avoir des offrandes pour des personnes déjà décédées); c'est pourquoi une traduction telle que « cérémonie funèbre » semble préférable. Dans 75.2596 (qui date des derniers mois du mandat ministériel d'Arrukum et des premiers de celui d'Ibrium), on fait référence expresse à cette cérémonie pour les rois défunts, f. VII 1-5: ...] 1 dib *Du-bi-zi-kir lú Puzur₄-ra-NI lú ÉxPAP en-en*, r. IX 3-5 (colophon): *kù-gi ÉxPAP en-e[n]*.

29 L'interprétation de î-giš-sag a donné lieu à une ample discussion, à laquelle mettent fin les arguments donnés ici. Pettinato pensait que le terme indiquait la cérémonie de l'onction du nouveau roi, (1977b: 235); pour l'auteur de ces lignes, il se serait agi d'huile de première qualité, (1979b: 560-61; 1980b: 20-30, où sont cités de nombreux passages). Les deux auteurs pensaient cependant devoir motifier leurs interprétations. Pettinato (1980a: 55-56) prenait acte qu'il ne s'agissait pas d'une cérémonie réservée seulement au roi, tandis qu'Archi (1991a: 220) admettait que « dans certaines formulations î-giš-sag indique sans aucun doute une cérémo-

(« mort »), ÉxPAP (« cérémonie funèbre ») et ì-giš-sag. Le texte 75.2334 s'ouvre par une longue liste d'objets « qui représentent l'apport du (ministre) Ibbi-zikir à Tarib-damu, fille du roi, 'épouse du dieu', remis pour la cérémonie funèbre » (*ša-du mu-DU I-bí-zi-kir Dar-ib-da-mu dumu-mí en dam-dingir si-in ÉxPAP šu-mu-« tag₄ »*; f. III 8–17). Suivent des distributions de vêtements et de bijoux à six dames de la cour, défuntés: Dusigu, Tirin-damu, Kešdut, Tarkab-Dulum, GimiNIatu et Išrut, et seulement des vêtements aux deux souverains précédents, en plus du père de la reine et de l'ancien ministre: Igriš-Ḫalab, Irkab-damu, Irib-damu, Ibrium, « remis pour la cérémonie funèbre de Tarib-damu » (*si-in ÉxPAP Dar-ib-da-mu šu-mu-« tag₄ »*; f. III. 18–IV 16). À ce moment, des tissus sont donnés « pour la cérémonie de purification du roi ... pour la cérémonie de purification de la reine » (ì-giš-sag en ... ì-giš-sag *ma-lik-tum*). Enfin, on distribue encore un vêtement pour la mort de Tarib-damu (*šu-mu-« tag₄ » lú ug₇ Dar-ib-da-mu*; f. VI 1–3). La séquence est claire: tous ces actes sont en rapport avec la mort de cette princesse. ÉxPAP ne peut signifier « sépulcre » mais « cérémonie funèbre », « mise au tombeau »; ì-giš-sag est une action qui se réfère aux parents de la défunte. Les présents à quelques illustres défunts apparentés à la personne dont on célébrait la cérémonie funèbre, étaient peut-être destinés aux images qui représentaient ces morts ou à ceux qui étaient chargés de leur culte.³⁰

La même séquence se retrouve dans 75.2276, qui enregistre les présents pour la cérémonie funèbre de Tište-damu, sœur de Tarib-damu: (présents) « qui sont l'apport du (ministre) Ibbi-zikir [18] à Tište-damu, fille du roi, pour la cérémonie funèbre » (*lú mu-DU I-bí-zi-kir Ti-iš-te-da-mu dumu-mí en si-in ÉxPAP*). Suivent des vêtements pour Igriš-Ḫalab, Irkab-damu et Ibrium; des vêtements et des bijoux pour Kešdut, Dusigu et Tarkab-Dulum; des vêtements pour Tirin-damu, Gimizatu, Išrut et Tarib-damu; des vêtements pour Irib-damu « remis pour la cérémonie funèbre de Tište-damu » (*si-in ÉxPAP Ti-iš-te-da-mu šu-mu-« tag₄ »*). Enfin on a des vêtements donnés « pour la cérémonie de purification du roi ... pour la cérémonie de purification de la reine » (ì-giš-sag en ... ì-giš-sag *ma-lik-tum*), en plus d'autres princes, frères de la défunte, comme Igsub-damu et Ze-damu. De tels biens ont été « distribués pour la mort de Tište-damu, fille du roi » (*lú ug₇ Ti-iš-te-da-mu dumu-mí en*; f. II 12–r. I 11).

nie », même si le passage suivant était cité: 76.2046 II' 2'–3': 2 la-ḫa 20 sila ì-giš-sag *I-ma-la-lum^{ki}*, d'où « le terme indique tout d'abord une huile ou un onguent ».

Dans ARET 1.17 § 58: ì-giš-sag ^d*Ga-na-na in ud a-ba-i*, le terme semble indiquer une cérémonie qui se réfère à une divinité.

30 Sur ce types de trousseaux, voir Archi 2012: 19–26. En plus du passage suivant, d'autres en sont cités dans Archi 1996d: § 3.

Parallèlement, lors de la cérémonie funèbre de la mère du ministre Ibrium, s'ensuit la purification d'Ibrium, 75.2502 r. XII 15–XIII 2: ... ama-gal *Ib-rí-um* ÉxPAP ... ì-giš-sag *Ib-rí-um*.

MEE 2.1 (75.1261) est un muDU.Ann. dont le colophon est daté de l'année de la mort d'Ibrium.³¹ et qui, entre autres, enregistre les présents envoyés par quelques souverains de villes amies à l'occasion de la purification (ì-giš-sag) du roi d'Ébla pour la disparition de son ministre (r. III 1–IV 12)³² Le CAM MEE 10.20 (75.1860) date lui aussi de la mort d'Ibrium et, dans f. I 16–II 14, il y a la liste des « femmes d'Ibrium » qui accomplissent la cérémonie ì-giš-sag.

Le muDU.Ann. 75.2375 enregistre or et argent « (comme) présent pour la mère du roi à l'occasion de (sa) mort » (nig-ba ama-gal en *in* ud ug₇; r. IX 17–21). Suivent immédiatement des présents en vêtements pour la cérémonie de purification du roi et de la reine, de la part du ministre Ibbi-zikir, du roi d'Émar (sans doute le beau-frère du roi d'Ébla) ainsi que d'autres personnages: (vêtements) ì-giš-sag en (vêtements) ì-giš-sag *ma-lik-tum Ì-bí-zi-kir ì-na-[sum]* (r. X 1–9); (vêtements) ì-giš-sag en (vêtements) ì-giš-sag *ma-lik-tum 'Ā-ru₁₂-gú^{ki} šu-mu-« tag₄ »* (« distribués dans A. », r. X 10–17); (vêtements) ì-giš-sag en en *Ì-mar^{ki} ì-na-sum* (r. X 18–XI 2).

ÉxPAP et ì-giš-sag sont encore en relation directe dans ARET 1.11 § 26 ÉxPAP (donc mort) d'Adada, mère de Dusigu – § 47: ì-giš-sag d'Ib-malik, frère de Dusigu – § 51: lamentation, igi:a,³³ pour la mère de Dusigu. Il en est de même dans ARET 4.24 § 9–11: cérémonie funèbre (ÉxPAP) de Tabdu-damu dam d'Ibbi-zikir, présents à Ibrium (déjà mort) pour la cérémonie funèbre de son ancienne femme (*si-in* ÉxPAP *Dab₆-du-da-mu*), purification (ì-giš-sag) d'Ibbi-zikir.

ARET 1.1 § 61" montre que la cérémonie de purification est directement en fonction d'une mort: ì-giš-sag *I-bí-zi-kir šè ug₇ Téš-má^dUtu* (dam d'Ibbi-zikir); ARET 2.4 § 7 est peut-être aussi pertinent: ì-giš-sag lugal (*Ma-rí^{ki}*) *in* ud TIL.TIL *Ga-sùr^{ki}*.

31 Le CAM 75.2502, qui enregistre la cérémonie funèbre de la mère d'Ibrium, est un des derniers qui lui soient attribuables. Ibrium mourut donc un ou deux ans après sa mère.

32 Cf. § 12.

33 La signification « lamentation (funèbre) » pour igi:a (graphie usuelle à Ébla) est confirmée par le passage analogue dans 75.2334 f. V 13. Le terme est documenté dans les sources mésopotamiennes de l'époque paléo-babylonienne, voir *SD A*, I, p. 96. Cf. 75.1708 f. II 2–4 et r. bord inférieur: 2 dam igi:a en = « deux lamentatrices (pour la mort) du roi ».

6 Les Documents *mu-DU* des seigneurs, *lugal-lugal*³⁴

Si, dans la pratique administrative et celle de la chancellerie, les souverains sont mentionnés seulement par leur titre, ceux qui étaient à la tête de l'administration sont au contraire exclusivement cités par leur nom.³⁵ Il n'y a pas de tablette de quelconque importance où n'apparaisse le nom propre [19] du ministre, ou vizir si l'on préfère l'appellation orientale,³⁶ qui était en fonction. Ce sont donc ces hauts fonctionnaires qui permettent une datation des textes, non pas à un an, mais au moins pour la période de fonction d'un ministre.

Le groupe de textes qui permet le mieux de suivre la succession de ces ministres est celui qui concerne « les apports » (*mu-DU*) à l'administration centrale d'étoffes et de métaux (surtout d'argent, mais aussi d'or et de cuivre, plus rarement de bronze) de la part des plus hauts fonctionnaires, dits *lugal-lugal*, c'est-à-dire « les Seigneurs » (à Ébla *lugal* correspond à *ba'al*).³⁷

7 La phase la plus ancienne

Une trentaine de ces tablettes de *mu-DU*, de dimensions pas très grandes, aux angles arrondis et au verso bombé, sont les plus anciennes et enregistrent des

34 Le thème de ce paragraphe a été développé dans Archi 1991b: 204–18; pour plus de détails, se reporter à cet article.

35 Le terme *sukkal-gal* (écrit *gal:sukkal*) « ministre » dans les textes d'Ébla se rapporte seulement à un haut fonctionnaire de Mari: ARET 7.6 § 4; 75.1293 f. III 5 (Archi 1987d: 69); 75.1559 f. XI 3; 1866 f. III 1 (Archi 1981b: 158 et 139). Parfois on trouve simplement *sukkal*; il paraît se rapporter au même personnage, ARET 7.1 § 3, § 11; 7.16 § 14.

À Ébla, il semble que *sukkal* indique un fonctionnaire attaché de quelque manière au temple, MEE 2.25 r. IX 10–13: *dumu-mí sukkal é dingir-dingir-dingir-dingir*; 75.1319 f. V 5–7: *dumu-mí sukkal é-maḥ*; ARET 3.749 I et 798 r. III: *dumu-mí(-dumu-mí) sukkal-sukkal é-maḥ*.

La lettre à Ḥamazi est adressée par *I-bu-KAxKID* agrig é en (d'Ébla) au *sukkal-du₈* d'Ḥamazi, qui est qualifié de « frère », šeš, 75.2342 f. I 7, IV 5, VI 8; cf. Pettinato 1979b: 97–98.

36 La documentation met tellement en relief les trois ministres, Arrukum (dont, pendant un moment, le nom était lu Arennum), Ibrium et Ibbi-zikir, que Pettinato (suivi aussi un temps par l'auteur de ces lignes) les a considérés comme rois d'Ébla. La réfutation de cette théorie se trouve dans Archi 1993c: 207–12, non acceptée, d'ailleurs, par Pettinato, qui ne tient pas compte de la masse globale des données. Cela ne vaut donc pas la peine de batailler contre les argumentations que l'on trouve dans: Pettinato 1992.

37 Archi 1987e: 37–43.

apports de quantités relativement moyennes de la part d’une quinzaine de personnes (parfois aussi, plus de vingt), lesquelles sont qualifiées dans le colophon de lugal-lugal « Seigneurs ».³⁸

Les seigneurs qui remettent le plus grand nombre de biens, et qui occupaient donc les positions les plus importantes, sont Darmia et Tir.

		argent	or	cuivre	vêtements	jupes
Darmia	(6 textes)	141 kg	2,7 kg		2.810	2.414
Tir	(13 textes)	433 kg	2,3 kg	75 kg	1.707	715

Les deux fonctionnaires étaient contemporains d’Igrīš-Ḫalab, comme il résulte du colophon de 75.1237: « Igrīš-Ḫalab roi d’Ébla ». Cet ancrage chronologique permet d’attribuer également au règne de ce roi (au moins pour une partie de leur carrière) « les seigneurs » qui sont mentionnés avec Darmia et Tir.³⁹

Des trente textes, le plus grand nombre concerne sûrement des distributions effectuées pour un événement particulier. Dans d’autres cas, en tenant compte du montant des biens livrés par Darmia et Tir, il semble s’agir de documents annuels. Quelques-uns sont datés par un chiffre suivi de mu « année » qui, s’il indique l’année de règne d’un souverain, devrait dès lors faire référence, au moins dans quelques cas, à Igrīš-Ḫalab. On ne peut cependant exclure qu’il s’agisse, au contraire, d’un compte relatif à une période administrative⁴⁰.

38 En quelques rares occasions, ils ont le titre d’ugula, comme dans ARET 2.25, qui selon Pomponio 1988: 317, signifierait « non pas un nom de profession, mais la fonction de responsable ». Dans 75.1925 f. XI 19, on trouve *Ib-rī-um* ugula.

39 MEE 2.45 aussi est daté d’Igrīš-Ḫalab: f. V 3–r. II 5: 1 ma-na a-gar₅-gar₅ *Ig-rī-iš-Ḫa-lab*_x en *Ib-la*^{ki} na-rú in DIŠ mu-DU *Tar₅-kab-du-lum ì-na Kak-mi-um*^{ki} simu-simug na-rú. Tandis qu’avec l’expression: NP ... in ud húl na-rú-sù, on fait référence à une personne vivante, níd_{ba} na-rú pourrait indiquer la célébration commémorative d’un défunt; cf. 75.12497 r. II 2–III 3: DIŠ mu níd_{ba} na-rú *Ig-rī-iš-Ḫa-lab*_x [*Ib-]*la^{ki} Ìr-kab-ar mu-DU x[(le court texte commence par: Irkab-damu en d’Ébla).

40 2 mu: 75.1226 = Archi 1987d: 74–76; 1373 (MEE 2.47): 2² mu; 1437; 1461. Seul 75.1461, qui concerne les remises de vêtements, semble annuel. 75.1746 a une formulation unique, r. IX 6–8: 2 mu ug₇ en = « Deuxième année (de la ?) mort du roi », et pourrait être daté de la deuxième année de la mort d’Irkab-damu (Ibrium apparaît déjà dans le texte).

3 mu: 75.10024+

4 mu: 75.1370 (MEE 2.44).

6 mu: 75.1296 (MEE 2.15); 1357 (MEE 2.36).

7 mu: 75.1374; 1769 (seulement des habits).

Le même type de datation revient aussi dans les récapitulatifs de distributions de moutons au Palais qui étaient rédigés le premier mois de l'année (iti *i-si*), et sont contemporains des mu-DU [20] de Darmia et Tir puisqu'y apparaissent quelques-uns des mêmes lugal⁴¹. Si les numéros d'année se réfèrent à Igriš-Ḫalab, ce roi aurait régné au moins douze ans (75.2222).

L'administration centrale élaborait aussi des récapitulatifs pluriannuels, selon une périodicité qui reste obscure: « pour sept ans » (*āš-du* 7 mu), ARET 7.77 (dub níg-sa₁₀) et 75.1928 (dub-gar TIL.TIL kalam^{tim}-kalam^{tim}); « pour quatre ans » (*āš-du* 4 mu), 75.1559 (Archi 1981b: 161; argent pour Mari). Dans le compte rendu des objets en or destinés au vizir Ibbi-zikir, 75.2271 (*infra*, § 11), les enregistrements commencent avec la première année pour arriver à la dernière, la dix-septième. En général, cependant, on part de l'année la plus récente, celle qui reçoit le chiffre le plus élevé. Un compte de laine comprend bien vingt-sept ans, 75.1749 (Archi 1979).⁴²

Des colophons comme: šu mu-nigin / an-šè-gu ... mu-DU 1 mu, 75.1740, 2360, 10258, (tous documents d'Ibrium) indiquent qu'il s'agit de documents annuels.

8 Le ministre Arrukum

À côté de Darmia et de Tir émerge lentement Arrukum, pour rester seul ensuite à la tête de l'administration, même si c'est pour très peu d'années⁴³. Dans MEE

⁴¹ Les textes sont édités dans Archi 1984, et on se reportera ici au nombre croissant qui y est donné.

¹ mu iti *i-si*: 75.2122, no. 11.

² mu iti *i-si*: 75.2112, no. 20.

³ mu iti *i-si*: 75.1845, no. 21; 75.1558: no. 10 (iti *gi-NI*; comptage relatif à la consistance des troupeaux).

¹² mu iti *i-si*: 75.2222, no. 19.

La datation est lacunaire dans 75.1574 et 1582 no. 17, 18; 2554.

⁴² Quelques-uns de ces documents ont été publiés par Archi (1982: 179–188), comme 75.2057, no. 11 (un compte d'or sur 8 ans); 1841, no. 3 (sur 6 ans); 2069 et 2104, no. 4 et 5 (sur 5 ans). 75.2349 suit un troupeau de bovins sur 7 ans (Archi 1984: 56–63). ARET 7.21 § 11 enregistre des produits textiles sur 8 ans.

⁴³ Le nom, écrit AR-EN-LUM, est lu par Pettinato *Ar-en-núm*. Dans Archi 1988b: 208, a été proposée la lecture *Ar-ru₁₂-LUM*, sur la base de noms comme *Ar-rí*, *Ar-rúm*. La variante graphique *Ar-ru₁₂-gu* dans 75.2619 r. I 5 (nig-ki-za A.; il n'est pourtant pas certain qu'il s'agisse du même personnage) prouve que la lecture correcte est *Ar-ru₁₂-gúm*. Dans une contribution au « Second International Congress on Biblical Archaeology », Jérusalem 1990, J. Krecher arrive à la même conclusion: « The name is with greater probability to be read Arrukum » (personal

2.44, le nombre des vêtements livrés par lui dépasse de peu celui de Tir et n'est inférieur qu'à celui de Darmia. La suprématie d'Arrukum n'est documentée que par trois textes mu-DU, qui doivent être considérés comme annuels, vu l'importance des biens enregistrés.

Texte	Darmia	Tir	Arrukum
1. MEE 2.36	26,6 arg.; 2,7 or	62 arg.; 0,4 or	1,8 arg.
2. 75.1686	1000 v. + 864 j.	309 v. + 110 j.	45 v. + 4 j.
3. MEE 2.44	333 v. + 40 j.	358 v. + 140 j.	354 j.
4. MEE 2.34	1810 v. + 1550 j.	500 v. + 230 j.	530 v. + 840 j.
5. 75.1459	(absent)	70 v.; 47,5 arg. 19 cuivre	706 v. + 500j.; 47 arg. objets: 5 arg. et 6 or
6. MEE 2.50	(absent)	104 v. + 50 j.; 61,4 arg. 63 cuivre; 2,3 or en objets	1507 v. + 367 j.; 69 arg. objets: 25 arg. et 4 or
7. 75.1897	(absent)	61 v. + 1 j.; 42 arg.	1010 v. + 93 j.; 65,8 arg. objets: 4,3 or

(quantités d'argent, or et cuivre en kg; v. = vêtements; j. = jupe).

Arrukum conserve le titre de lugal, à en juger par les indications des colophons, mais la prééminence de son rang, d'où découle le montant des biens distribués, se reflète dans la structure du document. [21] Le texte no. 5 se termine par la section qui le concerne, tandis que les nos. 6 et 7 commencent par elle. Il ressort aussi des listes de champs comme 75.2340 f. X 3–8, 12448+ f. IX 8–15 et *passim*, où on a la séquence: (champs de l') en / (champs de la) *ma-lik-tum* / (champs d') *Ar-ru₁₂-gûm*, que, du fait de son prestige, Arrukum ne venait en second qu'après le couple royal.

De même les documents qui enregistrent les sorties de métaux précieux semblent confirmer qu'Arrukum resta à la tête de l'administration pendant trois ou quatre ans.⁴⁴ Un compte rendu qui ne présente pas encore la typologie des CAM d'Ibrium et d'Ibbi-zikir, mais qui indubitablement a un caractère annuel, 75.1872, est sans datation et pourrait se référer à la première année du mandat d'Arrukum; tandis que 75.1871 (MEE 10.23), qui est daté: dub-gar è 2 mu, pour-

communication). Pour des noms de personne paléo-akkadiens composés avec *arākum*, «être long», cf. Gelb 1957: 64. L'éblaita Arrukum présente un cas (non isolé) d'harmonie vocalique par rapport à l'akkadien *arrakum* «être long, généreux». La graphie en -gu est considérée comme anormale puisque GU exprime en général /qu/; cf. Krebern timer 1982: 208, Conti 1990: 39–40. Arrukum est un nom plutôt rare; pour une autre personne homonyme, cf. 75.2233 f. VIII 7–12: A. maškim *ba-da-lum* (*Ĥa-ra-an^{ki}*; 75.17655: A. maškim [...

44 Colophon de 75.1459: mu-DU lugal-lugal 3 mu.

rait faire référence à la deuxième année. 75.2410 et 2424+ (níg-sa₁₀), qui ont la même formule de datation, et 75.1380 (2 mu), qui enregistre seulement des quantités d'or, semblent être complémentaires de ce document. Le CAM de la troisième année semble être 75.1406 (è 3 mu) tandis que 75.1413 et 1540+ (dubgar è 3 mu) ainsi que 75.1352 (níg-sa₁₀ 3 mu) lui sont complémentaires. On n'a pas de comptes rendus de métaux qui mentionnent Arrukum avec un nombre d'années supérieur.

Aḥa'ar « seigneur du Palais » (charge qui ne semble pas attestée à d'autres époques) était contemporain d'Arrukum; cela ressort du colophon suivant: mu-DU *Ar-ru₁₂-gúm in ud A-ḥa-ar* lugal SA.ZA_x^{ki}, MEE 2.42; 75.1402 r. VI 4–8 (Archi 1980a: 4).⁴⁵

9 Le ministre Ibrium

Quand Arrukum disparaît,⁴⁶ sa place est prise par Ibrium, qui figurait déjà parmi les « Seigneurs » avec Tir et Arrukum. Un document de sortie de métaux, 75.2596, où apparaissent en relief autant Arrukum qu'Ibrium, pourrait avoir été écrit l'année où Arrukum dut quitter la charge de ministre.

Il est indubitable qu'avec Ibrium, on eut une réforme de l'administration qui coïncida avec un très large renouvellement des lugal-lugal. Les documents mu-DU, qui avaient déjà atteint avec Arrukum une certaine complexité, présentent maintenant une structure quadripartite, toute nouvelle.⁴⁷

- La première section est réservée à l'« apport » (mu-DU) du ministre lui-même, Ibrium, qui est très consistant: en général plus de 100 kilos d'argent (avec une pointe qui atteint les 329 kilos), de 1,5 à 5 kg d'or et plus de 1.000 pièces d'étoffes.
- La deuxième section est constituée par les mu-DU des lugal-lugal (groupe desquels Ibrium ne fait plus partie), qui sont presque exclusivement en argent et sont énumérés d'abord un à un, puis totalisés. L'écart entre le

⁴⁵ Cf. Pettinato, MEE 2: 295.

⁴⁶ 75.2165 f. IX 8–X 3: (2 étoffes) ugula sur_x-BAR.AN *Ar-ru₁₂-gúm* DU *Ar-mi^{ki}* (2 + 2 + 2 étoffes, une plaque, dib, d'une mine d'or, une ceinture, ib-lá, d'une mine d'or, un poignard mar-tu d'or) *Ar-ru₁₂-gúm* ÉxPAP pourrait faire allusion à la mort d'Arrukum. De nombreux autres passages de cette tablette font référence à la cérémonie de l'ÉxPAP et des habits sont aussi offerts au roi défunt Igriš-Ḥalab, r. III 7–8. Dans 75.1727 f. II 7–9, une fille d'Arrukum, *Téš-ma-zi-kir*, se soumet à une cérémonie de purification, i-giš-sag, peut-être à cause de la mort du père. On ne connaît pour l'heure qu'un seul autre fils d'Arrukum: *I-zi-ma-lik*, 75.2160 f. III 13–15.

⁴⁷ Les muDU. Ann. d'Ibrium déjà publiés sont ARET 2.13, MEE 2.1.

mu-DU d'Ibrium et celui global des lugal est très grand, puisqu'il oscille dans des rapports qui vont de 6 pour 1 à 10 pour 1.

- La troisième section enregistre les « apports », plutôt modestes, des souverains de quelques villes amies.
- La quatrième a différentes livraisons. Les chiffres des totaux terminent le document.

Rien que l'extraordinaire quantité de biens suggère qu'il s'agit de comptes rendus annuels. Les textes mu-DU attribués à Ibrium sont au nombre de dix-sept, mais on ne peut exclure d'en récupérer d'autres, suite à un examen attentif du matériel fragmentaire. La somme des données des documents actuellement identifiés donne les totaux suivants: [22]

	argent	or	vêtements
Ibrium	2.093 kg	72 kg	
lugal-lugal	440 kg		
total général	3.731 kg	86 kg	plus 30.000 pièces (sauf les jupes)

10 Le ministre Ibbi-zikir

À Ibrium succède son fils Ibbi-zikir⁴⁸ et les quatorze textes qui lui sont attribuables (ceux du moins qui ont été identifiés pour l'heure)⁴⁹ représentent une augmentation notable des biens livrés: l'argent va d'un minimum de 423 kg à un maximum de 733 kg et l'or de 1,6 à 22,8 kg. Les distributions des lugal-lugal au contraire baissent légèrement. Cela signifie qu'il y eut une centralisation ultérieure du pouvoir économique entre les mains de celui qui était à la tête de l'administration. La typologie des documents reste inchangée; cependant désormais pour les versements des villes amies (qui marquent eux aussi une augmentation), on distingue deux échéances et les biens sont livrés (en général par les mêmes cités) *in ir-mi* et *in ma-wa-tim*.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Des dizaines d'attestations donnent le rapport de filiation d'Ibbi-zikir par rapport à Ibrium, voir les index d'ARET.

⁴⁹ L'unique muDU.Ann. d'Ibbi-zikir publié est ARET 8.528.

⁵⁰ Les muDU.Ann. d'Ibrium les plus récents répartissent les livraisons des Cités-États en deux groupes, avec cependant la notation temporelle (*in ir-me*) seulement pour le premier groupe (75.1297, 1556, 1587, 10200) et en laissant indéterminé le deuxième.

Si l'on fait la somme des dix documents complets on a :

	argent	or	cuivre	vêtements
ibbi-zikir	5.127 kg	139 kg	4.929 kg	48.779
lugal-lugal	440 kg			
total général	5 561 kg	179 kg		51.622 (sauf les jupes)

11 Caractère annuel des documents mu-DU

Le fait que les livraisons des Cités-États qui reconnaissaient la suprématie d'Ébla se répartissent en deux moments prouve que ces documents d'Ibbi-zikir et, par conséquent, ceux analogues dus à Ibrium, sont des comptes rendus annuels. Le terme *ir-mi/me* donne son nom au IX^e mois du calendrier dit local; *ma-wa-tim* pourrait se référer à une cérémonie annuelle pour les défunts, s'il est possible de le ramener au sémitique *muātum* « mourir ».

Il en découle qu'Ibrium fut à la tête de l'administration pour pas moins de dix-sept ans et son fils Ibbi-zikir, pour au moins quatorze.

La confirmation indubitable que les documents mu-DU avec la typologie quadripartite décrite ci-dessus ont un caractère annuel vient de 75.2271, qui permet en outre de donner l'ordre chronologique des textes d'Ibbi-zikir. Il concerne, en fait, d'après le colophon, la « propriété » (ZA_x) d'Ibbi-zikir pour un total de 287,33 mines d'or et une quantité non précisable (parce que lacunaire) d'argent. Dans le texte, sont enregistrés année après année, sans solution de continuité, de la « 1^{re} année » à la « 17^e année », « les apports » (mu-DU) d'Ibbi-zikir en or (et dans une moindre mesure en argent) pour la décoration de chars, sièges et autres objets de sa propriété. Mais pendant cinq ans (les 2^e, 5^e, 8^e, 11^e et 15^e) il n'y eut pas d'apport (nu-mu-DU), c'est-à-dire qu'Ibbi-zikir ne versa pas d'or et d'argent pour des objets relevant de sa compétence.

Puisque quelques-uns de ces objets décorés d'or se retrouvent dans la section initiale des textes mu-DU (même si l'identification n'est pas toujours immédiate), il est possible, sur la base de 75.2271, de répartir chronologiquement les comptes rendus comptables pour toute la période où Ibbi-zikir fut en fonction, qui se trouve donc avoir été de dix-sept ans. L'éventuel décalage d'une année avec les CAM peut s'expliquer si l'on admet que le dernier CAM d'Ibrium (non encore identifié) inclut les premiers actes administratifs (1^{re} année) d'Ibbi-zikir. La section relative à la 4^e année dans 75.2271 est aussi [23] enregistrée dans le muDU. Ann. 75.2341, que le colophon date de l'« année de la mort de la

mère de la reine » (DIŠ mu ug₇ ama-gal en). Par ailleurs, le CAM qui est daté du même événement (DIŠ mu ug₇ ama-gal en iti *ga-sum*), 75.10088+, vu les données internes au document, doit être considéré pour le moment comme le troisième de ceux qui ont été rédigés par Ibbi-zikir, au moins parmi ceux qui nous sont parvenus.⁵¹

On a une correspondance de date entre 75.2271 et un muDU.Ann. dans le cas de 75.10236, qui présente neuf barres obliques sur le bord, pour indiquer l'année de la période du gouvernement; et, en effet, la première section du muDU.Ann. enregistre les apports d'or qu'a 75.2271 pour la 9^e année.

On retrouve les biens de la 13^e année dans le muDU.Ann. ARET 8.528, qui fait partie d'un lot d'une vingtaine de tablettes trouvé dans la cour des audiences, L. 2752, en face des archives centrales, sur une table de bois totalement brûlée par l'incendie qui détruisit le palais G,⁵² circonstances qui échappent à une explication convaincante.⁵³

Comme Ibbi-zikir fut ministre pour dix-sept ans (peut-être faut-il ajouter quelques mois de la dernière année d'Ibrium ainsi que d'autres, précédant immédiatement la chute d'Ébla), puisque, jusqu'à maintenant, n'ont été identifiés que quatorze textes mu-DU et treize CAM qui lui soient attribuables, on doit en déduire que d'autres documents de ces deux types restent à identifier parmi le matériel fragmentaire.

12 Rois et ministres

Sur la base des documents mu-DU, on peut dire avec certitude qu'Ibrium resta en charge dix-sept (+x années) et Ibbi-zikir dix-sept années et quelques mois, donnée confirmée *grosso modo* par les CAM, puisque les documents annuels relatifs aux métaux conservés pour Ibrium sont au nombre de quinze, et de treize pour Ibbi-zikir.⁵⁴

Pour trouver un synchronisme entre rois et ministres, il faut partir des rituels ARET 11.1 et 2 qui ont comme événement initial « le mariage de la reine » et font, dans leur développement, référence explicite à l'accession à la royau-

⁵¹ Archi 1996c: § 3.

⁵² Matthiae 1986: 59–60 et tableau no. 20.

⁵³ Déjà Biga 1988a: 306, sur la base de considérations internes, notait que « The texts are distributed over a period of at least two years, among the last of the city's existence, but certainly not those immediately previous to its destruction ».

⁵⁴ Voir Archi 1996c.

té.⁵⁵ Dans les deux textes on ne cite jamais le nom du roi, mais y apparaissent les deux ministres, Arrukum (no. 1) et Ibrium (no. 2), comme faisant des offrandes aux dieux. Puisqu'il n'y a pas trace d'un troisième manuscrit avec une autre cérémonie d'intronisation,⁵⁶ on doit en déduire que la période de fonction d'Ibbi-zikir s'est déroulée totalement sous le dernier roi.

Pourtant, la célébration à laquelle participe Ibrium (no. 2) concernait Iš'ar-damu (le dernier roi); la précédente (no. 1), où apparaît Arrukum, était destinée à Irkab-damu et on y mentionne en effet Igris-Ḫalap divinisé. Considérant un autre genre de documentation, on avait pu établir (§ 7) qu'Igriš-Ḫalap avait régné en ayant comme « seigneurs » Darmia et Tir, en activité déjà avant Arrukum.

D'après l'enchaînement des données, il a paru plausible de supposer que la disparition d'Ibrium a suivi de peu celle d'Irkab-damu, c'est-à-dire qu'Ibrium est mort peu après la célébration [24] du rituel décrit dans ARET 11.2.⁵⁷ Quelques éléments tirés d'un examen global des comptes rendus annuels de métaux, CAM, obligent cependant à une rectification.⁵⁸

a) Dans tous les CAM d'Ibrium identifiés jusqu'à ce jour, à l'exclusion du premier, Dusigu est la mère du roi (ama-gal en). Sa mort est enregistrée dans le troisième CAM d'Ibbi-zikir (comme déjà dit dans le § 11, le décalage entre ce CAM et le muDU.Ann. 75.2341, daté lui aussi de l'« année de la mort de la mère du roi », et qui coïncide cependant avec la 4^e année d'Ibbi-zikir selon 75.2271, est sans doute dû au fait que les deux séries de documents étaient rédigées à des mois différents). En outre, du quatrième CAM d'Ibrium au cinquième d'Ibbi-zikir, la prêtresse TiniTUM-Dulum – à laquelle est ensuite associée Tarib-damu – est dite « sœur du roi » (nin-ni en). Il n'y eut donc pas de succession dynastique à cette époque et il n'y en a pas non plus de traces dans les très nombreux documents des années restantes d'Ibrium.

b) Une « reine » (*maliktum*) est mentionnée seulement à partir du CAM no. 13 d'Ibrium, 75.1730+, et l'on a pu établir qu'y sont enregistrés des présents desti-

55 Fronzaroli 1992: 184. Précédemment Fronzaroli (1988d: 29) pensait à une « liturgie funéraire pour les ancêtres »; Pettinato 1986: 144, à un « rituel pour la mort de la reine »; Archi 1988b: 214, à un rituel d'intronisation (cf. Biga, Pomponio 1990: 191), thèse avec laquelle est d'accord Pettinato 1992: 7: « rituel pour la succession au trône ». Pomponio (1993–94) pense qu'il s'agit d'un mariage.

56 ARET 11.3 présente une rédaction très abrégée, qui dépend de l'exemplaire no. 2, et donne les lignes générales du rituel, sans mentionner nulle personne chargée du culte funéraire ou fonctionnaire.

57 Biga, Pomponio 1990: 190–92.

58 Voir 1996c.

nés à la célébration du rituel ARET 11.2.⁵⁹ Il s'agit de Tabur-damu qui, dans 75.1730+, est appelée aussi bien par son nom que par le titre de *maliktum*. Le synchronisme entre les deux textes date le mariage de Tabur-damu de la 13^e année du ministre Ibbi-zikir.

On doit donc admettre que, pour la quasi-totalité de la période de fonction d'Ibrium et pour toute celle d'Ibbi-zikir, on a un seul roi et qu'à ses côtés apparaîtrait une reine seulement après environ 10 ans de règne. La période qui est ainsi attribuée à Iš'ar-damu se révèle assurément longue, c'est-à-dire d'au moins trente et un ans de règne, correspondant aux quatorze années d'Ibrium et aux dix-sept d'Ibbi-zikir, mais l'ensemble de la documentation confirme ces déductions.

Sur les centaines de documents datables d'Ibrium, très peu seulement mentionnent une *maliktum* et à côté du roi figure surtout la « mère du roi » (ama-gal en). Il y eut donc une période relativement longue où il n'y eut pas de reine. Pour la période précédente, une *maliktum* apparaît très rarement, et seulement dans les documents anciens.⁶⁰ Il ne peut s'agir que de l'épouse d'Irkab-damu, celle pour laquelle fut célébré le rituel ARET 11.1. Elle mourut quelques années après les noces, sans doute sans avoir donné à son époux un enfant mâle. Il est certain qu'à la mort d'Irkab-damu, lui succéda le fils de Dusigu, une « femme du roi » (dam en), c'est-à-dire une femme de son harem (75.1567 f. VI 3–5; document daté d'Arrukum, mais où est déjà cité Ibrium; 75.2249 f. II 7–8, avec Arrukum).

Dusigu ne devint jamais *maliktum*, peut-être parce que le caractère sacré d'une telle charge, patente lors du rituel de mariage, ne favorisait pas de nouvelles noces pour le roi resté privé de reine. Elle fut pourtant, jusqu'à sa mort, la première dame à la cour et, dans les listes de « femmes du roi » (dam en) du roi Iš'ar-damu, Dusigu précède Tabur-damu, la *maliktum*.⁶¹

Tabur-damu apparaît relativement tard dans la documentation: dans quelques listes de « femmes du roi ». ⁶² et dans 75.1464 qui, dans la numérotation provisoire des CAM d'Ibrium, tient la dixième place. Là où elle est mentionnée seulement par son nom, elle n'est encore que la promise du roi et les

⁵⁹ Biga 1992a: 3–11.

⁶⁰ MEE 2.48 f. II 9, et *passim*, ainsi que deux « textes de champs (GĀNA) », 75.2340 et 12448+, dans lesquels est aussi mentionné Arrukum. 75.2259 est un texte où apparaît aussi bien le couple royal qu'Ibrium, f. IV 6–9: níg-dug-DU en *wa ma-lik-tum*, Ibrium: f. III 14 et *passim*. Il devrait être daté d'Irkab-damu puisqu'il y a aussi deux dames anciennes, f. I 6–7: NE-na-du dam en, f. III 7–8: *Tal-du-du* dam en. Le CMT 75.1863, qui mentionne autant Irkab-damu (f. IV 17: ne-di I.) qu'Ibrium, doit lui aussi appartenir à la première phase d'Ibrium.

⁶¹ Archi 1988b: 246–47.

⁶² Voir la note précédente.

noces n'ont pas été célébrées. Dans 75.1730+, le CAM qui enregistre son mariage (Ib. 13), on fait référence à elle, autant par son nom que par son titre; dans 75.2502 (Ib. 14), elle est Tabur-damu *maliktum*; par la suite, seulement *maliktum*. Iš'ar-damu monta sur le trône jeune et celle qui lui était destinée comme épouse, en hommage à Dieu sait quels rapports de parenté, était évidemment encore [25] beaucoup plus jeune⁶³ Quand Iš'ar-damu épousa Tabur-damu, il était déjà le père de quelques-uns de ceux qu'on appelle « enfants de la deuxième génération »,⁶⁴ puisque ceux-ci apparaissent dans les documents antérieurs au mariage. Il est probable qu'Ir'aq-damu, désigné comme héritier au trône, fut le fils de Tabur-damu.⁶⁵

Il est certain qu'Irkab-damu mourut quand le ministre était Ibrium. C'est ce que prouve 75.1462, dont le colophon comptabilise des quantités d'argent et d'or « relevant d'Irkab-damu (quand) sa mort fut établie » (nig-ki-za *Îr-kab-da-mu si-mi* ug₇-sù).⁶⁶ Dans f. IV 1–5 on a l'apport d'un souverain étranger pour la cérémonie de purification d'Iš'ar-damu à l'occasion de la mort de son père (mu-DU en 'KA'/'SAG'-'à^{ki} [î-giš-sag] *Iš₁₁-ar-da-mu*). Suivent deux autres distributions (une venant du roi de Manuwat) « pour la purification du roi » (î-giš-sag en; IV 6–V 9). Là Iš'ar-damu reçoit déjà le titre qui lui appartient comme successeur d'Irkab-damu. Puis on a les distributions « pour la cérémonie de purification de Dusigu » (î-giš-sag *Du-si-gú*) que nous savons être « femme » (dam) d'Irkab-damu et mère d'Iš'ar-damu; la première est celle du roi de Manuwat, les autres viennent des « Seigneurs », précédés par Ibrium (mu-DU *Ib-rî-um î-giš-sag Du-si-gú*; f. VI 5–8).⁶⁷

63 NETibutu, mère de Tabur-damu, est une des « femmes » du roi Igrîš-Ḫalab, voir Archi 1996d: § 5.

64 Archi 1998b: 224.

65 Archi 1996c: § 3.

66 *si-mi* est peut-être une forme stativale de ŠYM: /šim/, Fronzaroli 1992: 182 n. 69. Pettinato, *apud* MEE 10: 35, avait déjà relié le mot à *šîamu(m)* « établir ». On lit, dans un colophon fragmentaire, 75.5698: *in ud* ug₇ [î]r-kab-[d]a-mu.

67 Le CMT 75.1938 (ministre Ibrium) mentionne quatre dames qui prennent part aux funérailles d'Irkab-damu, peut-être en tant que préposées aux libations (RSM « donner à boire »), r. XIII 15–17: 4 dam *ra-zi-ma-tum* al₆ ÉxPAP *Îr-kab-da-mu*. 75.1708 f. I 10–II 4, où sont mentionnées deux préparatrices d'onguent d'Iš'ar-damu (lequel ne porte pas encore le titre de roi) et deux pleureuses qui ont pu avoir participé aux lamentations (2 sal-TÚG *dumu-mí pa₄-šeš Iš₁₁-ar-da-mu* 1 zara₆-TÚG 1 sal-TÚG 2 dam *igi:a en*) pourrait faire référence aux funérailles d'Irkab-damu.

Font références aux offrandes pour les rois défunts Igrîš-Ḫalab et Irkab-damu à l'occasion d'autres cérémonies funèbres, les passages suivants (voir aussi: Archi 1996d: § 3): 75.1873 (ministre Arrukum) r. IV 1–4: *in ud* u₉-KA *Ig-rî-iš-ḫa-lab_x du-da-ù*; 75.2165 r. III 7–8: (étouffes) *Ig-rî-iš-ḫa-lab_x ÉxPAP* (funérailles d'Arrukum ?); 75.1783 f. V 12–VI 1: (2 + 2 étouffes) *Îr-kab-da-mu Ig-rî-iš-ḫa-lab_x si-in ÉxPAP Bu_x-ma-NI* [; 75.1937 r. I 1–3:] *Ig-rî-iš-ḫa-lab_x wa Îr-kab-da-mu* [; 75.2374:

Dans MEE 10.4 f. VIII 8–11, on trouve de nouveau la formule « quand (pour) Irkab-damu sa mort fut établie » (*in ud Īr-kab-da-mu si-mi ug₇-sù*) et Ibrium apparaît dans r. II 9 et VIII 2. Le fait que dans f. I 3–5 apparaissent *Dag-mul-da-mu* [dumu-m]í [e]n « T. fille du roi », ⁶⁸ (c'est-à-dire d'Irkab-damu) et dans II 8 GABA.TÚG-damu, un autre fils d'Irkab-damu⁶⁹ démontre que la mort d'Irkab-damu date de la première partie du mandat d'Ibrium. L'évidence qui ressort de l'étude complexe des CAM place l'événement au début de cette période.

On date de la mort d'Ibrium le mu-DU.Ann. MEE 2.1, dont le colophon est DIŠ mu ug₇ *Ib-rí-um*. L'événement doit être placé à la fin de l'année comptable, quand Ibrium avait déjà versé ce qu'il devait, puisque le texte commence par un « apport » de lui d'une importance considérable: 700 mines d'argent, 560 autres de cuivre, 2.800 robes (f. I 1–IV 9). Suivent les apports des lugal-lugal (IV 10–VIII 12) et des villes amies (VIII 13–r. I 11). Là (I 12–14) le texte a comme une césure: mu-DU-mu-DU ud-ud *Ib-rí-um* = « apports du temps d'Ibrium », donc antérieurs à sa mort, qui est enregistrée dans le colophon. Les autres distributions sont postérieures à la mort d'Ibrium. À partir de III 1, on trouve des présents de trois souverains étrangers pour la cérémonie de purification du roi, évidemment pour la mort de son ministre, puisque n'est enregistré aucun autre événement douloureux requérant l'*ì-giš-sag*⁷⁰ (... mu-DU en *Kak-mi-um*^{ki} *ì-giš-sag* *Iš₁₁-ar-da-mu* ... mu-DU en *Ra-'à-ag*^{ki} *ì-giš-sag* en ... mu-DU en *NI-ra-ar*^{ki} *ì-giš-sag* en; III 3–IV 12). Il est singulier que dans la première distribution (à la différence des deux autres) on fasse référence au roi d'Ébla par son nom et non par son titre, comme le voulait l'usage; mais la suite des trois distributions montre qu'*Iš'ar-damu* était déjà roi; en d'autres termes, dans [26] r. VIII 10–13 on mentionne aussi bien la mère du roi que la reine (*ama-gal* en *wa ma-lik-tum*), une formulation que l'on trouve aussi dans des documents antérieurs de quelques années.

Les données relatives au synchronisme entre rois et ministres s'enchaînent ainsi: Irkab-damu mourut quand le ministre était Ibrium (75.1462; MEE 10.4). Ibrium participa à la célébration d'un seul rituel, ARET 11.2, un événement que l'on place vers la fin de sa période de fonction, puisque quelques objets utilisés dans ce rituel sont enregistrés dans 75.1730+, peut-être l'antépénultième CAM de ce ministre. Dans de nombreux CAM précédents et jusqu'à sa mort (enregistrée dans CAM I.Z. 3), Dusigu est dite *ama-gal* en et, parallèlement, *TiniTUM-*

f. XII 6–15: *I-in*^{d1} *À-da* dumu-nita en ÉxPAP (2 + 2 étoffes) *Ig-rí-iš-ḫa-lab_x* *wa Īr-kab-da-mu šu-mu* « tag₄ » *si-in* ÉxPAP.

⁶⁸ L'édition à corriger ici, comme dans de nombreux autres passages, est provisoire.

⁶⁹ Voir Archi 1996d: § 4.

⁷⁰ Voir *supra*, § 5.

Dulum est nin-ni en. Si ARET 11.2 et 75.1730+ avaient été rédigés à l'occasion d'une succession au trône, on devrait admettre que ces deux dames gardèrent ces titres encore après la disparition du roi qui était respectivement leur fils et frère. De toute façon, la présence de Tagmul-damu dans MEE 10.4, qui enregistre la mort d'Irkab-damu, ne permet pas de faire descendre cet événement à une date basse comme celle où se produisit la mort d'Ibrium.

Il faut reconsidérer les finalités des rituels ARET 11.1 (= A) et 2 (= B). Comme on l'a remarqué, les deux textes indiquent clairement que l'occasion des célébrations initiales est donnée par les noces de la reine (A f. II 4-7: *mi-in* [ud níg-sá :mu] *ṛma-ṛ[lik-]ṛtum*; B f. I 2''-II 1: *in* ud níg-mu-sá GIŠ-bur-NI [*ma-lik-tum*]). Le CAM 75.1730+ r. XII 21-25, dans les sections qui concernent les objets pour la célébration dans B, spécifie qu'Ibrium a reçu un présent « le jour des noces de la reine » (níg-ba *Ib-ri-um in* ud níg-mu-sá *ma-lik-tum*). Le début de A, le seul conservé, raconte: *wa-ma-sa a-a-da-ga-si* [*ma-ṛlik-[tum mi-in é] a-bi-iš* « Et assurément il prend (pour épouse) la rei[ne, dans la maison] de son père. » On ne trouve de référence explicite à l'accession à la royauté que dans 75.1730+ r. VII 9-13: « (pour) la purification dans le mausolée de Binaš, pour la royauté du roi » (NAGA.A é *ma-tim* NE/*Bí-na-áš^{ki} ma-lu-gi-iš* en; XVII 7-9: GIŠ-TAG₄.ALAM *su-da₅-lik* en /šutallik malikim/).⁷¹

À Ébla, le sacre du roi ne pouvait dépendre de son mariage. Pour la majeure partie de la période où le ministre fut Ibrium, à côté du roi (en), il n'y eut pas de *maliktum* et tout porte à croire qu'Iš'ar-damu, dont ARET 11.2 décrit le rituel célébré pour son mariage, s'était déjà assis sur le trône. Assurément, le roi atteignait la plénitude de ses fonctions avec le mariage (incontournable encore aujourd'hui pour les représentants de monarchies moins ritualisées). Dans le couple royal s'incarnait ainsi la dualité masculine – féminine qui est le fondement de l'ordre social, comme aussi du monde divin. C'est pour cette raison qu'à un certain moment du rituel, interviennent le « nouveau Kura », le Dieu placé à la tête du panthéon, et à ses côtés la « nouvelle Barama », son épouse: en eux se reflètent pour ainsi dire le « nouveau roi » et la « nouvelle reine » (*^dKu-ra gibil ^dBa-ra-ma gibil* en gibil *ma-lik-tum gibil*).

Ce sont des rites nuptiaux qui sont décrits dans ARET 11.1 et 2.

⁷¹ Fronzaroli 1992: 184. Le CTM 75.2164 (comme me l'indique M. G. Biga) est parallèle au CAM 75.1730+ et au rituel ARET 11.1, où on lit, f. III 10-15: *in* NE/*Bí-na-áš^{ki} in* ud *mu-lu-gi* en *wa ma-lik-tum* « Dans B., au jour de l'intronisation (/malluk-i, mulluk-i/) du roi et de la reine »; XIII 1-r. I 4: 7 *aktum-TÚG ti-TÚG* en 7 *aktum-TÚG ti-TÚG ma-lik-tum sikil-sù si-in Bí-na-áš^{ki} du-da-li-ga-šum* « 7 habits pour le roi, 7 habits pour la reine, pour leur purification, à B. pour l'exercice de leur royauté ». Dans les listes lexicales on trouve *nam-nam-en = du-da-li-gú-um* /tuttallik-um/ « exercice de la royauté »; cf. Fronzaroli 1984b: 182.

13 Chronologie des trois derniers souverains d'Ébla

Le synchronisme avec Mari se précise de la façon suivante.⁷² ARET 2.4, qui enregistre dans la section § 16 la cérémonie funéraire (ÉXPAP) d'Iblul-II, mentionne déjà Arrukum dans la section § 11. Le même Arrukum se charge de remettre sept mines d'argent à « Nizi roi de Mari », successeur d'Iblul-II, 75.1866 (Archi 1981b: 139–40). Arrukum est encore mentionné dans 75.1299 (SEb 4, p. 137–138), à dater sans doute de la mort de Nizi (colophon: *in ud Ni-zi TIL.TIL DIŠ mu*). Il est certain que c'est Arrukum qui remet des présents à Mari aussi pendant le règne du successeur de Nizi, Enna-Dagan, 75.1564 (Archi 1981b: 142–44) et MEE 2.35 (colophon: *níg-ba En-na-Da-gan [x+]l mu*). Dans ARET 7.1 + 75.12683, qui doit être un compte rendu pluriannuel, avec Arrukum dans les sections § 8 et § 9, les présents sont destinés à Nizi, Enna-Dagan, et aussi à ĤI-da'ar (section § 18), qui n'était certainement pas encore monté sur le trône. [27] Les deux documents qui mentionnent le successeur d'Enna-Dagan, c'est-à-dire Iku(n)-Išar, ARET 1.11 § 17 et 75.1705 r. VI 5–7, appartiennent à la période d'Ibrium. Puisque 75.1705 semble être le premier CAM d'Ibrium, la mort d'Enna-Dagan doit coïncider plus ou moins avec celle d'Irkab-damu. Arrukum, déjà en activité à la mort d'Iblul-II, mais employé dans la remise des tributs à Mari, n'était probablement pas encore ministre à ce moment-là.

Le règne d'Igrīš-Ĥalab coïncide sans doute *grosso modo* avec celui d'Iblul-II et l'expansion maximale de Mari, décrite dans la lettre d'Enna-Dagan, 75.2367 [= ARET 13.5]. Irkab-damu succède à Igrīš-Ĥalab environ au moment où, à Mari, Nizi monte sur le trône; le règne de celui-ci fut bref, comme on le déduit du fait qu'il n'est pas mentionné dans la lettre d'Enna-Dagan et que les tributs qui lui ont été remis par Ébla sont modiques, 75.1593 (Archi 1981b: 132–35). Irkab-damu fut contemporain d'Enna-Dagan et c'est la période où commence le rééquilibrage entre Ébla et Mari, qui se termine par la défaite de Mari, ARET 7.115 r. I 3–II 6: « Irkab-damu ... l'année (où) Mari fut défaite près de 'Atini » (*Īr-kab-da-mu sikil in mu Ma-ri^{ki} GÍN.ŠÈ āš-ti 'Ā-ti-ni^{ki}*). Ikun-Išar eut un règne éphémère (il n'est mentionné que dans deux documents); il doit se placer au moment où Iš'ar-damu succède à Irkab-damu, puisque ce roi (comme on l'a déjà vu) apparaît déjà dans le premier CAM d'Ibrium. ĤI-da'ar, le dernier

⁷² Un tableau avec les synchronismes entre les ministres d'Ébla et les rois de Mari a déjà été donné dans Archi 1981b: 161, et dans Archi 1985a: 48–49, où pourtant Arrukum, Ibrium et Ibbi-zikir sont de façon erronée considérés comme rois.

roi de Mari mentionné par son nom dans les archives d'Ébla, fut contemporain d'Iš'ar-damu et semble avoir régné pendant une longue période.

Le règne d'Irkab-damu, qui ne semble pas avoir été particulièrement long, marqua le moment où Ébla s'affirma comme un État régional. Les tributs versés à Mari sous Enna-Dagan se réduisent à $\frac{1}{10}$ pour la quantité d'or et à $\frac{1}{6}$ pour l'argent, par rapport à ceux remis à Iblul-Il.⁷³ Ébla parvint à acquérir le contrôle d'un point stratégique comme Émar et cela fut scellé par un mariage dynastique, celui de Tiša-lim et d'Ruzi-damu.⁷⁴ Au début de cette période survient aussi l'accord avec Abarsal: le traité 75.2420 garantit l'autonomie de cet État qui se situe à l'est de l'Euphrate, mais en fait en provoque la décadence.⁷⁵ On cherche enfin à nouer des rapports diplomatiques avec Ḫamazi.⁷⁶ L'acquisition de matériaux lexicaux d'origine mésopotamienne se place entre Igrīš-Ḫalab et Irkab-damu.⁷⁷ C'est donc avec Irkab-damu que sont mises en place les conditions politiques de cette extraordinaire expansion économique vécue par Ébla pendant le règne d'Iš'ar-damu et documentée par les textes mu-DU.

C'est pourquoi on devrait attribuer à Igrīš-Ḫalab au moins douze ans de règne (documentés pour nous presque uniquement par des textes mu-DU), si la notation de « 12 années » (12 mu), contenue dans le colophon 75.2222,⁷⁸ se réfère vraiment à lui.

Le règne d'Irkab-damu comprend les dernières années de Darmia et de Tir, les trois ou quatre années du moment où Arrukum fut ministre, les deux (?) premières années d'Ibrium.

Celui d'Iš'ar-damu correspond aux quinze ou seize années d'Ibrium, aux dix-sept années d'Ibbi-zikir, en plus des mois qui vont jusqu'à la destruction d'Ébla.

Dans les listes d'offrandes aux dieux, toutes tardives, le prince Ir'aq-damu figure aux côtés du couple royal comme principal acteur.⁷⁹ Il était reconnu par les États étrangers aussi comme l'héritier déjà désigné, au moins à partir de la 9^e année de la période de fonction du ministre Ibbi-zikir, comme le montre le muDU. Ann. 75.10236 r. II 11–18 (de cette année-là), où aux présents du roi de Mari pour le roi d'Ébla succèdent ceux du même souverain pour Ir'aq-damu

⁷³ Archi 1981: 134; Archi 1985a: 64–66.

⁷⁴ Archi 1990a: 24–29.

⁷⁵ Un tribut très important d'Abarsal, enregistré dans 77.23 + 80.207, devrait être attribué au tout début du règne d'Irkab-damu, voir ARES 2: 89–91.

⁷⁶ 75.2342; cf. Pettinato 1979b: 97–98; cf. ARES 2: 260.

⁷⁷ Archi 1992: 19–20.

⁷⁸ Cf. n. 41.

⁷⁹ Cf. Pettinato 1979a: 212.

(mu-DU lugal *Ma-rī^{ki}* en (*Ib-la^{ki}*) ... mu-DU lugal *Îl-'à-ag-da-mu*). Dans la 16^e année d'Ibbi-zikir, donc peu de temps avant la destruction d'Ébla, Ir'aq-damu est uni au couple royal (en *ma-lik-tum Îl-'à-ag-da-mu*) lors du présent de trois chars d'or que leur fait le ministre, 75. 2271 r. III 12–IV 7. [28]

Proposition des synchronismes entre dynasties mésopotamiennes et dynasties syriennes:

Date	Uruk	Ur	Lagas	Akkad	Mari	Ébla
2500		Mesannepada	Urnanshe Akurgal Eannatum Enanna-tum I ^{er}		Ikun-Šamaš Ikun-Šamagan	Abur-lim Agur-lim Ibbi-damu
					Iški-Mari	Baga-damu
					Anubu*	Enar-damu
					Saumu* Ištup-Ištar*	Išar-malik Kun-damu
					Iblul-II* Nizi*	Abub-damu Igriš-Ḫalam
					Enna-Dagan*	Irkab-damu
2400	Lugalkinge-nešdudu		Entemena Enanna-tum II		Ikun-Išar* Ḫl-da'ar*	
2350	Lugaltarsi		Enentarzi			Iš'ar-damu
	Lugalzagesi		Lugalanda Urukagina			
				Sargon		

* Rois de Mari attestés dans les documents d'Ébla

Part II. **Society and Economy**

7 Les titres de *en* et *lugal* à Ébla et des cadeaux pour le Roi de Kiš

Le titre sumérien de *en*, à Ébla, est associé à *maliktum*: *en wa ma-lik-tum*.¹ Si on ajoute à cela que le personnage indiqué par *en* jouissait d'une prééminence absolue à Ébla,² aucun doute ne peut subsister sur le fait que l'école scribale éblaïte désignait par ce logogramme le roi. Les listes lexicales, comme on sait, offrent les équivalences suivantes: *nam-en* = *ma-li-gú-um*/*malikum*/; *nam-nam-en* = *du-da-li-gú-um*/*tuttallikum*/.³ L'écriture phonétique *ma-lik* (état construit) à la place de *en*, est très rare: *I-mi-ir-NI ma-lik I-za-rí-LUM*^{ki}, ARET 4.24 r. VIII 2–3; (1 + 1 + 1 vêtements) *ma-lik I-bu_y(NI)-bu*^{ki} šu-mu-« tag₄ » geštin (1 + 1 vêtements) *ma-za-lum-sù*, TM.75.G.2241 v. VI 8–13.⁴

Plus de trente documents dressent à leur début la liste de grandes quantités de biens (des milliers de vêtements, des centaines de mines d'argent et quelques dizaines de mines d'or), qualifiés de *mu-DU* « apport » d'Ibrium ou Ibbi-zikir; dans la section suivante, par contre, sont inclus des biens beaucoup moins importants, rapportés à une série de noms de personne, sous la rubrique *mu-DU lugal-lugal*. Puisque ces *lugal* (dont le nombre varie généralement de 11 à 15) ont immédiatement succédé à Ibrium ou à Ibbi-zikir (les deux derniers ministres d'Ébla), ils doivent, de toute évidence, être considérés comme les plus hauts fonctionnaires de l'administration éblaïte.⁵ [38]

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1 Cf. TM.75.G.1962 v. III' 11–13; 2428 r. XX 21–23. Et ARET 3.178 v. V 14'–16', VI 5'–7', 4''–6'': *en* à *ma-lik-tum*. Dans TM.75.G.1410 r. IV 11, on a le NG: (200 gána-ki) *Ma-lik-du*^{ki}.

2 Cf. les index d'ARET 1–4, sub *en*.

3 Fronzaroli 1979a: 6 interprète les deux termes comme respectivement « royauté » et « exercice de la royauté ». Krebernik 1983: 38, entend au contraire: /*malikum*/ « roi ». A en les listes font correspondre *ša-ša/šu-šu-šu-lum/[u]-um*. *ma-lik* est attesté dans de nombreux noms de personne théophores, cf. ARET 3: 313.

4 « 3 vêtements pour le roi de NL pour livraison de vin; 2 vêtements pour son envoyé ». Le fait que *ma-lik* est suivi de *ma-za-lum*, confirme qu'il s'agit ici d'une livraison pour le roi d'I.; voir les passages dans ARET 1: 268, sub *I-bu_y-bu*^{ki}.

5 La typologie de ces documents est représentée, par exemple, par TM.75.G. 1261 (= MEE 2.1). Pour les listes de ces fonctionnaires, voir Pettinato 1979: 132 sq., qui traduit *lugal* par « gouverneur »; mais une grande partie des déductions de Pettinato ne peut être acceptée (cf. étude à paraître). Sur cette question cf., pour le moment, Pomponio 1984).

Le titre de en est donné aussi à tous les souverains des villes-états de la Syrie septentrionale, y compris la région à l'est de l'Euphrate (Abarsal, Ḥamazi).⁶

Par contre aux rois de Mari on attribue généralement le titre de lugal: ainsi pour Iblul-II, Ni-zi, Enna-Dagan, ḪI-dar; Ikun-Išar est pourtant mentionné deux fois comme en. Enna-Dagan de Mari, dans sa lettre au roi d'Ébla (TM.75.G.2367 = ARET 13.), se qualifie de en, et donne le même titre à ses deux premiers prédécesseurs, alors que Išṭup-(I)šar est appelé lugal, et Iblul-II en (deux fois) et lugal (cinq fois).⁷ Or, les inscriptions découvertes à Mari (dont trois sont d'Iblul-II) prouvent que les rois de Mari se qualifiaient de lugal.⁸ Enna-Dagan, dans sa lettre, a adopté le titre de en (qu'il attribue aussi, dans la première partie du document, à ses prédécesseurs) pour éviter sans doute – ne fût-ce que sur le plan formel – toute méprise possible de la part des éblaïtes en ce qui concerne son rang: les scribes mariotes connaissaient certainement les titres du roi d'Ébla. Cette alternance de titre peut être également observée, dans les textes d'Ébla, pour le roi de Kiš: lugal (sept fois) et en (deux fois).⁹ Pour Mardu on indique un lugal.¹⁰

L'usage des titres de en et lugal à Ébla – anormal par rapport à celui qui existait en Mésopotamie – ne s'explique pas sur le plan institutionnel mais uniquement sur celui du lexique. Vraisemblablement à Mari (fortement influencée par la culture mésopotamienne), mais assurément plus au sud, à Kiš, du moins dans les décennies précédant Sargon, lugal devait correspondre à *šar-rum*, « roi ». ¹¹ Par conséquent, en ce qui concerne le terme qui à Ébla indiquait le roi, *malikum*, les scribes éblaïtes devaient recourir à un autre suméro-gramme, et leur choix s'arrêta sur le prestigieux en, dont l'emprunt en akkadien, *enum*, leur était culturellement étranger. L'autre correspondance pour lugal, attestée en Mésopotamie par les documents sargoniques, c'est-à-dire /ba'lum/ « seigneur », est généralement exprimée à Ébla par BE: en effet ^dLugal Du-du-lu^{ki} (TM.75.G.2075 r. II 14–15),¹² ne peut correspondre qu'à ^dBE Du-du-

⁶ Voir ARET 1: 219–25. Les bénéficiaires d'envois de tissus et d'objets en métal sont, avec les en, les ABxĀŠ « Anciens ». Pour Abarsal, voir le traité politique TM.75.G.2420, publié par Sollberger 1980 [= ARET 13.5]. Pour Ḥamazi, voir la lettre TM.75.2342 r. V 1 et 4, cf. Pettinato 1979: 121.

⁷ Voir Archi 1985c: 48 sq.

⁸ Dossin, dans MAM 3: 309 sqq.; Thureau-Dagin 1907: 170, X; Id. 1934: 140.

⁹ Voir Archi 1981a: 83; Id. 1987c: 137–40 [491–494]; et cf. TM.TG.G.10091, *infra*.

¹⁰ Archi 1985d: 8 et 13 [354, 357].

¹¹ La correspondance est attestée pour l'époque sargonique. Sur cette question, cf. Edzard 1972–75: 338.

¹² Cf. Pettinato 1979a: 147.

lu^{ki}.¹³ Vu que les plus hauts fonctionnaires éblaïtes sont indiqués par *lugal*, il faut en conclure que leur titre était *bâlum* « seigneur »,¹⁴ ou peut-être aussi *šarrum*, dans l'acception de « prince », qu'on retrouve dans les langues ouest-sémitiques (ougaritique, hébreu, phénicien).¹⁵ [39]

Cela explique l'opposition relevée dans les documents d'Ébla quand il s'agit d'indiquer la royauté, entre Ébla et les régions septentrionales d'une part (en) et Mari et la Mésopotamie centrale et méridionale d'autre part (*lugal*). Il arrive parfois que les scribes d'Ébla attribuent le titre d'en au roi de Mari et de Kiš, mais ce fait est très naturel vu qu'il s'agit de documents administratifs à

13 Cf. par ex. ARET 1.10 r. II 12.

14 Déjà dans Archi 1979a: 106 sq., on a montré que la forme éblaïte devait être *ba'lum*, en se basant sur l'élément *-ba-al₆* des noms théophores (cf. ARET 1: 261), et sur l'épithète de la parèdre de ^dNI-*da-KUL/BAL* de Luban: ^d*Ba-al₆-tum Lu-ba-an^{ki}*, qui correspond certainement à ^dBE.MÍ. Mais il faut tenir compte aussi de ^d*Be-la-tum*, TM.75.G. 1417 v. V 3 (graphie de type mésopotamien) qui est sans aucun doute la parèdre de Kamiš, puisqu'elle est précédée par ^d*Ga-mi-iš* (IV 14) et suivie par ^d*Aš-dar lú^d Ga-mi-iš* (V 6-7) (Eštar est donc ici une divinité féminine). Il est désormais certain que (^d)BAD / Be est, même en Mésopotamie, l'équivalent de *ba'lum/bêlum*: 1. ^dBE.ŠINIG, IAS.83 VIII 10' correspond à aB ^d*Be-el-ŠINIG*, voir Bauer 1982; 2. BE-*iš-ga*, IAS: 34 correspond à *Be-lí-iš-ga*, OIP 14.49 IX 13', tablette pré-sargonique, voir Steinkeller 1981: 22; 3. voir les noms de personne réunis par Gelb 1957: 131, sub *hanišum*. Vu donc qu'il ne s'agit pas d'une innovation éblaïte, il faut penser plus probablement à une abréviation *be* plutôt qu'à un logogramme BAD. Mais dans les listes lexicales éblaïtes on a dingir-kalam-^{tim} = BE-*lu ma-tim*; alors 1. ou bien il s'agit d'une épithète assimilée sous une forme stéréotypée par la Mésopotamie ou le signe d'une tendance à l'assimilation qui doit être lu: *be-lu*; 2. ou bien il faut lire *ba_x-lu*, cf. déjà ARET 1: 311. La même question se pose pour BE-*al₆* kalam^{tim}, MÍ.BE-*al₆* *il-tum* (forme semi-logographique pour *ba'ltum*) dans un texte littéraire, ARET 5.7 (voir *ibid.*, p. 31), certainement d'origine mésopotamienne mais copié à Ébla. Tandis que dans ARET 5.6 r. VIII 3 (lui aussi un texte littéraire, duplicat de IAS.326) on trouve deux fois *ba-al₆*. Mais le nom d'un mois du calendrier éblaïte est *be-li*. Cf. enfin Šum-*be-li* (« Progéniture de mon seigneur ») lú nar Ma-rí^{ki} « chanteur de Mari », voir Archi 1985b: 58. Pour Mari, voir MAM 3: 317 no. 10 lignes 13-14: *ì-na be-li-sù*, cf. Lambert 1970: 169. A Ébla, BAD a la valeur phonétique *bad* (voir ARET 1: 311, et cf. *Ri-bad*, ARET 4: 260, /*ribat*/ « compensation »), laquelle est non encore démontrable pour le cunéiforme de Mésopotamie. Peut-on penser, en tout cas, que l'ancienne abréviation de *ba'lum* était BA(D)? Sans aucun doute ^dBE *Du-du-lu^{ki}* correspond à Dagan de Tuttul. Il n'est pas certain, par contre, que ^dBE soit toujours épithète de Dagan. Pettinato penche pour cette hypothèse (1979a: 103; Id. 1985: 237. Mais les épithètes *ba'ltum*, *bêlatum*, et des noms de personne comme ^dŠa-*ma-gan* BE (*Du-ub^{ki}*), TM.75.G.1787 v. VII 11, semblent la contredire. Enfin, il faut remarquer la forme de datif: 13 udu ^dBE-*iš Ga-na-na* NP níd_{ba}, TM.75.G. 10167 v. II 3-6.

15 L'élément *lugal* est assez rare dans les noms de personne, voir *Lugal-a-ba₄*, *Lugal-ERIM+X*, *Zi-la-lugal*, tous noms de Mari, cf. Archi 1985b: 57 sq. Mais on a aussi *Da-na-lugal dumu-mí Ib-rí-um* « D. fille d'I. », ARET 1.3 v. VI 12, et un *Lugal-na-i-iš*, TM.75.G.2281 r. X 14, dont le lieu d'origine n'est pas donné. Et *šarratum* est peut-être attesté dans des noms de personne de Dulu, voir Archi 1984b: 235.

usage interne. Certains éléments semblent toutefois révéler d'autres interférences:

1. TM.75.G.1243 r. IX 7: (1 + 1 vêtements), lugal *Du-ra-lu*^{ki}.
2. TM.75.G.1248 r. III 7–10: é-é *Iš_x-gi-da-mu* lugal *Ša-ra-ab*^{ki}.
3. TM.75.G.1258 r. II 7–11: (1 + 1 vêtements) šeš lugal *Dar-áb*^{ki} (3 + 3 maškim-maškim-sù (idem dans v. VII 2–5).
4. TM.75.G.1295 r. 7–9: (14 vêtements) mu-DU *I-bí-da-mu* lugal *Ne-ba-ra-at*^{ki}, v. V 4–7: (1 + 1 vêtements) mu-DU *Dam-da-Il* lugal *'À-nu-ga-ad*^{ki}, VI 3–4: (1 vêtement) *Is-má-da-mu* lugal *Du-ub*^{ki}, VI 6–8: (1 vêtement) *I-ti-NE* lugal *Áb-sa-rí-ik*^{ki}, VII 3–6: (1 vêtement, argent) *Iš-má-da-mu* lugal *Na-na-ab*^{ki}.
5. TM.75.G.1348 v. III 2–9: (1 + 1 vêtements) 1 NE-li zabar en (1 + 1 vêtements) 1 NE-li zabar lugal *Ir-i-tum*^{ki}.
6. TM.75.G.1374 v. III 4–7: (argent) [mu-DU] *Za-zi* lugal *La-du-NE*^{ki}.
7. TM.75.G.1421 r. VII 4–7: (1 + 1 vêtements) *I-du-ba* lugal *'À-ru₁₂-ak*^{ki}.
8. TM.75.G.1437 r. V 1–4: (1 + 1 vêtements) mu-DU *I-du-ba* lugal *'À-ru₁₂-gú*^{ki}, VI 4–v. I 3: (2 + 2 + 1 vêtements) mu-DU *Iš-da-má* lugal *'À-na-ga-NE*^{ki}, II 1–4: (2 + 2 vêtements) mu-DU *I-ib-ma-lik* lugal *Ti-ga-mi*^{ki}, III 2–5: (4 + 4 vêtements) mu-DU *A-mu-ti* lugal *A-ra-'à-du*^{ki}, IV 2–5: *Ib-gú-I-šar* lugal *Iš-du-mu-gú*^{ki}, V 2–5: (1 + 1 + 1 + 2 + 1 + 1 vêtements) mu-DU *I-mu-da-mu* lugal *I-ti-NI*^{ki}.
9. TM.75.G.1442 v. IX 21–X 4: kírī:éš ... 1 GIŠ-gígir-II lugal *ma-lik-tum* BE-sù-ERIM+X šu-ba₄-ti (cf. X 17–21: 4 kírī:éš en *ma-lik-tum* *Ik-su-ud* šu-ba₄-ti).
10. TM.75.G.1560 r. XI 11–14: (1 + 1 + 1 vêtements) lugal *Dar-áb*^{ki} (1 + 4 vêtements) maškim-sù.
11. TM.75.G.1769 r. I 2–5: (1 + 1 vêtements) mu-DU *A-mu-ti* lugal NE-na-áš^{ki}, II 5–8: (3 + 2 + 2 + 3 + 2 + 5 + 10 vêtements) mu-DU *Ib-u₉-mu-du* lugal NI-gi-mu^{ki}, IV 6–V 8: (20 + 1 + 1 + 2 + 20 vêtements) mu-DU *Ki-li-im* lugal *Wa-ra-an*^{ki} (2 vêtements) [40] *I-gú-uš-li-im* lugal *Za-ra-mi-iš*^{ki} (1 + 1 vêtements) mu-DU EN-ga-u₉ lugal dam-dingir, VII 1–IX 4: (1 + 1 + 1 vêtements) mu-DU en *Ha-zu-wa-an*^{ki} (1 + 1 vêtements) mu-DU lugal *Mar-tum*^{ki} (1 + 1 vêtements) mu-DU *Ib-su-ul-da-mu* lugal *Ša-da-du*^{ki} (1 + 1 + 1 vêtements) mu-DU *I-bí-šum* lugal *'À-ma-ad*^{ki} lú *Za-lu-ud*, v. VII 1–4: (1 + 1 + 1 vêtements) mu-DU *A-ma-lik* lugal NE-zi-gi-NI^{ki}.
12. TM.75.G.1787 r. II 1–11: (7 + 7 + 7 vêtements) NP₁-NP₇ *A-ru₁₂-ga-du*^{ki} šu-ra 2 lugal *A-ru₁₂-ga-du*^{ki}.
13. TM.75.G.1928 v. V 9–12 : (2 bu-di) [da]m *A-a-su-mu* lugal *A²-'à-gú*^{ki}, VII 10–11:] lugal NI-gi-im^{ki} (colophon: dub-gar TIL.TIL kalam-tim-kalam-tim).
14. TM.75.G.2526 r. III 6–IV 2: (1 + 1 + 1 vêtements) lugal *Dar-áb*^{ki} (1 + 1 + 1 vêtements) šeš-sù (3 vêtements) maškim-sù (1 vêtement) lugal *Dar-áb*^{ki}.
15. TM.75.G.10145 r. VIII 10–14: (1 + 1 + 1 + 1 vêtements) lugal *Dar-áb*^{ki} (3 + 3 + 3 vêtements) ABxÁŠ-ABxÁŠ-sù (22 vêtements) maškim-sù, v. VII 6–8: (1 + 1 + 1 + 2 vêtements) lugal *Dar-áb*^{ki} (20 + 3 vêtements) maškim-sù.

16. TM.75.G.10146 r. IV 14–V 1: (1 vêtement) *Ib-dur-Il* *lugal* *I[l²-]du-*[, v. VII 5–15: (1 + 1 + 1 vêtements) *lugal* *Gú-ra-ra-ab*^{ki} (2 + 1 + 3 vêtements) *maškim-sù* (1 + 1 + 1 vêtements) *lugal* *Bur-ma-an*^{ki} (2 + 2 vêtements) *maškim-sù* (2 vêtements) *I-zi-ma-lik* *lugal* *Dar-áb*^{ki}.
17. TM.75.G.1552 r. I 3–II 2: (argent) *Ik-na-da-mu* *ù* *En-na-ì* *lugal* *I-ra-ku*^{ki} II 5–III 1: (argent) *Ne-zi-Il* *lugal* *Ar-rí*^{ki}.
18. TM.75.G.10026 r. III 6–IV 1: (objets) *mu-DU* *lugal* *A-na-áš-du*^{ki}.

Avant d'évaluer ces données, il convient de considérer que:

a) aux *lugal* on attribuait plusieurs fonctions: on trouve un «seigneur du Palais» (TM.75.G.1402 colophon: *in* u₄ *A-ḥa-ar* *lugal* SA.ZA_x^{ki}), et des «seigneurs» qualifiés de «chefs, surveillants» (*ugula*) des élevages du bétail du Palais; d'autres encore sont inclus dans les listes des *lugal* comme «chefs» de villes ou de villages (*ugula* NL).¹⁶ Les centres urbains auxquels on assigne un *lugal* peuvent donc ne pas être indépendants mais appartenir au royaume d'Ébla (dans ce cas le *lugal* n'est qu'un fonctionnaire de l'administration éblaïte);

b) il n'est pas invraisemblable que même dans d'autres états syriens, le titre de *lugal* était attribué à des fonctionnaires ayant un statut analogue à celui des «seigneurs» d'Ébla. D'autre part, des institutions quelque peu différentes peuvent donner lieu à certaines équivoques. Pour Ḥarran, par exemple, on a reconnu un *badalum* qui, dans les registres d'assignations de vêtements, est entièrement assimilé aux *en* des autres villes-états; par exemple, en ce qui concerne la séquence habituelle: en ... ABxÁŠ-ABxÁŠ «roi ... Anciens», on a pour Ḥarran: *badalum* ... ABxÁŠ-ABxÁŠ (ou: *badalum wa* NP *maliktu* Ḥarran^{ki}); pourtant un texte mentionne: en Ḥarran^{ki} *wa badalum-sù* (et, parallèlement, pour Ursa'um, on a: en Ursa'um^{ki} ... *Zimisu* *ugula* *uru-sù*, et ce *Zimisu* – on le déduit d'un autre texte – n'est autre que le *badalum* de cette ville!).¹⁷

Quelques formulations ne sont obscures qu'en apparence. Dans (11) on lit: EN-*ga-u*₉ *lugal* *dam-dingir*; affirmer qu'un «seigneur» avait la tâche de surveiller les «prêtresses» *dam-dingir* peut être problématique, mais en tout cas il est certain que cette section du texte concerne uniquement l'administration intérieure du royaume d'Ébla (*infra*, pour Waran et Zaramiš). Dans (17), Ikna-

¹⁶ Dans ARET 2.25 des «seigneurs» contrôlent (*ugula*) les livraisons de moutons; *En-na-Il* est *ugula* IGI.NITA; *Rí-ì-ma-lik* (*lugal* d'Ibrium) est *ugula* d'*A-da-áš*^{ki}; *Ik-na-Da-ar* (*lugal* d'Ibbi-zikir) est *ugula* d'*A-ba-zu*^{ki} et un homonyme est *ugula* d'*A-da-áš*^{ki} (voir ARES 2: 92).

¹⁷ Voir ARET 1: 221 sq. et la table p. 224 sq.; et aussi TM.75.G.10132 r. II 5–8: en *Ir-i-tum*^{ki} ... *ba-da-lum-sù*.

damu et Enna-I(l) sont deux lugal [41] éblaïtes de l'époque du ministre Arru-lum bien connus (*Ar-ru*₁₂-LUM, lu aussi Arennum), et Iraku est une localité où ces « seigneurs » remettaient les contributions pour Mari.¹⁸

Considérons donc les noms de ces lieux qui attestent la présence d'un lugal (cf. *supra*, pp. 4–5):

- *A-’à-gú*^{ki} (13): bien que le colophon mentionne « les pays » et que le document inclue aussi des transactions avec des villes indépendantes, *A.* doit être un petit centre, comme *NI-gi-im*^{ki} (voir *infra*).
- *Áb-sa-rí-ik*^{ki} (4): mentionné très rarement; le document dresse la liste des « seigneurs » d'Ébla.
- *’Á-ma-ad*^{ki} (11): le lien (lú) avec *Za-lu-ud* est obscure. *’Á.* semble appartenir au royaume d'Ébla; cf. e 1981c: 10, r. III 3.
- *A-na-áš-du*^{ki} (18): il s'agit d'un centre qui, jusqu'à maintenant, n'apparaît qu'ici.
- *’Á-na-ga-NE*^{ki} (8): c'est un centre éblaïte; cf. *’Á-nu-ga-lu* (Archi 1981c: 9, r. VI 4).
- *’Á-nu-ga-ad*^{ki} (4): c'est un centre éblaïte (cf. Archi 1979c: 93 l. III 6).
- *A-ra-’à-du*^{ki} (8): c'est un centre éblaïte, cf. TM.75.G.2514 r. IV 9.
- *Ar-rí*^{ki} (17): s'il correspond à *Ar-ra*^{ki}, TM.75.G.1450 r. I 5, c'est un centre éblaïte.
- *’Á-ru*₁₂-*ak*^{ki}, *’Á-ru*₁₂-*gú*^{ki} (7) et (8): *Iduba* lugal correspond certainement à *Aduba ugula* *’Á.*, ARET 1.14 r. V 2–3; c'est un centre éblaïte, (cf. Archi 1979a: 108, v. I 1).
- *A-ru*₁₂-*ga-du*^{ki} (12): à *A.* sont attribués 2 lugal, donc des « seigneurs » et non des « rois ». *A.* (= oug. *lrgt*, voir Lambert 1984: 43) selon Archi 1981c: 10 r. III 7, est sûrement un centre appartenant à Ébla, mais pendant un certain temps il a peut-être été aussi indépendant: NP *dumu-nita* en *A.*, TM.75.G.2402 v. V 7–9; 2640 r. IX 13–15.
- *Bur-ma-an*^{ki} (16): c'est une ville-état indépendante, cf. ARET 1: 264 sq.
- *Dar-áb*^{ki} (3), (10), (14), (15), (16): les contextes (lugal est suivi de *ABxÁŠ-ABxÁŠ* et de *maškim*) semblent indiquer qu'il s'agit d'une ville indépendante, mais selon Archi 1981c: 8 r. III 8 (et d'autres textes) elle appartient à Ébla; elle est mentionnée aussi dans TM.75.G.1357 v. III 6 (= *MEE* 2.36), où elle verse un « apport », *mu-DU* pour le roi d'Ébla. *Darib/Darab* est à identifier avec *tá-ra-b* de la liste de Thutmosis III (voir Matthiae 1980: 45) et ^{uru}*Ta-ri-bu* des textes d'Ugarit (voir PRU III: 267); probablement Atareb (29 km à l'O.-N.O. d'Alep), selon Dussaud 1927: 218–220.

¹⁸ Voir Archi 1985a 70 (T. e) et 72 (T. o).

- *Du-ra-lu*^{ki} (1): s'il correspond à *Da₅-ri-lu*^{ki}, TM.75.G.6030 r. III 2, c'est un centre éblaïte.
- *Du-ub*^{ki} (4): c'est une ville-état indépendante, cf. ARET 1: 266.
- *Gú-ra-ra-ab*^{ki} (16): selon Edzard 1981a: 41, r. IX 16, c'est un centre éblaïte. La même que *Gú-ra-ra-bal*(/KUL !), cf. ARET 1: 267.
- *Ir-i-tum*^{ki} (5): c'est une ville-état indépendante, cf. ARET 1: 269.
- *Iš-du-mu-gú*^{ki} (8): c'est un centre éblaïte identifiable à *Iš-da-mu-gú*^{ki} (Archi 1979a: 108, r. III 1).
- *I-ti-NI*^{ki} (8): centre qui, jusqu'à maintenant, n'apparaît qu'ici.
- *Na-na-ab*^{ki} (4): centre de l'aire d'Alalah, voir ALT: 156, pour Ébla, cf. ARET 3: 329.
- *Ne-ba-ra-at*^{ki} (4): c'est un centre éblaïte, cf. Archi 1981c: 10, v. II 1 ; 40, r. VII 14.
- *NE-na-áš*^{ki} (11): c'est un centre éblaïte, cf. ARET 2: 116; ARET 3: 329 sq. [42]
- *NE-zì-gi-NI*^{ki} (11): centre qui, jusqu'à maintenant, n'apparaît qu'ici.
- *NI-gi-im/mu*^{ki} (11) et (13): c'est un centre éblaïte, cf. TM.75.G.1450 r. II 4; cf. TM.75.G.1373 v. IV 1–3: *Ib-u₉-da-mu* *lugal N*.
- *Ša-da-du*^{ki} (11): c'est un centre éblaïte, cf. Archi 1979a: 108, r. III 2; Archi 1981c: 10, v. III 1. Selon ARET 4.10 v. V 16, un ugula l'administre.
- *Ša-ra-ab*^{ki} (2): c'est un centre éblaïte, cf. TM.75.G.2092 v. III 5.
- *Ti-ga-mi*^{ki} (8): centre qui, jusqu'à maintenant, n'apparaît qu'ici.
- *Wa-ra-an*^{ki} (11): c'est un centre éblaïte, cf. Archi 1979c: 108, r. V 6 (*Û-ra-an*^{ki}); Archi 1980a 13, r. VII 10; Archi 1981b: 157, r. VIII 2 (*U₉-ra-na-a*^{ki}) ?
- *Za-ra-mi-iš*^{ki} (11): c'est un centre éblaïte, cf. TM.75.G.1373 r. IV 4–6: *Îl-uš-li-im* *lugal Z*. (colophon: *mu-DU lugal-lugal* « apport des seigneurs [d'Ébla] »).

Donc, seules Burman, Dub et Iritum étaient sans aucun doute des villes indépendantes. Et s'il y a des anomalies par rapport à la convention scribale éblaïte qui indique – pour l'aire syrienne – par en le roi et par *lugal* de hauts fonctionnaires, elles sont presque inconsistantes. Pour Iritum, par exemple, on a dans (5) la séquence: en ... *lugal I*, qu'on pourrait interpréter: « le roi (d'I.) ... le seigneur » d'I.». ¹⁹ Il n'y a que deux passages qui s'expliquent difficilement. Dans (9) on a soit la séquence régulière: en *maliktum* soit celle atypique: *lugal maliktum*. De même, dans TM.75.G.2236 (qui enregistre des cadeaux, *níg-ba*, aussi pour Gasur et Mari) v. VI 10–12, on lit: 10 (sicles) d'argent *níg-dingir-dingir-dingir*(mul_x) en *Ma-ri*^{ki} *lugal* (cf. ARET 3.143 v. III 3'–7': *níg-mul_x* en *lugal wa x*).

¹⁹ A-t-on fait correspondre ici *lugal* à *badalum* (cf. n. 17) ?

Il convient ici de rendre compte d'une autre anomalie concernant le problème des institutions de la Syrie à cette époque-là. Pour certaines villes sont attestés plusieurs en régnant tous en même temps.

- *Ar-mi*^{ki}: TM.75.G.411 r. III 8–10: 1 ninda ku-li en-en A.
- *A-zú*^{ki}: TM.75.G.10182 r. XXI 19–23: 2 dib 2 en A. in *RI-ḥa-ti*^{ki}.
- *Ib-al*₆^{ki}: TM.75.G.1701 r. I 2–10: (4 + 4 vêtements) 1 gir mar-tu zú kù-gi *I-ga-li-im En-bù-uš-da-mu Īr-péš-li-im KA-ga-du* 4 en I., r. IX 7–9: (1 + 1 vêtements) *I-ti-Il* en I.; 10077 r. VII 9–11: *Ma-za-a-du ma-lik-tum* I., v. VI 15–17: *I-ga-li-im* en I., v. XIII 3–8: (4 + 4 vêtements) *Du-bù-uš-da-mu I-ga-li-im KA-ga-du Ī-lum-a-rí-ḥu* 4 en I.
- *Ma-nu-wa-at*^{ki}: ARET 3.192 v. IV 8–9; 271 III 2'–3'; TM.75.G.1336 r. VIII 3–4 (= MEE 2.25); 1358 v. II 13–14 (= MEE 2.37); 1796 r. VII 5–6, v. 9–10: toujours 2 en M.

Cette pluralité de chefs peut s'expliquer par une situation d'urbanisation partiellement achevée, ou par des clans voisins et alliés qui résident dans des centres adjacents en maintenant chacun ses institutions. En effet il existe au moins deux Ibal: *Ib-al*₆^{ki} Edin^{ki} «de la steppe», et *Ib-al*₆^{ki} Lá-sa-nu^{ki} «de L.», assurément liées entre elles parce que citées l'une à la suite de l'autre²⁰; et d'autres centres encore, connus par l'administration éblaïte, leur étaient subordonnés, ARET 4:9 r. VI 2–5: 'Ā-ri-zú^{ki} lú *Ib-al*₆ lú Edin^{ki}.

L'incertitude de l'administration éblaïte en ce qui concerne les dénominations des chefs ibalites reflète cette situation: Iga-lim, qui, dans les passages cités plus haut, [43] est appelé en, a par contre dans ARET 3.14 v. I 2–3 et 441 v. II 5–6 le titre plus modeste d'ugula «chef» d'Ibal.²¹

²⁰ Voir ARET 1: 268, où l'on a aussi la séquence: *Ib-al*₆^{ki} ... Edin^{ki} ... Lá-sa-nu^{ki}.

²¹ Dans ARET 4.6 r. VI 2–12, on fait la liste de 10 ugula d'I., et parmi eux *I-ti-lu*, peut-être le même d'*I-ti-Il* en des textes cités ci-dessus; et cf. *I-ti-AN*, ARET 3.630 II 5. Pour un groupe non urbanisé, voir le cas de Šura-garru, avec ses «frères», šeš, et guruš, sans aucun doute le chef d'un clan, puisqu'il est inclu dans certaines listes de destinataires de tissus, et le seul à ne pas être associé à un toponyme (il est suivi par Ibal de la Steppe !), voir ARET 1: 221, 224, 256.

Voir encore TM.75.G.2465 r. V 25–VI 3: «5 mines d'argent, cadeau pour les rois (en-en) qui se rendirent chez le roi de Nagar pour prêter serment ...», cf. Archi 1984b: 231. Dans l'archive L. 2712, qui conservait les enregistrements de rations, on trouve des séquences de ce genre, TM.75.G.266: (ninda) en wa en-en ... *Irak-damu* ... *malik-tum* ... ABxĀŠ; 299: en wa en-en ... ABxĀŠ; 299 et 527: en-en ... *dumu-nita-dumu-nita* en-en; 229: maškim en-en; 406: en-en wa kas₄-kas₄. L'interprétation de Pettinato est invraisemblable (1979b: 79): «les rois (précédents)»; on ne peut non plus penser (vu le contexte) à un culte des ancêtres, comme à Lagaš, même si dans ARET 7.150 r. III 6, en-en sont sûrement les ancêtres disparus, auxquels on sacrifie des moutons. La mention conjointe: «les rois et les messagers» semble indiquer qu'il s'agit au contraire de rois hôtes à Ébla. Dans TM.75.G.2398 r. VI 29–VII 15 on enregistre des moutons pour le repas du roi (Išar-damu), de Dubuḥu-'Ada et Ruzi-damu (fils d'Ibbi-zikir), et

En conclusion,²² ces quelques anomalies n'infirmant pas ce qui a pu être déduit d'un grand nombre de textes, à savoir que – selon les habitudes scribales d'Ébla – pour la Syrie en indique le roi et *lugal* un haut fonctionnaire de l'administration.

Le fait qu'au moins 80 documents économiques d'Ébla mentionnent la grande Kiš,²³ c'est-à-dire un nombre supérieur à celui que nous ont donné jusqu'à présent les archives économiques de la Mésopotamie du III^e millénaire, indique clairement l'importance des échanges entre les deux états ainsi que le caractère exhaustif des archives d'Ébla. Des restaurations effectuées au musée d'Alep, dans l'automne 1984, ont permis, entre autre, de rendre lisible le document TM.75.G.10091 (115 × 107 × 38 mm). Il enregistre des « cadeaux », *níg-ba*, offerts à différents personnages.

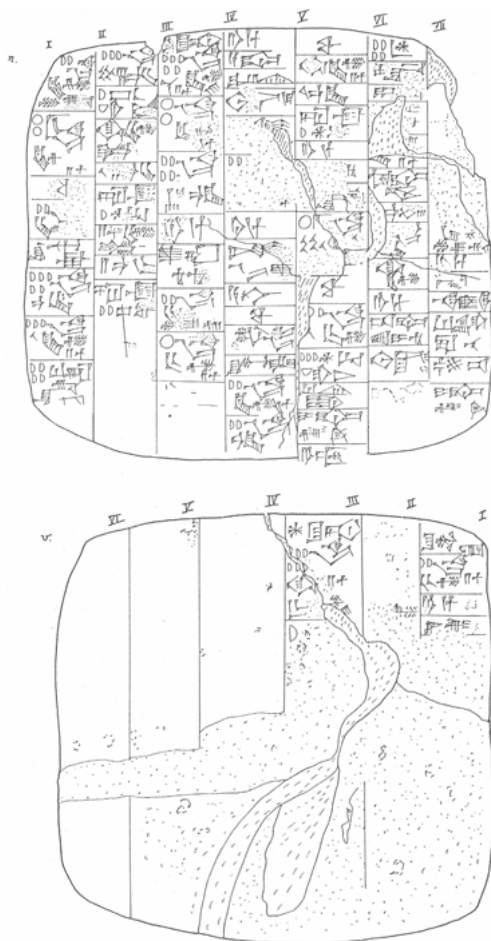
[46] Du côté éblaïte, on trouve mentionné deux fois *Ibbi-zikir*: sur son patrimoine, on prélève des objets d'or, et un de ses représentants est envoyé à Nagar (r. V 13, VII 8). Ce texte date donc du period quand il était ministre. On ne peut, actuellement, en dire plus sur les messagers Abu et Puzurra-BE (r. IV

ensuite pour « les princes [fils des rois] de la maison du roi », sans doute les fils des rois précédents qui vivaient à la cour: 99 *udu kú* en 133 *udu kú Du-bù-ḥu-d'À-da* 54 *udu kú Ru₁₂-zi-ma-lik* é en 23 *udu kú dumu-nita-dumu-nita en-en é* en (aussi dans TM.75.G.1945 r. X 3–14; 10057 v. III 1 sqq.; 10167 r. VII 5–17). Mais dans TM.75.G.10168 r. VIII 13–IX 5 on trouve des moutons pour le prince Ir'ak-damu, et ensuite pour « Dubuḥu-'Ada et les rois (*wa en-en*) »; ici peut-être le scribe a oublié *dumu-nita-dumu-nita*. Les voyages de souverains syriens dans d'autres cours ne doivent pas être considérés comme inusuels, voir TM.75.G.1381 r. II 3–7: *Zu-ga-LUM ma-lik-tum lú du-du si-in SA.ZA_x* « Z., reine (de Ḥarran, voir Archi 1984b: 246), qui se rendit au Palais (d'Ébla) »; 1704 r. IV 8–12: *I-bí-zi-kir dumu-nita Ib-rí-um si-in Bur-ma-an^{ki}*; 2361 r. X 3–9: *níg-ba en in u₄ en du-du si-in A-bar-sal^{ki}* « présent pour le roi (d'Ébla ?) quand le roi se rendit à A. »; 2443 r. VI 12–16: *in u₄ I-bí-zi-kir i-ti in Ma-rí^{ki}* « lorsque I. était présent à Mari »; 10183 v. II 2–13: (2 + 2 + 2 vêtements) en *Ī-mar^{ki} wa en Bur-ma-an^{ki} lú du-du si-in ḥul I-bí-zi-kir in SA.ZA_x^{ki} šu-ba₄-ti* « (2 + 2 + 2 vêtements) le roi d'I. et le roi de B., qui allaient à la fête du (roi) *Ibbi-zikir*, dans le Palais (d'Ébla) ont reçu ».

Pour d'autres passages dont l'interprétation est incertaine, voir TM.75.G.10140 r. V 1–5: 2 *dib ... 2 en A-zú^{ki} in RI-ḥa-ti^{ki}*, et Asu semble être un centre éblaïte, voir TM.75.G.1450 r. IV 1; ARET 1.11 v. I 8–9 : en-tur *Du-ub^{ki}*; ARET 3.178 v. XI 12'–14': *GIŠ-gu-gíd-kak-šub en-en āš-du* [; 732 VII 3'–4': *lú KA.UNKEN en-en*; TM.75.G.1918 v. XVIII 24–27: *GIŠ-šú-GIŠ-šú wa kur-nu-a-zu en-en*; 2341 v. IV 9–11: *níg-ba en-en* [.

22 Azu et Durugasu sont des villes qui ne sont pas mentionnées souvent, cf. ARET 1: 264 sq.; ARET 3: 320. De plus cf. TM.75.G.2596 r. VII 1–5: 1 *dib Du-bí-zi-kir lú Puzur₄-ra-NI lú ÉxPAP en-en*, v. VIII 7–IX 5 (colophon): è *lú mu-DU I[b-rí]-um wa* « tag₄ » *kū-gi ÉxPAP en-en*.

23 Archi 1981a: 77–78; Id. 1987c.



TM.75.G. 10091 (copie).

10, 12, VII 6). Il faut pourtant remarquer qu'un Puzurra-BE est maškim de Ți-dar, sans aucun doute le roi de Mari: TM.76.G.525 v. VII 17-19. Quant à In-malik, on sait qu'il s'agit d'un messenger du ministre Ibrum à Kiš, TM.75.G.10109 v. IV 6-10: (or) a-mu lugal (Kiš^{ki}) *In-ma-lik* lú *Ib-rí-um* šu-mu-«tag₄».

Les destinataires des cadeaux sont des personnages de Kiš (le nom de la ville se trouve dans r. IV 4 et VI 12), le roi de Nagar (r. VII 4-5), *Ī-lum-ma-iš* (r. IV 9) et *Ni-zi* (v. I 4), et d'autres encore dont le nom n'est que partiellement conservé dans les sections § 4, § 5, § 6. Un lien certain entre Kiš et Nagar est attesté aussi dans d'autres cas: un voyage d'Ibbi-zikir arrive à «Kiš et Nagar»; «le roi (lugal) de Kiš et le roi (en) de Nagar» sont cités dans une lettre; «des

hommes de Nagar se rendent à Kiš». ²⁴ Nagar est certainement la même que celle qui est connue par les textes de Mari du II^e millénaire, elle doit donc être située dans les environs du Ḫabur. ²⁵ Il est compréhensible que des documents économiques mentionnent Nagar avec Kiš, vu qu'à l'époque d'Ébla c'était un des centres les plus importants de la région. En ce qui concerne Nizi, on pense immédiatement au roi de Mari de même nom, ²⁶ qui figurerait bien à côté des rois de Kiš et de Nagar. Mais la chronologie – il précède Enna-Dagan sur le trône de Mari – rend impossible cette identification. *Ī-lum-ma-(iš)*, lui non plus, (r. IV 9) ne peut être identifié, du moins à l'heure actuelle. ²⁷

Le destinataire de la section § 1 est certainement mésopotamien: *Īš-kum-Nu-nu* (r. III 5). L'élément *-nu-nu* est inconnu de l'onomastique éblaïte, alors qu'il est attesté pour le nom d'un fils du roi de Kiš: *Īr-kum-Nu-nu*. ²⁸ Il est donc vraisemblable, vu que le cadeau est d'une richesse extraordinaire et que Kiš apparaît dans la section suivante, que cet *Īškun-Nunu* est un personnage très important de cette ville. La section § 2 pose des problèmes. En effet, la syntaxe semble exiger l'interprétation: « ... cadeau pour Abī, roi de Kiš ... ». ²⁹ Par conséquent le roi de Kiš (dont le nom serait, à vrai dire, banal) ³⁰ aurait reçu un cadeau important, mais inférieur de la moitié environ par rapport à celui d'*Īš-kun-Nunu*. De toute façon, il ne faut pas exclure qu'A-NE puisse être lu *a-dè*, la conjonction qui marque la finalité (« pour ») ou la cause (« parce que »). ³¹

²⁴ Archi 1981a textes: [1], [6], [22], et aussi TM.75.G.2250 v. II 13–16 (analogue à [22]).

²⁵ Cf. ARM XVI, 1: 24; Groneberg 1980: 173. Pour Nagar et Tuttul du Balih dans les textes d'Ébla, cf. Archi 1984b: 231.

²⁶ Archi 1985c: 48 sq.

²⁷ Le nom doit être probablement interprété comme */ilum-ma/* « il est le Dieu », avec le suffixe du datif: *-iš*.

²⁸ TM.76.G.540 r. VII 23–VIII 1: *níg-ba en Kiš^{ki} wa dumu-nita-sù Īr-kum-Nu-nu*. Les deux noms doivent être interprétés comme: */yirgum-nunu/* « ND a crié »; */yiškun-nunu/* « ND a placé ». Pour Nunu dans l'onomastique sargonique, voir Roberts 1972: 47 (où l'on cite un *Puzur₄-dNu-ni* d'un texte de Kiš), et dans les noms de Mari de l'époque des *šakkanakku*: Limet 1976: 88. Comme me l'a fait remarquer W. G. Lambert, il n'est pas nécessaire de penser à *nūnum* « poisson », divinisé; des noms divins du type *C₁V₁-C₁V₁* sont assez fréquents, cf. Kiki, Tutu.

²⁹ Le terme *níg-ba* est généralement suivi d'un nom de personne, de dieu ou de fonction; voir les index dans ARET 1–4, s.v.

³⁰ Le NP *A-bī* est attesté, par exemple, dans TM.75.G.2631 r. V 2–7: 3 *ma-na bar₆:kù 20 guruš-V 20 dam-III maškim Du-bū-ḫu- d²Ā-da A-bī šu-ba₄-ti*; cf. aussi ARET 1.5 v. VII 26, 25 r. I 3, 42 v. V 7.

³¹ J. Krecher m'a rappelé cette autre possibilité. La préposition *a-dè* signifie:

a) « équivalent à, pour »; il exprime le rapport de valeur entre deux biens (Edzard, ARET 2: 119; cf. Pettinato, MEE 2: 131). TM.75.G.1449 v. II 4–6: « 50 mines d'argent pour (équivalent à, *a-dè*) 21 mines 30 (sicles) d'or »; ARET 2:24 r. II 3–6: « 30 (sicles) d'argent pour (*a-dè*) 2 onagres femelles »; TM.75.G.2272 r. VII 6–8: « 300 *gú-bar* d'orge pour (*a-dè*) 1 mine d'argent ».

[47] Dans ce cas, on aurait: « ... cadeau parce que le roi de Kiš ... » (la lacune à la fin de la section rend problématique toute proposition de restauration). Si l'on accepte cette seconde interprétation, il s'ensuit indirectement que le roi de Kiš est Iškun-Nunu. Enfin, *Du-bí-Zu-i-nu* (/tüb-ī-su'en « le dieu Lune est mon bonheur ») de Kiš (r. VI 11–12) est, lui aussi, un très haut fonctionnaire: cf. TM.75.G.2426 r. VI 16–24: 4 dib 40 *Du-bí-Zu-i-nu* Kiš^{ki} *En-na-ni-Il 'À-du*^{ki} *Sá-ù-um Na-gàr*^{ki} *Îl-ba-zì-kir Kak-mi-um*^{ki} « 4 lingots de 40 (sicles d'or) pour D. de Kiš, E. d'Adu, S. de Nagar, I. de Kakmium ». ³²

TM.75.G.10091

§ 1

recto

- I 1 2 ma-na kù-gi še-ú-r[i]
 20 lá-2 ma-na kù-gi 2 ½
 3 'wa'
 2 m[a-na] kù-gi 2 ½
 5 šu-bal-ak
 5 ma-na bar₆ :kù
 7 3 ma-na 10 kù-gi 2 ½
 4 kîri:si á-MUŠEN

- b) « comme, pour ». ARET 4.6 § 9: (5 + 5 + 5 vêtements) 50 (sicles) d'argent (pour) NP₁-NP₅, 5 représentants (maškim) de NP, présents avec (î-ti *áš-da*) NP, comme leur cadeau ont reçu (*a-dè* níg-ba-sù šu-ba₄-ti); TM.76.G.539 r. X 11–16: 2 ma-na kù-gi 1 dib *a-dè* 1 dib-sù sikil ^{d'}À-da « 2 mines d'or: 1 barre comme 1 sienne (fut) pour la purification de ND » (cf. ARET 3.445 I 2–7: 1 dib en *áš-du* 1 dib-sù sikil ^{d'}À-da); ARET 1.6 § 53: « (5 + 5 + 5 vêtements) (pour) NP₁-NP₅ pour (*a-dè*) l'argent, qui avec NP ont reçu ».
- c) « comme, parce que », si relié à ŠÊ, vraisemblablement sum. -šè (à Ébla parfois même enclitique ?), qui a la fonction terminative-finale, cf. ARET 1: 303; ARET 4: 321 (cf. ital. « come » *a-dè*; « siccome » *a-dè* ... šè); se suit un terme cité précédemment. TM.75.G.2508 r. XIII 21–29: 1 ma-na bar₆:kù níg-ba NP *a-dè* níg-ba-sù šè in *Ar-mi*^{ki} šu-ba₄-ti « 1 mine d'argent: cadeau (pour) NP parce qu'il reçut son cadeau dans NL ». TM.76.G.534 v. XI 10–17: 3 bar₆:kù níg-sa₁₀ 1 níg-lá-du₈ NP lú NP *Ma-ri*^{ki} *a-dè* 1 níg-lá-du₈-sù-šè zaḥ « 3 (sicles) d'argent: « prix » de 1 n. (pour) NP dépendant de NP de NG, parce que 1 son n. se perdit ». (ARET 2.33 r. V 14: *a-NE.ŠÊ-su*, est obscur).

32 Généralement les barres d'or de ce poids sont des cadeaux réservés aux souverains (cf. ARET 1.32); et vu que tout de suite après, dans r. VII 23–VIII 17, sont enregistrées d'autres barres d'or plus légères (1 de 20 sicles, 6 de 16 sicles) pour les Anciens de Kiš, il y aurait lieu de croire qu'il s'agit ici de la séquence habituelle où les cadeaux pour les Anciens sont précédés par les cadeaux pour le roi (voir ARET 1.1–9, et pp. 219–225). Mais Ilba-zikir, qui est avec Ṭūbi-Su'en un des destinataires des barres d'or, dans ARET 4.6 r. IV 16 n'est qu'un Ancien de Kakmium.

- II 1 3 ma-na 55 bar₆:kù
 1 GIŠ-šú 1 níg-tur
 3 šú+ša kù-gi sa₆
 10+^r5^r bar₆:kù
 5 UNKEN-ak 1 an-zam_x
 2 ½ kù-gi sa₆
 7 2 bar₆:kù
 UNKEN-ak 2 geštu_x-lá (vide)
- III 1 ^rAN^r.ŠË.GÚ 5 ma-na kù-gi ban 2 ½ 4
 20 ma-na kù-gi [1+]1 ½
 3 4 ma-na 10+^r2^r bar₆:kù 4
 níg-ba
 5 *Iš-kum-Nu-nu*

§ 2

- 2 ma-[n]a kù-g[i] še-ú-ri
 7 10 ma-na kù-gi 2 ½
 (effacé)
- IV 1 níg-ba
 A.NE
 3 lugal
 Kiš^{ki}
 5 [x-*d*]u[?]-LUM
 x [...] [48]

§ 3

- 7 2 [ma-na x(?) kù-gi 2] ½
 níg-ba
 9 *Ī-lum-ma-iš*
 A-bu
 11 *wa*
 In-ma-lik
 13 šu-mu-« tag₄ »

§ 4

- 2 ma-na kù-gi 2 ½
 15 2 ma-na bar₆:kù
- V 1 *wa*
 ^ršú+ša^r kù-gi 2 ½

- 3 10 bar₆:kù
UNKEN-ak 1 an-z[am_x]
5 níg-ba
[...]-nu
7 [x]-^rda^ː-x

§ 5

- 10 lá-1 ma-na 50 [bar₆:k]ù
9 wa
[l²+]2 ma-na 10 kù-gi
11 3 an-zam_x 1 bur-KAK
lú ZA_x
13 *I-bí-zi-kir*
níg-sa₁₀
VI 1 4 BAR.AN
áš-da
3 *I-x-(x)*
[...] x [...] x
5 [x ma-na] 3 [k]ù-[gi] 2 ½
dar-bí-tum
7 [n]a₄-sù
[x] ma-[n]a [bar₆]:kù
9 šú+ša kù-gi
níg-ba
11 *Du-bí-Zu-i-nu*
Kiš^{ki}
13 (effacé)
VII 1 (vide)

§ 6

- 2² [x ma-na x(?)] k[ù-g]i še-ú-ri
3 ní[g]-ba
en
5 *Na-gâr^{ki}*
Puzur₄-ra-BE
7 maškim
I-bí-zi-kir

verso

- I 1 šu-mu-« tag₄ »

§ 7

- 2 ma-na kù-gi 2 ½
3 níg-ba
NI-zi
5 [...]

§ 8

- II 1 (anep.; ensuite graffite:)
[x kù-g]i [...]

§ 9

- III 1 AN.ŠĖ.GÚ 6 ma-na šú+ša 2 ½ kù-[g]i 4
60[+x(?) ma-na ...
IV–VI (anep.)

§ 1 2 mines d'or choisi, 18 mines d'or (à un rapport avec l'argent) de 2 ½ et 2 mines d'or [(à un rapport) de 2 ½] à changer en 5 mines d'argent, 3 mines 10 (sicles) d'or (à un rapport avec l'argent) de 2 ½ pour 4 rênes d'aigle, 3 mines 55 (sicles) d'argent pour 1 G. (et) 1 n., 20 (sicles) de bon or, 15 (sicles) d'argent pour faire un vase a., 2 ½ (sicles) de bon or, 2 (sicles) d'argent pour faire 2 boucles d'oreilles. Total: 5 mines 32 ½ (sicles) d'or (à un rapport avec l'argent) de 4; 20 mines d'or (à un rapport avec l'argent) de 2 ½; 4 mines 12 sicles d'argent à 4: cadeau pour I.

§ 2 2 mines d'or choisi, 10 mines d'or (à un rapport avec l'argent) de 2 ½: cadeau *parce que* le roi de Kiš [...] x [...].

§ 3 2 [mines x(?) (sicles) d'or (à un rapport avec l'argent) de 2] ½: cadeau pour I., A. et I. ont remis. [49]

§ 4 2 mines d'or (à un rapport avec l'argent) de 2 ½, 2 mines d'argent et 20 (sicles) d'or (à un rapport avec l'argent) de 2 ½, 10 sicles d'argent pour faire un vase a.: cadeau pour NP ...

§ 5 9 mines 50 (sicles) [d'argent] et 3(?) mines 10 (sicles) d'or (pour faire) 3 vases a. 1 b. de la propriété d'I., « prix » de 4 onagres avec [...] x [...] x mines] 3 (sicles) d'o[r] (à un rapport avec l'argent) de 2 ½, d. sa pierre, [x] mines d'argen[t], 20 (sicles) d'or: cadeau pour D. de Kiš.

§ 6 [x mines x(?) (sicles)] d'o[r] choisi: cadeau pour le roi de N., P. agent d'I. a remis.

§ 7 2 mines d'or (à un rapport avec l'argent) de 2 ½: cadeau pour N. [...]

§ 8 [...] o[r] [...]

§ 9 Total: 6 mines 22 ½ (sicles) d'or (à un rapport avec l'argent) de 4, 60[+x(?) mines x(?) sicles d'or (à un rapport avec l'argent) de 2 ½ ...

Les totaux concernant les quantités d'or et d'argent citées dans la section § 1 sont corrects:

or			
recto			
I	1	2 ma-na	kù-gi še-ú-ri
	7	3 ma-na 10	kù-gi 2 ½ (! !)
II	3	20	kù-gi sa ₆
	6	2 ½	kù-gi sa ₆
III	1	5 mines 32 ½ (sicles) d'or à 4	
I	2	18 ma-na	kù-gi 2 ½
	4	2 ma-na	kù-gi [2 ½]
III	2	20 mines d'or à 2 ½	
argent			
II	1	3 ma-na 55	kù-bar ₆
	4	15	kù-bar ₆
	7	2	kù-bar
III	3	4 mines 12 (sicles) d'argent	

Il faut remarquer que:

1. La rubrique des dépenses dans r. I 4–7 est évaluée en or, par conséquent dans le total (correctement) on ne comptabilisé pas l'argent. Au contraire, dans les registres annuels concernant les dépenses effectuées par le Trésor (« la maison de la laine », é-siki) (cf. les grandes tablettes TM.75.G.2507, 2508) sont tenues uniquement sur la base des valeurs en argent; une quantité d'or est donc enregistrée sous la rubrique des dépenses comme suit: « x mines d'argent à changer (šu-bal-ak) en x mines d'or, pour ... », par conséquent le bilan dans le colophon concerne seulement l'argent: « x mines d'argent, présentes (al-gál); x mines d'argent: dépense (è) ».
2. L'intégration: [2 ½] dans r. I 4, dépend du rapport établi entre or et argent: 5 : 2 = 2 ½.
3. Le scribe a commis une erreur évidente en ajoutant les 3 mines et les 10 sicles d'or (à un rapport avec l'argent) de 2 ½, dans r. I 7 à l'or de meilleure qualité. [50]

L'or de qualité supérieure est qualifié de « bon », sa₆ (r. II 3, 6; cf. ARET 3.764 I 1), ou še-ú-ri (r. I 1, III 6). Ce terme n'est cité que dans la liste lexicale *D*: še-ú-RI:RI-ga = li-gi-tum; še-ú-ri-ga = a-ga-tum, et les gloses doivent être interprétées respectivement: liq₁tum « choisi »; laq₂ātum « recueillir » (avec l'articulation

faible de 1-).³³ *liqum*, comme détermination de la qualité de l'or est bien attesté dès l'époque moyen-babylonienne (CAD L: 207b), mais on le trouve déjà dans les textes de Mari, ARM XVIII 15, 6 (cf. *Ahw*: 1571 b). La somme (r. III 1) unifie les deux qualités en les faisant correspondre à l'argent dans un rapport de 1 : 4.

Or, dans la documentation éblaïte, le rapport entre or et argent n'est pas fixe. Le rapport de 1 : 5 est prédominant, mais on peut constater des variations à l'intérieur d'un même document. Ainsi, dans TM.75.G.2508 (dans les 25 colonnes du recto), on a seulement (et pour 58 fois) le rapport de 1 : 5. Par contre, dans TM.75.G.2429 (dans les 31 colonnes du recto) on trouve les rapports de 1 : 5 (15 fois), 1 : 4 (29 fois), 1 : 3 (3 fois). Il ne s'agit pas de fluctuations de la valeur du marché mais d'indication de la pureté de l'or, en ce qui concerne l'objet qui doit être réalisé. En faisant suivre le numéro 4 ou 2 ½ à *kù-gi*, « or » (comme dans r. III 1, 2), on indique la valeur – par rapport à l'argent – de deux différents alliages d'or; si *kù-gi* n'est suivi d'aucune qualification, il faut présumer que le rapport avec l'argent est le plus courant, c'est-à-dire de 1 : 5. F. Pomponio avait déjà compris le sens de la qualification: 2 ½, sur la base de TM.75.G.1333 r. I 1-3: 1 ma-na bar₆:kù *a-dè šú+ša* 4 kù-gi 2 ½ « 1 mine d'or pour 24 (sicles) d'or à 2 ½ » (60 : 24 = 2.5).³⁴ On peut citer aussi ARET 7.83 r. I 1-II 3: 37 ma-na 52 bar₆:kù *šu-bal-ak* 9 ma-na *šú+ša* 8 3 NI kù-gi 4 3 ma-na 55 bar₆:kù *šu-bal-ak* 1 ma-na *bán* 4 kù-gi 2 ½ « 37 mines 52 (sicles) d'argent à changer contre 9 mines 28 (sicles) 3 NI d'or (dans un rapport) de 4; 3 mines 55 (sicles) d'argent à changer contre 1 mine 34 (sicles) d'or (dans un rapport) de 2 ½ » (2272 : 568.33 = 3.99; 235 : 94 = 2.5).³⁵ La qualification: 4, pour l'argent, dans r. III 3, est par contre tout à fait atypique et doit être considérée comme une erreur du scribe.

Sans aucun doute *kiri:si* (r. I 8) correspond au plus fréquent *kiri:šè*, même si les listes lexicales enregistrent soit KA.SI soit KA.ŠÈ. Cela est prouvé par le fait que tant *és-kiri* que *si-kiri*:

33 Cf. Krebernig 1983: 13. Le prototype sumérien (monolingue) TM.75.G.2422+ a: *Ú.RI.RI.GA*. Pour l'équivalence *ŠE.RI.RI.GA* / *Ú.RI.RI.GA* = *liqum* dans les listes lexicales akkadiennes, voir *AHw*: 555b; CAD, L: 206.

34 Pomponio 1983-84: 62, où, en note, on estime que: « l'opposition entre *kù-gi-4* et *kù-gi-2 ½* pourrait aussi s'exprimer, avec une terminologie différente, par l'opposition *kù-gi-sa₆/hul* », attestée dans TM.75.G.2310 r. 1-2, voir Biga 1981: 25. Cela est aujourd'hui démontré par la somme dans r. III 1, où la quantité de *kù-gi* 4 inclut aussi *kù-gi sa₆*. Sur la question de la qualification de l'or, cf. aussi Waetzold 1981: 368 sq. Pour de l'or à 2 ½, voir aussi TM.75.G1933=ARET 7.31.

35 Sur les rapports entre l'or et l'argent en Mésopotamie, du III^e au I^{er} millénaire, voir Lee-mans 1957-71: 512. Pour Mari, où le rapport est de 1 : 4, voir récemment J.-M. Durand, ARM XXI: 194 sq.

1. sont reliés à níg-anše-ak (et dans le rapport de 2 : 1), TM.75.G.2507 r. VIII 25: 4 kiri:si-maḥ 2 níg-anše-ak, 30: 4 kiri:si á-MUŠEN 4 kù-sal 2 níg-anše-ak;
2. représentent une corde ou une chaîne à laquelle est lié un oiseau rapace: á-MUŠEN (cf. aussi TM.75.G.2508 r. X 36) et buru₄-MUŠEN.³⁶
Pour r. VI 6–7, voir ARET 2.45 r. II 2–3.

Excursus kù-bar₆ / kù-gi TAR.TAR (ḥaš-ḥaš) « argent / or non travaillé, en morceaux »

[51] En vérifiant les comptes d'ARET 2.13, D. O. Edzard remarquait que les quantités d'or enregistrées dans le texte dépassent le total indiqué dans le colophon. Mais si l'on excluait de la somme l'or des sections § 21 et § 24, il résultait que: « dann bleiben 4;34, d. h. ein Betrag, der um nur 1 Sekel von den gewünschten 4;33 abweicht ».³⁷ Ces deux sections concernent des objets d'or (1 barre, dib, 1 GIŠ-sú, etc.), alors que pour la quantité de 4;33, qualifiée dans le colophon comme kù-gi TAR.TAR, il s'agit d'or non travaillé: section § 1: 3;14; section § 22: 1;20. Les documents examinés ci-après confirment que TAR.TAR qualifie l'or et l'argent non travaillés, circulant en morceaux ou en barres. La tablette lexicale TM.75.G.2199 donne l'équivalence: TAR.TAR = *ga-da-tum*, qui dérive de la racine GDD « couper », akk. *gadādu* « séparer », attesté seulement dans le 1^{er} millénaire, et qui dans une liste lexicale correspond à: ḥa-áš TAR (*Ahw*: 273a). La glose éblaïte s'accorde bien à la signification proposée ici.³⁸

a) TM.75.G.1864

r. I	1–7	389 ma-na 30 bar ₆ :kù ḥaš-ḥaš
		10 ma-na 30 bar ₆ :kù 1 GIŠ-sú 1 níg-tur
		MAŠ.MAŠ kù-gi
		300 ma-na bar ₆ :kù 30 zi-ru ₁₂
VIII	9–	61 ma-na bar ₆ :kù mu-DU lugal-lugal
	11	
v. V	1	16 ma-na 2 bar ₆ :kù

³⁶ Pour la lecture šè:kiri, akk. *šerretum* « rênes », de KA.ŠĒ, voir Archi 1985e: 31–33 [733–735].

³⁷ ARET 2: 38.

³⁸ Les contextes excluent les interprétations de Mander 1982: 236: « in più, inoltre », et de Pomponio, Xella 1984: 31: « distinto da ». TAR.TAR qualifie aussi: a) les tissus « à couper, diviser » (cf. Pomponio-Xella, *ibid.*; ARET 1: 305, s.v.); b) des objets « séparés (l'un de l'autre) (?) », cf. ARET 1.30 v. IV 1: 1 íb-lá GÜN 1 íb-lá *si-ti-tum* gir-kun bar₆:kù TAR.TAR kù-gi; TM.75.G.1527 r. II 1: 2 *si-ti-tum* 2 gir-kun kù-gi TAR.TAR.

(colophon) XI 1–8 AN.ŠÈ.GÚ 466 ma-na 30 bar₆:kù ḥaš-ḥaš
 300 ma-na bar₆:kù 30 zi-ru₁₂
 10 ma-na 30 bar₆:kù 1 GIŠ-šú 1 níg-tur
 MAŠ.MAŠ kù-gi
 šu-nigin 777 ma-na bar₆:kù

389;30 + 61;00 + 16;02 = 466;32. Colophon: 466;30 mines d'argent ḥaš-ḥaš.

b) TM.75.G.2070

r. I 1–5 1400 ma-na bar-kù 30
 1000 ma-na a-gar₅-gar₅
 5 ma-na kù-gi
 4 ma-na bar₆:kù šir-za 1 dag-ku
 VI 8–10 53 ma-na 20 bar₆:kù mu-DU lugal-lugal
 VIII 15 16 ma-na 45 bar₆:kù
 r. IX 10 – v. VI 14 8 ma-na 24 bar₆:kù

(colophon) v. XI 1 AN.ŠÈ.GÚ 1479 ma-na bar₆:kù ḥaš-ḥaš

1400;30 + 53;20 + 16;45 + 8;24 = 1478;59. Colophon: 1479;00 mines d'argent ḥaš-ḥaš. [52]

c) TM.75.G.2073

r. I 1–10 775 ma-na bar₆:kù
 90 ma-na kù-gi
 24 ma-na 36 bar₆:kù 1 la-ḥa ...
 40 ma-na kù-gi 4 zi-la ...
 VIII 4–6 57 ma-na bar₆:kù mu-DU lugal-lugal
 VIII 7 5 ma-na kù-gi
 VIII 10 sqq. (quelques cases dans la lacune) argent:
 17;00ⁿ; or
 v. VI 13–14 5 ma-na 17 kù-gi 5 ti-gi-na
 (colophon) X 1–7 AN.ŠÈ.GÚ 849 ma-na bar₆:kù ḥaš-ḥaš
 12 ma-na 17 kù-gi ḥaš-ḥaš
 133 ma-na 28 kù-gi
 25 ma-na 6 bar₆:kù lú UNKEN-ak 1 la-ḥa
 4 zi-ru₁₂ ...

775;00 + 57;00 + ʿ17;00ʼ = 849;00 mines d’argent ḥaš-ḥaš; l’argent pour le la-ḥa est enregistré à part.

d) TM.75.G.2244

r. I	1–6	1100 ma-na bar ₆ :kù 12 ma-na 20 kù-gi 1 zi-ru ₁₂ 1 mar-šir
VI	15	57 ma-na 44 bar ₆ :kù mu-DU lugal-lugal
X	1	17 ma-na bar ₆ :kù (somme d’apports)
X	2 sqq.	(quelques cases dans la lacune) or et argent non travaillé: ʿ10;46ʼ
(colophon) v. IX	1–5	1185 ma-na 30 bar ₆ :kù ḥaš 15 ma-na 9 kù-gi ḥaš-ḥaš 12 ma-na 48 kù-gi zi-ru ₁₂ šir-za mar-šir

1100;00 + 57;44 + 17;00 + ʿ10;46ʼ = 1185;30 mines d’argent ḥaš.

8 Zur Organisation der Arbeit in Ebla

In rund zwanzig Monatsabrechnungen (d. h. durch den Monatsnamen datierten Texten), die die Ausgabe von Textilien (túg-túg è) durch die zentrale Verwaltung betreffen, sind (im allgemeinen auf der Rückseite) neben den üblichen Einzellieferungen an Personen, die mit Eigennamen oder Funktionsbezeichnung genannt werden, auch Sammelieferungen für Hunderte von Leuten aufgeführt. Dieses Personal von niedrigem sozialen Rang wird unter dem Begriff *ir-a-LUM* zusammengefaßt, ein Terminus, der wahrscheinlich als Erweiterung von *ir*, ugaritisch und hebräisch „Stadt“, altsüdarabisch „Burg“, mit *-ān-*, einem im Eblaitischen nicht sehr verbreiteten Suffix, aufzufassen ist¹.

Die folgenden Abschnitte von TM.75.G.2328 Vs. I 1–VII 2 mögen als Beispiel dafür dienen:

1. 42 Gewänder (aktum-TÚG) 42 Gürtel (íb+IV-TÚG-sa₆-dar) abba_x-abba_x al₆-dab₅ GIŠ-šudun- GIŠ-šudun
924 Gewänder (104 'à-da-um-TÚG-II + 60 aktum-TÚG + 300 dam-ša-lu-TÚG + 460 mí-TÚG) 924 Gürtel (464 íb+III-TÚG-dar + 460 íb+III-TÚG-dar)
Summe, AN.ŠÈ.GÚ:
966 *ir-a-núm Du-bí-šum*
2. 1.158 Gewänder (60 'à-da-um-TÚG-II + 40 aktum-TÚG + 300 dam-ša-lu-TÚG + 758 mí-TÚG) 1.158 Gürtel (400 íb+IV-TÚG-sa₆-dar + 649 íb+III-TÚG-dar + 109 na₄ siki íb+III-TÚG-sù)
Summe, AN.ŠÈ.GÚ:
1.158 *ir-a-núm Du-bí-zi-kir*
3. 411 Gewänder (40 'à-da-um-TÚG 40 aktum-TÚG 69 dam-ša-lu-<TÚG> 262 mí-TÚG) 411 Gürtel (150 íb+III-TÚG-sa₆-dar + 261 íb+III-TÚG-dar)
Summe, AN.ŠÈ.GÚ:
411 *ir-a-núm Àr-ḥu-lu*
4. 326 *ir-a-núm Du-bí-zi-kir tu r*
5. 780 *ir-a-núm Zi-mi-na-ma-lik*
6. 300 *ir-a-núm NE-zi*

Pp. 131–138 in *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft von Ebla. Akten der Internationalen Tagung Heidelberg 4.–7. November 1986*, eds. Hartmut Waetzoldt, and Harald Hauptmann. Heidelberger Studien zum Alten Orient 2. Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag. 1988.

¹ Eine andere Erweiterung von *ir* ist *ir-rí-a-tum* /*ir-iy-at-um*/, das die lexikalischen Listen mit *uru-bar* gleichsetzen, s. Fronzaroli 1979: 9. Für Ortsnamen mit der Endung *-ān(um)* s. ARET 3.399; ARES 1: 24.

Die Texte zu den *irānum* werden in einem der nächsten Bände der Serie ARET erscheinen.

7. ...
800 *ir-a-núm* A-KA-gú-ra [132]
8. ...
560 *ir-a-núm* Mu-gàr
9. ...
220 <*ir-a-núm*> Gi-za-an^{ki}
10. ...
800 *ir-a-núm* IŠ_x-da-mu
11. 50 50 Gewänder (50 mí-TÚG) 50 Gürtel (50 na₄ siki íb+III-TÚG-sù) abba_x-
abba_x me-se₁₁ uru^{ki}-uru^{ki}
12. Gesamtsumme, šu-nígin
6.371 *ir-a-núm* SA.ZA_x^{ki}

Die Gesamtsumme in (12) zeigt, daß diese *irānum* dem Palast, SA.ZA_x^{ki}, angehören. Sie alle werden durch einen Personennamen spezifiziert, „*irānum* (unterstellt dem) PN“, mit Ausnahme von einem, in (9), das eine topographische Zuweisung erhält: *Gizan(u)*^{ki} (ein Dorf in der näheren Umgebung von Ebla)² und einem anderen Fall in (11), wo es heißt: „den Ältesten ... der Städte/Dörfer (uru^{ki}-uru^{ki})“. Die Grösse der *irānum* variiert stark: So ist das von Dubizikir in (2) mit 1.158 Einheiten 3,5 mal so groß wie das von Dubizikir „dem Jüngeren“ (gewiß ein weniger erfahrener Beamter), mit nur 326 in (4).

Die Nennung von „Ältesten“ abba_x sowohl in (1) („die Ältesten, die dem Thron zugeordnet sind“) als auch in (11) („die Ältesten der Städte“), sowie die Tatsache, daß die Zahlen der angewiesenen Gewänder und Gürtel den Einheiten in den *irānum* entsprechen, bilden bereits einen Hinweis darauf, daß unter diesem Begriff eine zu Gruppen zusammengefaßte größere Anzahl von Personen zu verstehen ist. Diese Vermutung wird von TM.75.G.1903 bestätigt: Die *irānum* werden von „Arbeitern“ guruš gebildet,³ deren Anzahl, wie man feststellen kann, von Dokument zu Dokument variiert; hier zum Beispiel Vs. IV 10–V 13 besteht – im Unterschied zum vorigen Text – Abschnitt (1) und (2) das *irānum* von Dubišum aus wesentlich mehr Leuten als das des Dubizikir.

1. 1167 Gewänder (105 + 1.062) 1.163 Gürtel (200 + 500 íb + 467 na₄-Maße Wolle für íb-) Gewänder (túg-túg) (für)
1.167 guruš *ir-a-núm* Du-bí-šum

² Gi-za-nu^{ki} in TM.75.G.1975 Rs. IV 2 ist eine der Festungen bād von Lu-a-tum^{ki} s. Archi 1981: 3; in TM.75.G.1444 Vs. VII 16 ist Gizanu ein Dorf, in dem die Söhne von Ibrium ein Anwesen é besitzen; s. Edzard 1981a: 40.

³ In Ebla korrespondieren mask. guruš und fem. dam, s. ARET 1.44 (ebenso ir₁₁ und géme).

2. 1.023 Gewänder (803 + 220) 1.023 Gürtel (503 íb- + 520 na₄-Maße Wolle für íb-)
 1.023 guruš ìr-a-núm Du-bí-zi-kir [133]

In einem anderen Dokument wiederum, TM.75.G.1950, werden die *irānum* von „Leuten“ *na-se*₁₁⁴ gebildet, die diesmal nicht Gewänder, sondern n Maße Wolle unterschiedlicher Qualität erhalten, als „Kleider-Zuteilung“ *mu*₄^{mu}(túg-mu) (jeder einzelne erhält 3 na₄, da ein Maß „KIN“ 2 na₄-Maßen entspricht).⁵ Rs. I 1–II 10 betrifft die *irānum* von Dubišum und Dubizikir, und die Zahl ihrer Einheiten stimmt wiederum nicht mit der der vorhergehenden Dokumente überein:

1. 702 „KIN“-Maße Wolle *ba-ra-i* (als) Kleider-Zuteilung, *mu*₄^{mu}, (für)
 468 *na-se*₁₁ (702 : 468 = 3 : 2)
 321 „KIN“-Maße Wolle NI-za-ù (als) Kleider-Zuteilung, *mu*₄^{mu}, (für)
 214 *na-se*₁₁ (321 : 214 = 3 : 2)
 303 „KIN“-Maße Wolle *si-lu-ur*₄ (als) Kleider-Zuteilung, *mu*₄^{mu}, (für)
 201 *na-se*₁₁ (303 : 201 = 3 : 2)
 Summe, AN.ŠĚ.GÚ:
 883 ìr-a-núm Du-bí-šum
2. 475 ½ „KIN“-Maße Wolle *ba-ra-i* (als) Kleider-Zuteilung, *mu*₄^{mu}, (für)
 317 *na-se*₁₁ (475,5 : 317 = 3 : 2)
 315 „KIN“-Maße Wolle NI-za-ù (als) Kleiderzuteilung, *mu*₄^{mu}, (für)
 210 *na-se*₁₁ (315 : 210 = 3 : 2)
 750 „KIN“-Maße Wolle *si-lu-ur*₄ (als) Kleider-Zuteilung, *mu*₄^{mu}, (für)
 500 *na-se*₁₁ (750 : 500 = 3 : 2)
 Summe, AN.ŠĚ.GÚ:
 1.027 ìr-a-núm Du-bí-zi-kir

Die Personen, *na-se*₁₁, die diese *irānum* bilden, können zu é-duru₅^{ki} zusammengefaßt werden – der Terminus bedeutet nichts anderes als ein Trupp von zwanzig Männern. TM.75.G.10052 Rs. II 12–III 5:⁶

⁴ *na-se*₁₁ /naš-ī/, Gen.-Akk. Pl. von NŠ, s. Edzard, ARET 2.134 (der auf die alt-akk. Schreibung *ni-se*₁₁ hinweist, s. Gelb 1957: 208); Archi und Biga, ARET 3.375; Fronzaroli 1984c: 147 f. Das semantische Feld dieses Begriffes scheint sich teilweise mit dem von érin in den altakk. Texten zu decken (s. Gelb 1979: 22). In den Wirtschaftstexten von Ebla sind offenbar weder érin noch *šabī'um* belegt, vgl. aber den PN *Za-bí-ù*, TM.75.G.1336 Rs. I 12, vgl. Pettinato, MEE 2: 178.

⁵ Die Maße von Wolle stehen in folgendem Verhältnis: 2 na₄ = 1 „KIN“; 2 „KIN“ = 1 zi-rí, s. Zaccagnini 1984: 190–95.

⁶ Für die verschiedenen Löhne, s. ARET 1.44, wo in §§ 2–8 guruš-III und dam-III erscheinen, das sind Arbeiter und Arbeiterinnen mit einem Lohn von jeweils drei Schekel Silber, während man in § 34' guruš-VI, also solche zu sechs Schekeln, hat.

188 „KIN“-Maße Wolle (aus der Stadt) Nagar (für)
 [3+]3 é-duru₅^{ki} 5 na-se₁₁; 3 na₄-Maße (für jeden Mann, na-se₁₁)
 125 „KIN“-Maße Wolle si-lu-ur₄ (für)
 6 é-duru₅^{ki} 5 na-se₁₁; 2 na₄-Maße (für jeden Mann, na-se₁₁)
 Summe, AN.ŠË.GÛ: 12 é-duru₅ 10 na-se₁₁
 (250) ìr-a-núm EN-mar

$$188 \text{ „KIN“} = 376 \text{ na}_4 : 3 = 125$$

$$6 \text{ é-duru}_5^{\text{ki}} = 120 + 5 \text{ na-se}_{11} = 125$$

$$125 \text{ „KIN“} = 250 \text{ na}_4 : 2 = 125$$

$$6 \text{ é-duru}_5^{\text{ki}} = 120 + 5 \text{ na-se}_{11} = 125 \text{ [134]}$$

Zur Beurteilung der Schwankungen in der Zusammensetzung des Personals der *irānum* mögen folgende Beispiele genügen:

- 'Ā-bí 1. 10 é-duru₅^{ki} 2 na-se₁₁ (= 202 na-se₁₁); 2. 10 é-duru₅^{ki} 3 guruš (= 203 guruš); 3. 10 é-duru₅^{ki} 4 na-se₁₁ (= 204 na-se₁₁)
- A-KA-gú-ra 1. 344 guruš; 2. 800 guruš; 3. 804 guruš; 4. 820 guruš; 5) 830 guruš; 6) 1.022 guruš
- Du-bí-šum 1. 10 é-duru₅^{ki} (= 200 na-se₁₁); 2. 11 é-duru₅^{ki} (= 220 na-se₁₁); 3. 607 na-se₁₁; 4. 631 na-se₁₁; 5. 885 na-se₁₁; 6. 966 guruš; 7. 1.059 guruš; 8. 1.065 guruš; 9. 1.163 guruš
- Háb-ra-ar 1. 9 é-duru₅^{ki} (= 180 na-se₁₁); 2. 10 é-duru₅^{ki} (= 200 na-se₁₁); 3. 966 guruš; 4) 1.002 na-se₁₁
- Ib-dur-i-sar 1. 9 é-duru₅^{ki} 11 na-se₁₁ (= 191 na-se₁₁); 2. 11 é-duru₅^{ki} (= 220 na-se₁₁); 3. 14 é-duru₅^{ki} (= 240 na-se₁₁); 4. 600 (na-se₁₁)

Die Gesamtzahl der Arbeiter bewegt sich zwischen einem Minimum von 4.298 und einem Maximum von 8.108 Arbeitern, auch weil die Anzahl der *irānum* nicht festgelegt ist. TM.75.G.1731 unterscheidet drei Gruppen:

1. 15 *irānum* „des Palastes“, SA.ZA_x^{ki}, zu insgesamt 170 é-duru₅^{ki} und 17 na-se₁₁ (3.417 Personen), unter diesen jedoch ein extra-urbanes *irānum*: nämlich das von Da-rí-ib^{ki}, dem Kultort der verstorbenen Herrscher von Ebla; vielleicht wird es aus diesem Grunde als direkt zum Palast gehörig betrachtet.⁷
2. 10 *irānum* SA.ZA_x^{ki} uru-bar „des Palastes (der/in den) Vorstädten“, zu insgesamt 88 é-duru₅^{ki} und 18 na-se₁₁ (1.778 Personen), die entweder durch

7 S. Archi 1986c: 217, wo auch die Möglichkeit einer Identifikation von Darib mit dem heutigen Atareb erwogen wird, das sich jedoch 27 km WSW von Aleppo entfernt, d. h. vielleicht zu weit von Ebla weg, befindet, um als Kultort für die verstorbenen Herrscher in Betracht zu kommen.

- Ortsnamen wie *Ti-sum*^{ki} und *Za-NI-du*^{ki} (wohl Dörfer), oder durch einen Personennamen näher bestimmt werden, wie zum Beispiel: *Šu-ra-gàr-ru*₁₂, wahrscheinlich das Oberhaupt einer Stammesgruppe, der normalerweise in den Listen mit Kleiderzuteilungen an die Herrscher von mit Ebla befreundeten Städten vorkommt.⁸ Bei anderen *é-duru*₅^{ki} wie denen der „Aufseher der Onagergespanne“ (*ugula-bîr-BAR.AN*), des „Eigentums des Königs“ (*ZA_x en*), der „Boten“ (*lú-kas₄-kas₄*) und der „*pašišu* des Königs“ (*pa₄-šeš en*) ist es sehr unsicher, ob sie als „nicht-urban“ zu gelten haben.
3. Einige *é-duru*₅^{ki} von Handwerkern: „Zimmerleute“ (*nagar*), „Hersteller von Pfeilen“ (*lú GIŠ-ti-GIŠ-ti*) und „Köche der Vorstädte“ (*muḫaldim uru-bar*).

Die Gesamtsumme beträgt: 5.716 „Leute“ (*na-se*₁₁).

Die anderen Dokumente bieten eine einzige Liste. In TM.75.G.1899 wird lediglich präzisiert, daß die Arbeiter „vom Palast und dem Haus des Königs stammen“: 5.215 *guruš-guruš SA.ZA_x^{ki} é-en*.⁹ In TM.75.G.2373, 2328 und 1743 belaufen sich die Endsummen jeweils auf: 4.298, 6.371 und 7.510 „Leute der *irānum* des Palastes“ (nur der zweite Text bezieht auch eine extra-urbane Ortschaft mit ein: *Gi-za-an*^{ki}). TM.75.G.1770, mit sechs extra-urbanen Orten, registriert 7.147 Einheiten; TM.75.G.1780 mit nur *Ti-sum*^{ki} und *Za-NI-du*^{ki} erreicht die höchste Zahl von Arbeitern (*guruš*), nämlich 8.108.

Diese Listen – wenn auch sehr häufig ähnlich – umfassen nicht immer dieselben *irānum*. Die am häufigsten zitierten Ortsnamen sind folgende: *Ti-sum*^{ki} und *Za-NI-du*^{ki} (7 Mal); *Da-rí-ib*^{ki}, *In-ga-ga*^{ki} *wa Ša-ḫa-ru*₁₂^{ki} (6 Mal); *A-da-bí-gú*^{ki}, *A-ru*₁₂*-ga-du*^{ki}, *Gi-za-an*^{ki} (5 Mal). Und auch unter den Verantwortlichen der *irānum* erscheinen nicht immer dieselben Namen; einige von ihnen sind sogar nur aus zwei Texten bekannt.

Die Schwankungen in Zahl und Zusammensetzung der *irānum*, sowie ihrer Aufseher ließen sich leicht erklären, wenn diese Dokumente jährliche Abrechnungen darstellten. In einem Zeitraum von zwanzig Jahren (entsprechend der Anzahl der Tafeln) ist es verständlich, daß einige [135] Funktionäre ersetzt werden und die Einheiten eine gewisse Variabilität zeigen. Die Texte sind jedoch (wie, von wenigen Ausnahmen abgesehen, in den Archiven von Ebla üblich) nicht nach Jahren datiert. Die Tafeln, die den Namen ihres Abfassungsmonats tragen, zeigen, daß entsprechende Ausgaben in jedem Monat erfolgen konnten: iti *i-si* (I), ein Text; iti *i-rí-sá* (VI), zwei Texte; iti *ga-sum* (VII), drei Texte; iti *ì-nun* (VIII), ein Text; iti *za-lul* (IX), ein Text; iti *i-ba₄-sa* (X), ein Text. Das könnte monatliche Ausgaben vermuten lassen. Jedoch bestehen die Lieferun-

⁸ S. ARET 1: 221 und 224, wo Šuragarru gefolgt wird von *Tisum*^{ki}.

⁹ Das *irānum* des „Hauses des Königs“ hat als „Aufseher“ *ugula* Dubizikir, s. ARET 2.15 § 19.

gen mal in Wolle mal in Kleidung (eine Tunika oder ein Mantel und ein Gürtel),¹⁰ und es ist nicht sehr plausibel, daß die Arbeiter in monatlichen Abständen vom Palast fertige Kleidungsstücke erhielten. Für einen Verteilungsrhythmus von jeweils einem Jahr spräche auch, daß in TM.75.G.10090 die Zuteilungen an die *gurus* der *irānum* mit vier oder fünf Schekeln Silber bewertet werden. Wenn man nun hypothetisch den Wert von einem *gú-bar* Gerste mit 1 Schekel Silber annimmt,¹¹ entsprechen vier Schekel 480 an-zam_x (1 *gú-bar* = 120 an-zam_x), das bedeutet eine tägliche Menge von 1,33 an-zam_x in einem Jahr, eine mittlere Ration für eblaitische Verhältnisse.

Eine Angabe erlaubt es zumindest, einen Großteil der Texte der Verwaltungszeit des Ibrium zuzuschreiben: in einigen Texten folgt auf „Eigentum des Königs“ ZA_x en „Eigentum des Ibbi-zikir“ ZA_x *i-bi-zi-kir*, der ein Sohn des Ibrium ist.

Nur ein geringer Teil dieses Personals „des Palastes“ (SA.ZA_x^{ki}) befindet sich in Ortschaften außerhalb der Stadt. Für einige von diesen ist bekannt, daß die herrschenden Familien von Ebla über sie völlig oder teilweise verfügen konnten; es handelt sich um: *A-da-bi-gú*^{ki}: *A-mur-da-mu*, Sohn des Ibbi-zikir und seine Mutter besitzen dort Ländereien, TM.75.G.1430 Rs. II 1 (Fronzaroli 1980b: 66) und ebenso der Prinz, *dumu-nita en*, GABA-*da-mu*, ARET 7.156 Vs. II 15. *A-ru₁₂-ga-du*^{ki}: eines der großen Kultzentren des Gottes ^dNI-*da-bal*/KUL – das Dorf, *uru*, ist dem *Ir-ti*, Sohn des Ibrium, zugewiesen, TM.75.G.1625 Rs. III 7 (Archi 1981c: 10). *A-su*^{ki}: ein Dorf, das dem Na-*ḥa-i* zugeteilt war, ARET 7.152 Vs. IV 1 (*A-zú*^{ki}). *Da-rí-ib*^{ki}: Sitz des Kultes für die verstorbenen Herrscher.¹² *Gi-za-an*^{ki}: ein Dorf, das zusammen mit Arugadu dem *Ir-ti* gehörte, TM.75.G.1625 Rs. III 5.¹³ *Šè-ra-du*^{ki}: ein Dorf, dem Prinzen *In-gàr* angewiesen, ARET 7.153 Rs. II' 1.

Diese Ortschaften müssen nicht unbedingt in der direkten Nachbarschaft von Ebla gelegen haben: Arugadu entspricht dem *lrgt* von RS 24.244 Z. 26,¹⁴ und ist in dem von Ugarit während der Spätbronzezeit kontrollierten Gebiet zu suchen. Adabigu ist mit dem heutigen Dabiq, das ca. 40 km von Aleppo entfernt liegt, zu identifizieren.¹⁵

¹⁰ Vgl. entsprechend TM.75.G.1950, 10052 und TM.75.G.2328, 1903 – die ersten vier in diesem Aufsatz zitierten Texte.

¹¹ Vgl. die Tabelle der Preise im 2. Jahrtausend in Heltzer 1978: 86 f.

¹² S. oben Anm. 7.

¹³ S. oben Anm. 2.

¹⁴ *Ugaritica* V: 565. Die Übereinstimmung von (*L*)*arugadu*^{ki} und *lrgt* wurde von Lambert 1984: 44 f. gesehen.

¹⁵ Die Identifikation hat Astour 1975: 139 vorgeschlagen.

Daß jedoch die übrigen Arbeiter in Ebla selbst tätig waren, wird indirekt durch die Tatsache gezeigt, daß im Schlußteil der Listen spezialisiertes Personal, in é-duru^{ki} (nicht in *irānum*) zusammengefaßt, aufgeführt wird, das sich ohne Zweifel in Ebla befand (die Zahlen, in aufsteigender Ordnung, beziehen sich auf die Personen).

a-zu ₅ „Ärzte“	30 (1×); 40 (4×); 42 (1×)
balag-di „Klagepriester“	9 (4×)
dumu-nita-dumu-nita ir ₁₁ -ir ₁₁ „Sklaven“	120 (2×); 140 (1×); 160 (1×) (in <i>irānum</i> zusammengefasst)
(lú GIŠ-ti-)GIŠ-ti „Pfeil-Hersteller“	60 (3×); 65 (5×)
(lú) kas ₄ -kas ₄ „Boten“	16 (1×); 20 (4×); 26 (1×); 29 (3×); 37 (1×)
kinda „Barbiere“	14 (1×)
maškim „Agenten“	29 (1×); 60 (1×)
maškim 'Ā-gu-LUM	10 (1×); 20 (7×) ('A. ist ein Aufseher des Palastes, s. ARET 4.25 Rs. II 13 f.) [136]
maškim Du-bū-ḥu- ^d Ā-da	40 (1×) (D. ist wohl der Sohn des Ibbi-zikir)
maškim Ib-du-lu	40 (2×); 60 (7×); 68 (1×)
maškim I-bī-zi-kir	40 (7×); 50 (2×)
muḥaldim „Köche“	10 (uru-bar: 1×); 20 (6×); 23 (4×)
nagar „Zimmerleute“	140 (6×); 142 (1×); 152 (1×); 160 (1×); 260 (1×)
nar „Musiker“	26 (5×); 27 (1×); 29 (1×); 30 (1×)
NE.DI	28 (2×)
pa ₄ -šeš en „pašīšū des Königs“	42 (3×); 56 (2×); 78 (1×); 80 (4×); 98 (1×)
pa ₄ -šeš I-bī-zi-kir	34 (1×)
simug „Schmiede“	460 (1×); 480 (1×); 500 (5×)
ugula bir-BAR.AN „Aufseher der Onagergespanne“	43 (1×); 47 (1×); 60 (4×)
ZA _x en „Besitz des Königs“	16 (1×); 40 (2×); 60 (3×); 66 (5×)
ZA _x I-bī-zi-kir	80 (4×)

Es ist sicher, daß die Musiker sich bei Hofe befanden. Andere Texte registrieren zusätzliche Lieferungen an diese nar, die in „erste und zweite Musiker“ (narmah/tur) eingeteilt und mit ihren Namen aufgelistet werden (daß es sich hierbei um dieselbe Gruppe von Musikern wie in den *irānum*-Listen handelt, ergibt sich daraus, daß auch ihre Zahl zwischen 26 und 30 schwankt).¹⁶ Gleiches gilt für die Köche: ARET 1.5 § 54 und ARET 8.542 § 17 zählen namentlich 17 muḥaldim auf, eine weitere, unvollständige Liste liegt in ARET 4.23 § 38 vor. Mehrere hundert Schmiede und 140 Zimmerleute erhalten in ARET 1.6 § 58“ (unvollständig) und § 59“ Textilien. So gibt es keinen Zweifel, daß die die *irānum* betreffen-

¹⁶ S. ARET 1: 296–298 und Archi 1993c: 271–83.

den Tafeln Aufzählungen eines Teils des in Ebla – d. h. in der Stadt selbst oder in den Vorstädten, gleich außerhalb der Stadtmauern – wohnhaften und tätigen Personals darstellen. Die eindrucksvolle Zahl von 500 Schmieden zeigt, was für eine außerordentliche Bedeutung die Metallurgie in Ebla erreicht hatte (die großen Tafeln mit teilweise über dreißig Kolumnen pro Seite sind die jährlichen Abrechnungen über diese Produktion). Es ist auch verständlich, weshalb die Zahl der Zimmerleute niedriger war (140/260 Männer): Diese übten eine Tätigkeit aus, die einen geringeren Grad an Spezialisierung erforderte, und waren nicht in der Hauptstadt konzentriert, sondern verteilt auf die kleineren Orte (TM.75.G.2328 Vs. V 11–14 z. B.: 6 Zimmerleute aus Gizan). Andere spezialisierte Handwerker ließ man aber auch aus Städten wie z. B. Mari kommen.¹⁷

Die Listen werden gewöhnlich mit einer Gruppe von 42/50 „dem Thron zugeordneten Ältesten“ *abba_x-abba_x al₆-dab₅ GIŠ-šudun* eröffnet. Diese Formel erweckt den Eindruck einer ehrenvollen Bezeichnung, etwa wie die Ältesten, die das Recht hatten, sich neben dem Thron des Königs aufzustellen. Wie aber TM.75.G.2460 Rs. I 7–11 zeigt, muß es sich eher um eine Funktionsbezeichnung handeln: „11 dem Thron zugeordnete Älteste, 33 Älteste der Reise“ (11 *abba_x al₆-dab₅ GIŠ-šudun* 33 *abba_x níg-kas₄*). Neben der Gesamtsumme von 44 Personen hat man hier eine Unterteilung derselben Gruppe von Ältesten, die im vorigen Dokument als homogen erscheint. TM.75.G.1899 Rs. II 14–15: 43 *abba_x níg-kas₄* dagegen definiert die ganze Gruppe in Verbindung mit dem Terminus „Reise“, es handelt sich also vielleicht um Älteste, die als Boten fungieren. Eine zahlreichere Gruppe von Ältesten beschließt häufig die Listen; TM.75.G.1743 Rs. I 11 f.: 172 *abba_x-abba_x in SA.ZA_x^{ki}* (in anderen Texten beträgt ihre Zahl 172, 173, 175 185), das heißt beim Palast wohnende Älteste. In TM.75.G.2328 Rs. V 7–10: 50 *abba_x-abba_x me-se₁₁ uru^{ki}-uru^{ki}* werden die Ältesten mit anderen peripheren Ortschaften in Verbindung gebracht. In TM.75.G.1731 Rs. 14 f., TM.75.G.1770 Rs. VIII 5 f.: 22 *é-duru^{ki} abba_x-abba_x* sind es sogar 440 (TM.75.G.1960 Rs. XI 10 f.: 172 *guruš-guruš ir-a-núm abba_x-abba_x* könnte darauf hinweisen, daß sich die Zahl vielleicht nicht auf die Ältesten, sondern auf das in ihrem Dienst stehende Personal bezieht. In ARET 4.13 § 62 hat man jedoch: 10 *guruš a-zu₅ ... 16 guruš-guruš nar-nar*, und hier scheint die niedrige Zahl anzuzeigen, daß mit diesem Terminus „n Männer: Ärzte/Musiker“ gemeint sind. [137]

Niemals wird die Funktion des als *irānum* bezeichneten Personals näher beschrieben. Ebenso wenig Aufschluß erhält man durch ihre Vorgesetzten („Aufseher“, *ugula*), da diese keine besonderen Titel tragen.¹⁸ Da jedoch die

¹⁷ S. Archi 1988e: 22–29.

¹⁸ Der Titel *ugula* ist belegt in TM.75.G.1349 Rs. V 5 ff, vgl. MEE 2: 229. Die „Aufseher“ der *irānum* sind – trotz einiger Fälle von Homonymie, vgl. *Ḥāb-ra-ar, Ib-dur-i-sar, Ir-NI-ba, Iš₁₁-da-*

Listen spezialisiertes Personal des Palastes wie Musiker und Köche, Schmiede und Zimmerleute jeweils explizit nennen, kann man schließen, daß die *irā-num* normalerweise von nicht spezialisierten Arbeitern gebildet wurden. TM.75.G.1731, der, wie zu sehen war, der detaillierteste Text ist, gibt ein ziemlich realistisches Bild. Von 5.716 „Leuten“ (*na-se*₁₁) waren Arbeiter: 3.037 wohnhaft in Ebla, 380 (19 *é-duru*₅^{ki}) in Darib, 1.778 in den Vorstädten; bei den restlichen 521 handelt es sich um spezialisierte Kräfte, die in Ebla oder seiner unmittelbaren Umgebung wohnten. Es ist wahrscheinlich, daß eine Bezeichnung wie *simug* alle Typen von Schmieden umfaßt, wie die „Silber- und Goldschmiede“ *kū-dīm*.¹⁹ Andererseits haben solche Listen sicher nicht sämtliche Angehörigen der Palastverwaltung miteinbezogen. Einige monatliche Abrechnungen von Getreiderationen, wie TM.75.G.228 (die Verbuchung dieses Sektors ist in dem Archiv L. 2712 enthalten),²⁰ haben z. B. die folgenden Empfänger: a) „das Haus des Königs“ *é-en*; b) „die Frauen des Königs“ *dam-en*, 340 Müllerinnen *dam-kikken*;²¹ TM.75.G.261: 45 „Frauen des Königs“, 330 „Frauen, dem Haus des Königs zugeordnet“ *al₆-dab₅ é-en*, 160 „der Vorstädte“ *uru-bar*, eine Summe von 535 Personen. In TM.75.G.1743 folgt auf die *irā-num* eine detaillierte Aufzählung von *dam*, zum Teil „Weberinnen“ *túg-nu-tag*; c) drei Gruppen von Beamten: 42 *ib-ib*, 21 *a-am*, 60 „Versoger“ *ú-a*.²² Wie auch immer, nimmt man als Ausgangspunkt die etwa 3.500 Arbeiter (das spezialisierte Personal eingeschlossen) aus TM.75.G.1731, und setzt man weiter voraus, daß jeder eine Familie mit durchschnittlich vier oder fünf Mitgliedern hatte (es lag sicher im Interesse des Palastes, daß ein großer Teil der Arbeiterschaft Familie hatte), so erhält man für Ebla eine Einwohnerschaft von etwa 14.000/17.000 Menschen

mu – sicherlich nicht identisch mit den „Herren“ *lugal*. Pettinato, MEE 2: 232, vertritt die Meinung, daß „*ir-a-lum* ... (sia) da mettere in relazione forse con l'ebraico 'er'el ... ovviamente la traduzione 'soldati' e ipotetica“. Es gibt kein Indiz, das diese Hypothese rechtfertigen würde; im übrigen ist die Annahme eines stehenden Heeres für einen Staat im III. Jahrtausend anachronistisch. (Im Verlaufe der diesem Vortrag folgenden Diskussion hat C. Wilcke mich darauf aufmerksam gemacht, daß es bei Sargon b 2 Vs. VI 41–44, s. Hirsch 1963: 38, heißt: „5.400 Männer täglich aßen sie vor ihm Brot“ 5.400 *guruš u-um-šum ma-ḥar-su ninda kú*, aber die sumerische Version hat *érin* statt *guruš*; da Sargon vorher seine Eroberungen schildert, will diese Zahl, 600 × 9, vielleicht die Stärke seines Heeres, über das er verfügte, angeben).

19 Zu diesen Handwerkern s. ARET 7, Glossar, s.v.

20 Zu den Rationen s. Milano 1987a.

21 Zum Text s. Pettinato 1979b: 142–45.

22 Akk. *zāninu*; die lexikalischen Listen von Ebla verzeichnen als korrespondierende Begriffe *ú-a*, *ga-si-lu*, in den Verwaltungstexten auch: *ga-si-ru*₁₂, vgl. akk. *gašru* „überlegen stark“; wohl nicht, aus phonetischen Gründen, zu QŠR, wie Pomponio, Xella 1984: 31 vorgeschlagen haben.

(innerhalb und außerhalb der Stadtmauern). Diese Zahl dürfte sich verdoppeln, wenn man die „Vorstädte“ *uru-bar* in die Rechnung einbezieht.

Die eblaitischen Schreiber haben sich kaum Gedanken über eventuelle Überprüfungen in zukünftigen Jahrhunderten gemacht, so daß es für uns nicht immer einfach ist, ihre Buchführung nachzuvollziehen. TM.75.G.1655 listet 7.000 *guruš*, die den „Herren“ (*lugal*), und 4.700 *guruš*, die „dem Palast“ (SA.ZA_x) unterstellt sind, auf. „Summe: 11.700 Arbeiter, aus Tin abgeordnet; Monat VI“ (AN.ŠÈ.GÚ 1 *rí-pap* 1 *li-im* 7 *mi-at* *guruš-guruš* *dab₅ áš-ti* [Ti]-*in*^{ki} *iti i-rí-sá*).²³ In TM.75.G.245 werden 7.000 „Personen“ *na-se₁₁-na-se₁₁* (= 350 *é-du-ru₅*^{ki}) zu *irānum* zusammengestellt; die Übereinstimmung der Zahlen ist jedoch als zufällig anzusehen, da ihre „Aufseher“ nicht die „Herren“ (*lugal*) sind. Die andere Zahl in TM.75.G.1650, 4.700, ist nicht sehr verschieden von der der in *irānum* in Ebla organisierten *guruš*, sie werden aber mit Tin in Verbindung gebracht, einem Ort in der Umgebung von Ebla (nach ARET 7.153 Vs. I 4 handelt es sich um ein im Besitz von Giri, einem *dumu-nita* *Ib-rí-um*, befindliches Dorf; vgl. auch TM.75.G.1964 Vs. V 3 = Archi 1981c: 9). Auch wenn eine solch hohe Konzentration von Arbeitskräften in Verbindung mit Tin nur auf besonderen Umständen beruhen kann, bleibt die Unsicherheit, ob sich diese Daten auf dieselben Personen beziehen können.

Eine Arbeitsorganisation dieser Art erfordert eine starke Zentralisierung der Verwaltung: Archive wie die von Ebla oder Lagas zeigen mit ihrer Komplexität, bis hin zu welchem Punkt die städtischen Zentren in den archaischen Gesellschaften des Alten Orients funktional auf die großen Organisationen wie Palast und Tempel ausgerichtet waren. In Ebla vermittelt zudem die Unterteilung des Personals in Gruppen mit gleichmäßig runden Mitgliederzahlen den Eindruck einer geradezu utopischen Ordnung. Die Abteilungen von Arbeitern *é-du-ru₅*^{ki} bestehen aus 20 Männern; jeweils fünf Abteilungen können ihrerseits zusammengestellt werden und auf diese Art *centuriae* bilden, von denen wiederum eine jede ihren Aufseher hat. TM.75.G.1960 gibt ausführlich die Namen der „Aufseher“ *ugula* dieser Hundertschaften, die schließlich die *irānum* formieren. Für das *irānum* der *Ír-péš-zé* zum Beispiel resultieren aus anderen Dokumenten die folgenden Daten: 812 *guruš* (1×), 909 (1×), 1.000 (2×); dasselbe *irānum* umfasst in TM.75.G.1960 900 *guruš*, die nach ihren Aufsehern eingeteilt sind, Rs. III 6–V 3: A.: Aufseher der ersten²⁴ (Gruppe) von 100 Männern; I.,

²³ Vgl. Pettinato 1979b: 154 f.; die Interpretation des Textes auf S. 135 f., mit der Gleichsetzung von *guruš* und *ugula* und der Zuschreibung von 20 Untergebenen für jeden *guruš*, ist unhaltbar. [Hrsg.: Für eine Neuinterpretation dieses Textes s. Pettinato 1986: S. 172 und 278.]

²⁴ Mit *maš* wird die Ordinale „erster“ angegeben, vgl. z. B. auch TM.75.G.1669 Vs. I 5, Archi 1980a: 11.

unterstellt dem D.: Aufseher der zweiten (Gruppe) von 100 Männern ...; W., unterstellt dem S.: Aufseher der neunten (Gruppe) von 100 Männern; *irānum* des I. (A-a-zi-kir ugula mi-at guruš maḥ I-in-zé lú Du-bí-zi-kir ugula mi-at guruš-II ... Wa-sa-LUM lú I-ti-a-gú ugula mi-at guruš-IX ìr-a-núm Ìr-péš-zé).

Die Einteilung von Arbeitskraft in é-duru₅^{ki} zu je 20 Personen ist eine nicht nur in der Stadt von Ebla geübte Praxis; sie findet sich auch in anderen arbeitsintensiven Zentren wie z. B. Alaga. Dort waren nach TM.75.G.10038 64 é-duru₅^{ki} guruš-guruš, d. h. 1.128 Arbeiter tätig.²⁵

Der Begriff *ká* „Quartier“ scheint eine Entsprechung von *irānum* zu sein. So z. B. in ARET 3.466 Rs. V 9–12: „40 é-duru₅^{ki} (= 800 Arbeiter): Quartier von B., Aufseher von A.“ 40 é-duru₅^{ki} *ká Bar-za-ma-ù ugula A-ru₁₂-ga-du^{ki}*. ARET 2.28 behandelt wahrscheinlich die Zuweisung von Zusatzpersonal für die Quartiere; hier fungieren als *ugula* eines *ká* *Ḥāb-ra-ar*, Vs. V 5, und *Ìr-NI-ba*, Rs. XV 10, die als Aufseher von *irānum* bekannt sind, vgl. TM.75.G.1731 Rs. IV 17 und 7, TM.75.G.2512 Rs. I 18, IV 12. Aber ein *ká* kann für ein landwirtschaftliches Zentrum Ausmaße erreichen, die im Augenblick für ein *irānum* noch nicht belegbar sind. TM.75.G.10250 listet die Landarbeiter nach „Arbeitseinheiten“ é geordnet auf, die Gesamtsumme *šu-nígin* beträgt: 4.580 *na-se₁₁* dub *ká A-ru₁₂-lu^{ki}*. Häufig werden in ländlichen Gebieten die Produktionseinheiten mit dem *sum. é* „Haus“ angegeben. TM.75.G.2634 bietet eine ganz erstaunliche Zahl dieser „Häuser“: *šu-nígin* (Gesamtsumme) 46.240 é-é *Ib-la^{ki}* *sa₁₀* *gu₄-gu₄*. Solchen Zahlen und verwaltungstechnischen Ausdrücken wird einer der nächsten Bände der Serie ARET gewidmet sein.

²⁵ Zu Alaga vgl. ARET 1: 167.

9 kíd-sag “Gatekeeper”

In the Eblaite administrative documents officials and other personnel of the central administration are, in general, only mentioned by their personal names, while the name of their function is not added to it. Ilzi was “lord of the house of the king/majordomo”, BE é en (BE = *be-el < ba‘al*), according to a few passages from texts dated to the last years of Ebla, when Ibbi-zikir was the minister.¹ He appears a few dozen times in the documents published in ARET 9 and 10, which relate to the provision of foodstuffs for the Palace in the years immediately preceding the destruction of Ebla, but is never mentioned by title.

Another name relating to an administrative function is kíd-sag “gatekeeper”. The Names and Professions list has in the Abū Šalābikh version, nos. 275–277: ^dKiš-ur-sag / kíd-sag-x / ká-GÍN; while the Ebla version has, rev. iv 10: ^dKiš-ur-sag kíd-sag ká-ká.² The Sumerian logogram for “gatekeeper” in use by the pre-Sargonic scribal schools of the Babylonia was therefore kíd-sag.

The bilingual lexical lists have kíd-sag = *ša-ḥa-lum / taḡḡārum* / “gatekeeper”, from Sem. *tḡr* “opening”.³

The documents concerning the victuals for the Palace (dating to the last two years of the town) register two monthly deliveries of barley (8/4 *gubar* measures) for an undetermined number of gatekeepers. They present the following sequence of personnel, ARET 9.41 obv. iv 11–12: (... ib-ib ... a-am-a-am ... ir₁₁ g^{ki}gir) 8 *gú-bar* še kíd-sag (... lú-GÁ ... [GIŠ-nu-kiri₆]); 42 obv. ii 3: (... ib-ib ... a am ... ir₁₁ g^{ki}gir ... lú-GÁ) 4 (*gú-bar*) še kíd-sag (... GIŠ-nu-kiri₆). Notice that the members of the administration who precede and follow the gatekeepers are “servants of the stable” and “gardeners”. According to ARET 10.127 (also to be dated to the last two years of the town) obv. iii 1–5, the gatekeeper Buda-malik had a field with ten adult workers at his disposal: *gána-ki Bù-da-ma-lik* kíd-sag 10 *na-se*₁₁ maḥ. This Buda-malik was probably the same who is mentioned in the lists of the minister Ibrium. Further details on the gatekeeper’s functions escape to us.

Pp. 23–25 in *Festschrift Gregor Giordadze*, ed. Levan Gordesiani et al. Sprache und Kultur 3. Tbilisi. 2002.

1 See Pettinato, D’Agostino 1998: 52–53; Archi 1999/2000: 246, where the name of other majordomos, *be é*, are also collected.

2 See, respectively, Biggs IAS: 69, Archi 1981d: 189. For other mentions of kíd/kid-sag in the Sumerian lexical lists from Ebla, see Pettinato MEE 3: 397; Picchioni 1997: 221. For kíd/kíd “to open” connected with “door”, see Salonen 1961: 135; Sollberger 1966: 141.

3 See Fronzaroli 1984c: 150; Conti 1990: 110 *ad* no. 269.

TM.76.G.288 register gifts for the “woman of the deity” dam-dingir, i.e. the priestess Tinib-dulun “when she went to Luban”, the town where the temple of the god Hadabal was placed.⁴ Clothes are given to five gatekeepers, those of the god Hadabal, of Tirin-damu (the former dam-dingir of Hadabal of Luban), of a person whose name is missing, of the new dam-dingir and of the god Aštāpil, obv. v 11-vi 6: (4 + 4 clothes) kíd-sag ká ^dĀ-da-KUL wa kíd-sag ká *Di-rín-da-mu* kíd-sag ká [(2 cases)] kíd-sag ká dam-dingir (1 + 1 clothes) kíd-sag ká ^dĀš-da-bíl.

I. Samir has noticed in his dissertation⁵ that three texts of the period of minister Ibrium present the same list of people. In A, all the 20 people are qualified as kíd-sag; in B, the last one is qualified as kíd-sag ká en “gatekeeper

A) TM.75.G.1263 obv. vi 16–vii 18 20 sal-TÚG	B) TM.75.G.1298 obv. i 8–ii 16 18 sal-TÚG	C) TM.75.G.1318 obv. xiv 2–21 18 sal-TÚG
Āš-da-mu	Āš-da-mu	Āš-da-mu
A-da ₅	A-da ₅	A-da ₅
Nab-ḫa-il	Nab-ḫa-il	Nab-ḫa-il
A-zú-gú-ra	A-zú-gú-ra	A-zú-gú-ra
I-lu ₅ -za _x -ma-lik	I-lu ₅ -za _x -ma-lik	I-lu ₅ -za _x -ma-lik
Ì-lum-BAL	Ì-lum-BAL	Ì-lum-BAL
Šu-ì-lum	Šu-ì-lum	Šu-ì-lum
Bù-da-ma-lik	Bù-da-ma-lik	Bù-da-ma-lik
Gul-la	Gul-la	Gul-la
Šu-ì-lum-II	//	//
A-bí-’ā	A-bí-u ₉	A-bí-u ₉
Na-zi	Na-zi	Na-zi
Ìr-ì-ba	Puzur ₉ -ra-ma-lik	Puzur ₉ -ra-ma-lik
En-na-ba-al ₆	Gul-la	Ba-li
Ar-si-a-ḫa	En-BE	Gul-la-II
Zu-a-bù	Ig-da-na-im	En-BE
Puzur ₄ -ra-a-gú	Ìr-ì-ba	Ìr-ì-ba
Iš ₁₁ -a-ti-lu	Ar-si-a-ḫa	Ar-si-a-ḫa
Ḫu-bí-a	Zu-a-bù	“ur ₄ ”-“ur ₄ ”
Ìr-az ⁱ (PÉŠ)-zé		
kíd-sag	1 sal-TÚG	
	Iš ₁₁ -a-ti-lu	
	kíd-sag	
	ká en	

⁴ Archi 1998c*.

⁵ Saarbrücken 2001.

of the king's gate", while all the other were probably just *kíd-sag*; in *C*, all the 18 people are instead qualified as "*ur₄*"-"*ur₄*", a term whose meaning is still obscure. The passage from TM.75.G.1560, quoted below as the first one concerning the minister Arrukurn, shows that in fact the gatekeepers were chosen among the *ur₄*-officials. [24]

There is only another similar list, also from the period of the minister Ibrium. In general, the term *kíd-sag* follows a single personal name.

a) Gatekeepers of the time of minister Arrukum

TM.75.G.1560 rev. x 9–17: 1 KIN siki *Îr-î-ba ur₄ kíd-sag in ud dumu-nita en è é* *^dRa-sa-ap Gú-nu^{ki}* "1 skein of wool (for) Iriba, the *ur₄* (who is) gatekeeper, when the son of the king came out (from) the temple of the god Rašap G."

TM.75.G.1438 rev. viii 1–12: 1 KIN siki *kíd-sag ká* *^dRa-sa-ap Gú-nu in ud ma-da-ù dumu-nita ʿen ʿ è é* *^dRa-sa-ap Gú-nu* "1 skein of wool (for) the gatekeeper of the gate of the god Rašap G. when the m.-vase of the son of the king came out (from) the temple of the god Rašap G."

TM.75.G.1585 obv. iv 14–22: 1 sal-TÚG *kíd-sag ká en* *Ḫa-zu-wa-an^{ki}* "(1 cloth for) the gatekeeper of the gate of the king of Ḫasuwān".

The minister Arrukum had also his own gatekeeper, TM.75.G.1727 obv. xiii 11–13: *kíd-sag ká Ar-ru₁₂-gúm*.

b) Gatekeepers of the time of minister Ibrium

The gatekeepers of the three lists given above are: *A-bí-ʿa/u₃*, *A-da₅*, *Ar-si-a-ḫa*, *Áš-da-mu*, *A-zú-gú-ra*, *Ba-li*, *Bù-da-ma-lik*, *En-BE*, *En-na-ba-al₆*, *Gul-la*, *Gul-la-II*, *Ḫu-bí-a*, *Ig-da-na-im*, *Î-lum-BAL*, *I-lu₅-za_x-ma-lik*, *Îr-az^l(PÉŠ)-zé*, *Îr-î-ba*, *Iš₁₁-a-ti-lu*, *Nab-ḫa-il*, *Na-zi*, *Puzur₄-ra-a-gú*, *Puzur₄-ra-ma-lik*, *Šu-î-lum*, *Šu-î-lum-II*, *Zu-la/a-bù*.

Azu-gura is mentioned also in ARET 12.6 iii 1–2; Iraz-ze in TM.75G.2269 obv. v 6–9: *Puzur₄-ra-î maškim Îr-az^l(PÉŠ)-zé kíd-sag*.

Another list of ten gatekeepers is in TM.75.G.10183 obv. iii 11–iv 4: 10 gu-mug-TÚG (ten PNs) *kíd-sag*. The names, in alphabetic order, are: *Da-bù-šu*, *Da-nu-lum*, *Du-bù-ḫu-î*, *Ib-dur-î*, *I-i-bù*, *I-rí-ig*, *Îr-î-ba*, *I-šar*, *Šu-NE-x*, *Û-NI*. Only Iriba appears in the previous lists.

Other gatekeepers of the gate of the king of this period are Adalum, TM.75.G.1797 rev. xiii 11–16: *NI-wa GIŠ-nu-kiri₆ ... A-da-lum kíd-sag en*; Adugu, TM.75.G.10155 rev. 10–13: *A-du-gu kíd-sag ká en*; Ganum, TM.75.G.2526 obv. x 5–9: *Ga-nu-um kíd-sag ká é en*.

The minister Ibrium had also at least one gatekeeper, whose name was Išar. He performed his function in the village of Dara’um, where Ibrium’s family owned property. TM.75.G.1870 obv. ii 2–6 and TM.75.G.2456 rev. xii 18–22: *I-šar kíd-sag e Ib-rí-um Da-ra-um*^{ki}.

Tirin-damu was priestess of the god Hadabal in Luban during the period of Ibrium, until the second year of the minister Ibbi-zikir. TM.76.G.288 (mentioned above) attributes one gatekeeper to her. According to TM.75.G.2417 rev. xiii 10–12, however, she had, two residences or estates: 2 kíd-sag 2 ká *Di-rín-da-mu*. The names of these two gatekeepers were Burdu-gunu and Zasilu. TM.75.G.10151 obv. vi 7–11: *Bur-du-gú-nu kíd-sag é Di-rín-da-mu lú Lu-ba-an*^{ki}. TM.75.G.10125 obv. ix 4–6: *Za-si-lu kíd-sag lú Lu-ba-nu*^{ki}.

Another temple of Hadabal was in (L)arugadu, which was also provided with a gatekeeper, TM.75.G.1588 (a document dated to minister Ibbi-zikir) rev. iv 10–13: *Ib-la*^{ki} kíd-sag ká *A-ru₁₂-ga-du*^{ki} “(clothes for a man of) Ebba (who is) gatekeeper of the gate of Arugadu.”

c) Gatekeepers of the time of minister Ibbi-zikir

Adugu (already active during the period of minister Ibrium). TM.75.G.2352 rev. vii 11–14: *A-du-gu kíd-sag ká en*.

Menu-^dKura. TM.75.G.2245 rev. iv 21–22 and 2278 rev. vi 11–12: *Mi/Me-nu-^dKu-ra* kíd-sag. ARET 8.531 xxiv 10–11: *Mi-^dKu-ra* (!) kíd-sag. He was the son of Šuma-i, who was also a gatekeeper.

Nizi-mai. ARET 9.44 rev. x 3–4: *Ne-zi-ma-ì* kíd-sag. ARET 12.952 rev iv 6–8: 1 t. *Ni-zi-ma-ì* kíd-sag.

Šuma-i(l), father of Menu/Mekum-^dKura. ARET 4.1 obv. ix 1–6: *Me-nu-^dKu-ra* 1 dumu-nita *Šu-ma-ì* kíd-sag in *Zàr-ad*^{ki}. ARET 12.835 obv. 1–3: [*Me-nu-^dKu-ra*] dumu-nita *Šu-ma-ì* kíd-sag. TM.75.G.2278 obv. iv 3–5: *Mi-^dKu-ra* (!) dumu-nita *Šu-ma-ì* kíd-sag. TM.75.G.2337 obv. vi 18–21: *Mi-kum-^dKu-ra* dumu-nita *Šu-ma-ì* kíd-sag. The name Mikum-^dKura is just a variant of Menu-^dKura /Min-(kum-)DN/ “What (is) (to you), oh DN?”.

There was, further, “a gatekeeper of the temple,” TM.75.G.1946 obv. vi 18–20 and 2369 rev. iv 6–9: (1 cloth) kíd-sag é dingir-dingir-dingir.

A certain Enna-i had also a gatekeeper, TM.75.G.1979 obv. vi 18–21: kíd-sag é *En-na-ì*

10 Prices, Workers' Wages and Maintenance at Ebla

Frequently in the documentation from Ebla (Tell Mardikh, Northern Syria), for the most part dating from the beginning of the 24th century BC, recurs the term *níg-sa₁₀* “price; value” which passed in use from the Sumerian administrative formulary to the Eblaic school of scribes. Generally, the term is understood to mean “value”. Take, for example, a document which was not found precisely in the central archive, but in the southern area of the acropolis (TM.82.G.266; Archi 1993b: 8–10, §§ 11, 15). Among other things, it reads: “1,500 minas of gold (ca. 700 kg), ‘value’ of grain; 1,700 minas of silver (ca. 800 kg), ‘value’ of box wood and perfumed woods”, and which ends with the notation: “belonging to Ibbi-zikir”. It is obvious that in this case it is a matter of a list of goods over which vizier Ibbi-zikir had direct jurisdiction. Similarly, on a tablet found together with the one mentioned above there is written, following the indication of some agricultural areas: “9,740 cattle, the silver relating to them is 389 minas (1 head = 9 g silver); 7 minas 20 shekels of gold, ‘value’ of 760 young range cows (1 head = 0.57 g gold; considering a ratio of 1 : 5 between gold and silver, obtained is: 1 head = 22.5 g of silver); 64,500 sheep belonging to the king” (TM.82.G.267; Archi 1993b: 4–8). Here can be noted the alternation, and therefore the equality, between the term *níg-sa₁₀* ‘value’, and “his silver”. Where instead *níg-sa₁₀* probably has the value of “price” it refers to onagers or other kinds of equines, (ANŠE.)BAR.AN. These animals, whose value varies between 1 mina and 1 mina and ½ of silver (470/700 g), were not raised in Syria; this is demonstrated by a letter addressed to the king of Ḥamazi (a city located in the area of the Tigris) in which some heads of these animals BAR.AN are requested in exchange for objects in precious woods (it is a matter of an exchange of “gifts” between the two sovereigns). Therefore, the place name which usually follows the mention of these equines (sometimes Nagar) should be that from which they come, and the amount of silver should indicate the amount of metal actually paid for their purchase.

In reality, however, some of the key points in the accounting system followed by the Eblaic administration are not clear. One document, ARET 7.75, records: “6 minas of silver: ‘price’ of 4 onagers; 2 minas of silver: ‘price’ of flour (*zíd*); 3 minas of silver: to PN for flour; 5 minas of silver: to GN (Nagar)

were delivered/delivery” (1 Syrian mina = 470 g). Now, if it is unusual that a palace economy must pay for it in order to acquire flour, the last part of the text shows rather clearly that here it is a question of actual payments made in silver and not [25] the calculation of values of goods in relation to silver. This is also true of ARET 7.77: a “document regarding purchases (dub-gar ní-g-sa₁₀) for a period of 7 years”. The goods in question are only partially identifiable (clothing, stones), but the fact that they come from Gasur, Mari, the mountain country (Kur^{ki}), that is, from regions outside of Ebla, clearly demonstrates that it is a matter of purchases in exchange for silver. Other texts do not permit such clear deductions. In ARET 7.13, which is also a document concerning purchases (dub-gar ní-g-sa₁₀), part of the silver is the “price” of clothing and semi-precious stones (such as lapis lazuli) received “from” (*áš-ti*) persons from Mari (for example); but other times the “price” is for clothing “to the benefit of” (*iš₁₁-ki*); and so here it is not clear where and how these garments were obtained.

But generally in interpreting these data we are always faced with the alternative -purchase/evaluation- without there being elements decisive enough to cause us to opt for one solution over the other. On the one hand, there are elements which would demonstrate the circulation of silver unmatched by any other state during the IIIrd millennium; and on the other, it is difficult to admit that an administration as centralized as that of Ebla should acquire, through the outlay of silver, goods which are no more than the primary products of the economy under its authority. Here are some other examples:

- a) ARET 2.5 § 46: “50 shekels (ca. 400 g) silver, purchase of 25 rams for soldiers (aga-ús)”; 7.78 § 6: “20 shekels (ca. 160 g) of silver for the rations of servants (*še-ba ir₁₁*) of the ‘house’ of GN, who went to Nagar”.
- b) ARET 1.28: thousands of garments are identified as ní-g-sa₁₀, “purchases” by “lords”, that is, by the highest functionaries in the administration, and recorded according to the following scheme: garments PN ní-g-sa₁₀; the colophon then reads: “delivery of the lords”, mu-DU lugal-lugal. TM.75.G.2600 is a record of the purchase of animals according to the scheme: silver as the equivalent of (*a-dè*) animals: colophon: 135 minas (63 kg) of silver, “price” of 3,532 cattle”. Similarly, TM.75.G.10213: 389 minas (86 kg) silver, “price” of 9,941 cattle”.

Concerning the passages in a), the type of document seems to suggest a transaction of silver for foodstuffs for the maintenance of palace personnel. For the text in b), it would seem to be a question of the evaluation in silver of goods obtained by the palace, through its functionaries, from the productive sectors placed under the control of those functionaries. In addition to silver, wool also was used as a means of exchange. ARET 4.4 § 50: “20 lengths of wool: price of

essences, GIŠ-ád, for PN” (cf. also ARET 4.297: nì-sa₁₀). In any case, before tackling the problem of “prices” in Ebla more thoroughly, it would be opportune to await the publication of all relative material, which is in the process of being classified.

Also with regard to the problem of “wages” it is necessary to make some preliminary considerations. The archives of Ebla are state archives, and in addition are the product of the scribes of a highly centralized administration. With a documentation of this type for an economy whose mode of production is more or less comparable to those of the other states of the Near East in the IIIrd millennium, it is clear that the retributive aspect of work is identified in a redistribution system centered in the palace, and in the most literal sense of the word. Too pertinent [126] and enlightening is what I. J. Gelb (1965: 230) wrote twenty years ago about Mesopotamia during the pre-Sargonic period (and therefore during a time span contemporary to Ebla) to fail to quote in extenso some general considerations made by him. “The translation of še-ba ... as ‘Lohn, wages, salaire’ is now fully dominating the field of Assyriology. Very few of the scholars who translate še-ba as ‘(barley-)rations’ are aware of the weighty implications of the term ‘rations’ versus ‘wages’. The fact is that there is as much difference in meaning between rations and wages as there is between še-ba and á, and between the semi-free class of workers, forced to perform labor for which they receive rations, and the free class of workers offering their services in hire. And the fact is that the only system dominating the picture of early Mesopotamian economic history is that of a semi-free class of laborers receiving še-ba ‘rations’, and it was not until the later stage of the Ur III period, but mainly from the Old Babylonian on, that the rise of free laborers, offering their services as lú-ḫun-gá, ‘hirelings’, brought about a radical change in the economic and social system of the country, and with it the institution of á, ‘wages’.”

Ebla confirms fully the picture which Gelb outlined for Mesopotamia. One archive, L. 2712, was reserved for the recording of deliveries of rations; we can therefore hold that this documentation informs us in a sufficiently complete way about the Eblaic redistribution system. The destinees of rations were: the king and the royal family and their guests, some functionaries (among whom the Elders), specialized personnel such as the flour (female) millers (dam-kik-ken) and the (female) weavers (túg-nu-tag), and the “male and female workers” (guruš, dam). It is certainly a matter of the personnel living in the palace. Then, other documents demonstrate how this system of rations was extended to all the palace dependents: those indicated by the generic term of “people” (na-se₁₁), placed under their “overseers” (ugula), both those who were part of the palace administrative center (SA.ZA_x) and those in outlying areas (uru-bar) (ARET 2.18), then the serfs (ir₁₁) (ARET 2.17), the artisans and the priestesses

(nagar, dam-dingir) (ARET 2.19). These rations of cereals were also integrated with meat: “4,860 sheep, ration (še-ba) for Ebla”, TM.75.G.2538.

In addition to foodstuffs, the personnel received wool and clothing, and the greater frequency of deliveries of finished products shows how much greater was the influence of the textile industry on the Eblaic economy than on the Mesopotamian. It is precisely these deliveries which enlighten us indirectly about the way work was organized in Ebla. The laborers are indicated with the term *na-se₁₁*, and were organized into the following units:

- a) *ká* “district”. ARET 2.28: “x persons: district (under the control) of PN”, 29; 10; 6; 7; 7 *na-se₁₁* *ká* PN. TM.75.G.1569: 100 *na-se₁₁* KAD₄ *ká* PN. They received grain (cf. TM.75.G.1959), but also clothing; TM.75.G.1493: “273 persons who went to GN (and) received articles of clothing from the palace”.
- b) *é-duru₅^{ki}* “squads of laborers”. Each of these squads was made up of 20 individuals. This can be determined on the basis of TM.75.G.1973: [27]

14 <i>é-duru₅^{ki}</i>	12 <i>na-se₁₁</i>	<i>îr-a-núm</i> PN
13 <i>é-duru₅^{ki}</i>	Ø	<i>îr-a-núm</i> PN
12 <i>é-duru₅^{ki}</i>	Ø	<i>îr-a-núm</i> PN
7 <i>é-duru₅^{ki}</i>	Ø	<i>îr-a-núm</i> PN
10 <i>é-duru₅^{ki}</i>	Ø	<i>îr-a-núm</i> PN
5 <i>é-duru₅^{ki}</i>	Ø	<i>îr-a-núm</i> PN
13 <i>é-duru₅^{ki}</i>	15	<i>îr-a-núm</i> PN
Total 75	27	GN

A group of several work squads, *îr-a-núm*, was therefore placed under the authority of a palace functionary, and could also be sent outside the city of Ebla (*îr-a-núm* GN). Specialized workers, grouped in these larger units, must have formed true factories. Clothing and wool were allotted to all the workers. For example, see this entry from TM.75.G.10129: “42 + 140 garments, 22 skirts, 160 lengths *na₄* of wool for skirts, 540 lengths KIN of wool for garments for 360 persons (*na-se₁₁*) of 3 measures *na₄* (of wool each); total 542 (garments) for the *îr-a-núm* of GN ... 200 + 120 garments, 320 lengths *na₄* of wool for skirts, 270 lengths KIN of wool for garments for 680 persons of 3 measures *na₄* (of wool each); total: 500 (garments) for the smiths (*simug*). 40 + 40 garments, 80 lengths *na₄* of wool for skirts, 90 lengths KIN of wool for garments for 60 persons of 3 measures *na₄* (of wool each); total: 140 (garments) for the carpenters (*nagar*)”. To be kept in mind is that: a) 1 KIN = 2 *na₄*, therefore, for example, in the first entry: 540 KIN = 1,080 *na₄*; b) skirts are not counted as garments and therefore in the first entry, the total of 542 garments is reached by adding 42 + 140 + 360 (garments for the same number of persons).

Although these lists may also include groups of laborers working outside Ebla, they seem to concern primarily personnel living in the city (excluding those from the residence of the king, é en), or who were living just outside the walls. For example, TM.75.G.1950 opens with a list of 9 *ir-a-núm* employed by an equal number of high officials, and in those *ir-a-núm* is included a total of 5,942 persons (*na-se₁₁*). Other personnel are added to these, among whom: 500 smiths, 140 carpenters, 30 singers, 23 cooks, 9 harp players. The large numbers, which correspond in the various documents (the smiths and carpenters, for example, in the above-mentioned TM.75.G.1950 and 10129 coincide), demonstrate that categories of palace personnel are recorded here in their entirety. And all of them – within the sphere of a strictly redistribution economy – received cloth and wool.

Then, other dependents, also divided into “productive units” (é), were distributed among various villages. TM.75.G.10250 records 4,580 of these units (é *na-se₁₁*) made up of “workers” (*guruš*), “serfs” (*ir₁₁*), and also specialized workers (smiths, carpenters), those assigned to raising livestock and those to wine production (*il geštin*). It remains uncertain whether the term *uru-bar* = *i-rí-a-tum* “suburb” applies to the settlements of workers just outside the walls (some of the *ir-a-núm*) or to those located in some villages (cf. ARET 7.136: “PN smith-overseer of the suburb”, *ugula simug uru-bar*). They were also supported according to a redistribution scheme, ARET 7.148: “700 jars of oil: present in the suburbs; 4,000 jars of oil: present in the palace”. This administrative system succeeded in avoiding excessive complexity in accumulation and redistribution procedures by allotting directly – also to those artisans living in the city – the products from some specific lots of agricultural land. TM.75.G.2340: “[x] measures of land (*gána-kešda*) for the carpenters ... 200 measures of land for PN, the courier-overseer ... 100 measures of land for PN, the carpenter”. TM.75.G.1472: [27] “123 measures of land for the sustenance in measures (of barley) of the district of PN”, *kú gú-bar ká PN*. TM.75.G.10039: “157,500 measures of land for the workers’ sustenance (*guruš-guruš kú*); 11,860 measures of land of the functionaries *ur₄-ur₄*, for sustenance; 21,230 measures of land of the palace carpenters (*SA.ZA_x^{ki}*), for sustenance ... 9,870 measures of land of the carpenters from the suburbs (*uru-bar*), for sustenance”.

The workers received fabrics not only for being included in a *ir-a-núm*, but also individually or in small groups. To the “serfs” and “servants” (*ir₁₁*, *géme*), and to the farmers (*engar*) was usually allotted a single article of clothing, and it was very simple: a *gu-dùl-TÚG*. The “male and female workers” (*guruš*, *dam*) were treated differently and better, just as the specialized workers were, who received clothing also as payment for specific services. TM.75.G.10277 rev. IV 4–7: “(30 + 30 garments, 30 skirts:) garments for 30 smiths who made some

daggers m.”, simug UNKEN-ak gír mar-tu gír mar-tu; TM.75.G.1781 obv. III 4–8: “(3 garments) for the carpenters ... for bows (made) in GN”, GIŠ-ban-GIŠ-ban in *A-ba-ru*₁₂^{ki}; TM.75.G.2239 rev. I 2–5: “(19 + 19 garments) for the smiths of GN who made some daggers m.”, simug-simug *Kab-lu*₅-ul^{ki} UNKEN-ak gír mar-tu gír mar-tu. But it is not possible to establish the frequency of these deliveries, often for which no motive is given.

This organization of work, so rigidly centralized, also profited from a certain mobility of craftsmen. Specialized workers were exchanged between one court and another, and not only between Ebla and the other Syrian city-states, but also with the most important states in central Mesopotamia: Mari and Kiš. We do not know the diplomatic procedures which accompanied the exchange of these craftsmen, since we only know about them through the accounts of the goods allotted to personnel. But the general picture seems to be substantially similar to that of the second half of the 2nd millennium, that is, when the great territorial kingdoms were established. Ebla demonstrates that different analyses proposed for the Old Babylonian period are in fact conditioned by an incomplete transmission of sources. Following is a (provisional) list of Eblaic craftsmen sent to other states, and of craftsmen from foreign cities working in Ebla:

- bur-gul “stonecutter”. Stonecutter-apprentices from Mari active in Ebla: TM.75.G.2249 obv. IV 12–24: 9 guruš bur-gul *Ma-ri*^{ki}.
- nagar “carpenter”. Eblaic carpenters sent to Armi: TM.75.G.2418 obv. V 1–12: (2 + 2 + 2 garments) *Na-zu-mu Iš-má-da-mu* (1 + 1 + 1 garments) *Wa-ba-rúm ma-za-lum-sù* (10 + 10 garments) *maškim-maškim-sù* (1 + 1 garments) *nagar-sù du-du si-in Armi*^{ki} (Wabarum is probably a carpenter-overseer, ugula, see ARET 4.264; cf. the parallal passage ARET 4.20 obv. I 8–II 10). Carpenters from ẖuzan, Irar, Mari and Ra’ak, working in Ebla: TM.75.G.2247 rev. VI 16–VII 5: (9 + 9 + 9 garments) *PN₁-PN₉ nagar-nagar ẖu-za-an*^{ki} lú UNKEN-ak 2 gígir-IV šu-ba₄-ti. TM.75.G.1792 rev. V 12–14: (4 garments) 4 dumu-nita nagar *Ī-ra-ar*^{ki}. TM.75.G.1258 obv. I 2–3: (16 + 16) *nagar-nagar Ra-’ā-ak*^{ki}. TM.75.G.1875 obv. IV 2–4: (1 garment) *nagar Ma-ri*^{ki} ÉxPAP.
- simug “smith”. Eblaic smiths sent to Armi, Kiš and Nagar: ARET 1.16 obv. III 12–IV 4: (1 + 1 + 1 garments) *PN simug du-du si-in Ar-mi*^{ki} šu-bal-ak kù-gi. TM.75.G.2556 rev. III 6–13: (3 + 3 garments) *PN₁-PN₃ simug wa dumu-nita-sù du-du Kiš*^{ki}. ARET 1.44 obv. V 21–VI 3: (5 shekels silver) [29] še-ba [...] *simug du-du Na-gār*^{ki}. Smiths from ẖazuwan, Mari and Tisum, working in Ebla: TM.75.G.1938 rev. VIII 6–7: (5 garments) *simug-simug ẖa-zu-wa-an*^{ki}. ARET 3.329 III 6–7: (3 garments) *simug Ma-ri*^{ki}. TM.75. G.1559 rev. II 1–5: (2 ma-na 40 bar₆:kù) *PN ù PN simug Ma-ri*^{ki}; IV 9–11: (1 ma-na bar₆:kù)

- simug *Ma-ri*^{ki}. TM.75.G.1745 rev. V 9–22: (12 + 12 + 12 garments) PN₁-PN₁₂
 simug *Ti-sum*^{ki}. TM.75.G.2293 obv. 11–14: (3 garments) dumu-nita simug *Ti-sum*^{ki}. TM.75.G.10079 rev. VIII 3–4: (18 garments) simug-simug *Ti-sum*^{ki}.
 – túg-nu-tag “weaver”. Weavers from Mari working in Ebla: TM.75.G.1389
 obv. IV 16–18: (2 garments) dam túg-nu-tag *Ma-ri*^{ki}. ARET 7.13 obv. III 7–
 IV3: [...] níg-sa₁₀ 2 dam túg-nu-tag iš₁₁-ki *Ma-ri*^{ki}.

These exchanges were not limited only to craftsmen. A group of 3 “first singers” and of 23 or 24 “second singers”, nar-mah/tur, from Mari was permanently active in Ebla, cf. ARET 1.7 § 31; 4.1 §§ 24–25, and also in Archi 1985a: 80. Singers from Kiš were also present in Ebla: TM.75.G.2426 obv. VIII 10–17. All were recorded in the administrative documents as having received garments. The services offered by all these specialized workers in no way can be compared to salaried work, even if some artisans, as mentioned above, received payment (of garments) for a specific task performed. They, too, were part of the palace personnel, a few elements of whose complex organization have been given.

Finally, it is necessary to consider that in some documents the maintenance expenses for both “workmen” and “serfs” are often in silver. TM.75.G.10090 obv. IV 1–2: “13 minas 20 shekels for 200 serfs at 4 (shekels) (ir₁₁-IV)” (800 shekels : 200 = 4), rev. III 3–4: “9 minas 20 shekels of silver for 140 workmen at 4 (shekels) (guruš-IV)” (560 shekels : 140 = 4). Other texts specify that this silver is for “rations”; ARET 1.44 § 2: “25 mine of silver: rations (še-ba) for 250 workmen at 3 (shekels) and 250 female workers at 3 (shekels) (guruš-III, dam-III)” (1,500 shekels : 500 = 3). This may explain why less silver was sometimes spent for a “workman” (guruš) than for a “serf” (ir₁₁). It is probable that it was only a question of evaluation of expenses in silver (it will be recalled what was said about the problem of “prices”) for foodstuffs necessary to maintain this personnel. It seems that this can be deduced from documents such as ARET 2.33 where, among other things, in § 3 is read: “100 minas of silver: rations for the kings (guests at Ebla) and for the couriers”.

Nevertheless, we do not mean, that the population of the Eblaic state was totally and directly controlled by the palace. In the village communities the members were individually free from personal links, and had as a whole to provide a certain amount of labor-force, and anyhow, a certain number of live-stock-heads.

11 Gifts at Ebla

per Nicola,
agitatore di idee

“and wire-wrought gold
given with a will: two rich arm-bands
a mail-shirt, and rings and the gold collar
ever heard of on earth so it is told.”

Beowulf, XVIII 1193–1196

1 Redistribution

1.1 Primary Production

One of the more obscure aspects of the administrative system at Ebla is that of the production and circulation of primary goods. There is extensive documentation, consisting of several hundred texts listing deliveries of cereals, oil, sheep and cattle to the central administration. However, there are no standard lists of the numerous villages (approximately 200) from which these goods came, nor are there any fixed typologies of texts enabling us to identify the annual documents on which to base any quantitative estimates. The exceptions are a few annual accounts relating to sheep during the period of the minister Arrukum (40–35 years before the destruction of Ebla).¹ The names of the months are only given in a few cases. In general, the documents cannot be dated on the basis of prosopographic elements, since only a few officials are mentioned and their names are either common or do not occur in the datable texts of other administrative sectors. Furthermore, the documents relating to land administered directly by the palace are particularly terse and employ obscure terminology.² Lastly, it is impossible to determine the surface measurement, and that used for capacity is still uncertain.

Pp. 43–55 in *Studi italiani di metrologia ed economia del Vicino Oriente antico dedicati a Nicola Parise in occasione del suo settantesimo compleanno* (Studia Asiana 7), eds. Enrico Ascalone, and Luca Peyronel. Roma: Herder. 2011, 43–55.

¹ Archi 1984a: 68–72, nn. 17–21

² Some data are given in Archi 2006a.

It is also difficult to follow the outflow, that is the redistribution of these goods to the individuals or groups of personnel of the central administration. The rations of cereals (še-ba), flours and oil for the palace (published in ARET 9) do not classify the personnel in any coherent manner and, moreover, the documents relate to periods of time of differing length (from 15 day to a few months). There are, instead, twenty-two monthly lists which furnish precise information about the sheep distributed from the palace, concerning the last months of the city.³ [44] They contain three sections: a) sheep sacrificed in the temples of the city of Ebla, é-é dingir-dingir; b) sheep consumed at the palace, kú SA.ZA_x^{ki}; c) sheep sacrificed or consumed in other centres. Clearly, this kind of document was destroyed after a certain period of time, whereas the final data was recorded in the rare documents covering a number of months or years (with no firm typology), these too being destroyed after a number of years. According to TM.75.G.2096, a total of 12,354 sheep were required for ten months (of an undefined year!).⁴

1.2 Clothes

The second level of redistribution concerns manufactured goods: first of all, pieces of cloth, mostly wool. The abundant production of wool,⁵ the different kinds of clothes, the possibility to vary the value of clothes according to the amount of material employed and the obvious usefulness of these goods meant that clothes represented an extremely flexible utility, ideal for the redistribution circuit. It was destined for those who provided services of some sort to the central administration, but also for people from other city-states. This outflow of clothes and wool was recorded in monthly documents (Monthly Account of Textiles = MAT). These tablets are about 500, covering approximately 40 years, corresponding to those of the ministers Arrukum (Arr.) (5 years), Ibrium (Ibr.) (18 years) and his son Ibbi-zikir (I.Z.) (17 years). Since these documents are dated only by month, they have been attributed to one or other minister on the basis of prosopographic factors. Occasionally objects in gold and silver were also recorded in addition to clothes.

3 Four of them haven been published in Pettinato 1979a.

4 Pettinato 1977a: 263–71.

5 According to the documents quoted in n. 1, the herds of sheep (and goats?) controlled by the officials of the central administration consisted of about 70,000 heads in the period of the minister Arrukum. During the mandate of Ibbi-zikir, the number of heads was more than 100,000, Archi 1993b: 14–15. Considering an hypothetical 50 % of lambs, and a ratio per sheep of 0.80 kilogram of wool, the yearly production of wool could have been of 40 tons.

An example can be seen in the text ARET 4.13 (Ibr.; month V):

- § 1: 1 + 1 + 1 cloths, 1 belt with 1 dagger decorated with silver and gold, 1 plate of 30 shekels of gold, 1 dagger decorated with gold to a chief (ugula) of Abarsal (a city-state east of the Euphrates; Tell Chuera?), when he conquered (?) two towns.
- § 2: 12 + 12 cloths, wool to 12 merchants (lú-kar) of the town of Manuwat who went (in expedition) with PN.
- § 3: 6 + 6 cloths, wool to 6 merchants (lú-kar) of the town of Manuwat who went (in expedition) with PN.
- § 4: 1 + 1 cloths for (the purification ceremony of) the anointment of the head of the king of Lumnan (because of a death). [45]
- § 5: 1 + 1 cloths for (the purification ceremony of) the anointment of the head of PN (because of a death) (who is) his representative (i.e. of the king of Lumnan); PN₁ son of PN₂ has brought (them).
- § 6: 1 + 1 cloths for PN₁ representative of PN₂ (of Ebla), who brought the news that the town of Arab surrendered.
- § 7: 1 + 1 cloths for PN (of Ebla).
- § 8: 2 cloths for PN₁ and PN₂, representatives of PN₃ (of Ebla), have received, taken in the town of Lub.
- § 9: 1 cloth to the wife of PN of the town of Lub.
- § 10: 1 + 1 + 1 cloths to (someone of) the town of Za'ar.
- § 11: 2 + 3 cloths to his representative.
- § 12: 2 + 3 cloths to (someone of the city-state of) Ibubu.
- § 62: 3952 measures of wool, 40 + 1,000 kilts to 10 groups of 20 people each (é-duru^{ki}): the squad of PN; 10 groups of 20 people each: the squad of ... Total: 131 groups of 20 people and 15 workers (guruš) (= 2,635 men, 1.5 measures of wool to each man).⁶

The basic set of clothing for men consisted of the 'à-da-um-TÚG(-I/II), the aktum-TÚG and the íb+III(/-II/-IV)-TÚG(-gún)(-sa₆). All three must have been outer clothes. The 'à-da-um-TÚG /hada'um/ was a kind of cloak, double (-II) or single (-I), worn over the shoulders. For aktum-TÚG, it has been suggested either a long robe (considering the need to protect also the chest for climatic reason) or a skirt (a tufted skirt, taking into account the visual representations). The íb+III-TÚG was a cloth which was wrapped three times around the hips

⁶ Considering that the ration of wool or cloth for the personnel during the Ur III period was either of 4 or 3 minas (2 or 1.5 kilograms), (see Waetzoldt 1987: 126), the Eblaite measure GIŠ-'KIN' could have weighed about 2 minas (1 kilogram). In this case, the yearly rations of wool for these workers needed 4 tons.

(īb) (probably passing between the legs), in general multicoloured (gún) (but also white or yellow/brown), sometimes of good quality (sa₆). The īb+III-TÚG was the basic piece of clothing, sometimes the only one given to workers (see the text above, § 62). This was also worn by gods⁷ and must have been similar to the loin-cloth or kilt of the Syrian and Anatolian Weather-god of the second millennium. It was allotted (although rarely) also to ladies, as in TM.75.G.1318 obv. XIII 10–15: 3 īb+III-TÚG-gíd babbar *Ma-rī^{<ki>} Di-ne-īb-du-lum wa Ar-sa-du wa Nu-ru₁₂-ut*. These ‘three long, white kilts from Mari’ were given to three sisters of the king. There were, however, many other kinds of clothes. Instead of an aktum-TÚG, for example, one could receive a thin garment (sal-TÚG).⁸

The monthly document quoted above records a total of 130 clothes (túg-túg) (a round number: the sum makes up 128 pieces), 1,069 kilts besides 4,032.5 ‘large’ K. measures of wool (4.032 tons?) (§§ 83–84). The clothes are: 20 *gu-zi-tum*-TÚG 2 *zara₆*-TÚG 22 aktum-TÚG 10 *gu-dùl*-TÚG ‘à-*da-um*-TÚG-I 73 sal-TÚG 1 *gu-mug*-TÚG-I. All allotments of clothes [46] are given on specific occasions, with one notable exception: that found in § 62, which concerns the 2,635 workers of the palace.

1.2.1 Periodical Allotments of Clothes

Lists of workers (*guruš* / *na-se₁₁*) counted in groups of 20 men (*é-duru₅^{ki}*) and organized in squads (*ir-a-núm*) under an overseer (*ugula*) (as in § 62 of ARET 4.13, quoted in 1.2.) appear only rarely in the MATs. This is most probably because these allotments of wool and clothes are ‘rations’ issued once a year, as in the Ur III period.⁹ There is, however, no particular month in which these are distributed. The documents with this kind of issue are dated thus: two to month VI (*i-rí-sa*); three to month VII (*ga-sum*); two to month VIII (*i-nun*); one respectively to months I (*i-si*), II (*ig-za*) and XI (*MAxGĀNAtenû-sag*).¹⁰

The earliest document (the only one from the period of minister Arrukum with this list) is ARET 15.9 §§ 54–56. This is concerned purely with wool. TM.75.G.1879(+) (minister Ibrium) lists (apart from wool) different kinds of

⁷ See TM.75.G.1885 rev. VIII 11–12, TM.75.G.1938 rev. XIII 17–18: 1 *zi-rí* siki 1 īb+III-TÚG (babbar) ^d*Ku-ra*.

⁸ For these clothes, see Archi 1999a* [311–320]; Sallaberger 2009: 241–78.

⁹ Waetzoldt 1987: 125–27.

¹⁰ There are twelve other MATs with the month name broken away. These documents will be published in one next ARET volume. There are, further, some other fragmentary MATs with these lists, see the indices of ARET 3 and 14 s.v. *ir-a-núm*.

clothes (a kind of mantel, *gu-dùl-TÚG*; skirts, *aktum-TÚG*; a light cloth, *sal-TÚG*; kilts, *íb-III-TÚG*).

Several of such lists include not only simple workers (*guruš*), but also craftsmen, such carpenters (*nagar*), smiths (*simug*), cooks (*muḥaldim*), and also physicians (*a-zu₅*), lamentation singers (*balag-di*), musicians (*nar*), jugglers (*ne-di*), valets (*pa₄-šeš*), representatives (*maškim*), and others. Some of these lists open with 42–50 ‘elders who stay (by) the throne (of the king)’, *ábba-ábba al₆-tuš Giš-sudun*. At the end of these lists there are the women (*dam*), with different functions, who usually received only wool.¹¹

The women of the king (*dam en*; including sisters and daughters of the king) also received cloth or wool roughly once a year.¹² We must, however, make a distinction between these two different types of deliveries. Wool was given to these *dam en* usually in connection with similar deliveries to other personnel. TM.75.G.2443 (I.Z.; month VII) has 15 + 2 *dam en* following a long list of women employed as service personnel; they all receive only wool. In TM.75.G.1731 (I.Z.; month IX), 16 of these women appear after the *guruš*-personnel, receiving 3 K.-measures of wool each. In ARET 1.13 § 38 (I.Z.; month I) the women of the king are 22 (3 K.-measures of wool each). ARET 1.11 § 55 (Ibr.; month XI) lists by name only 6 women, who receive 2 K.-measures of wool each.

Usually, however, the *dam en* received a kind of long mantel of great value (*zara₆-TÚG*). In some cases, this *zara₆-TÚG* was reserved for the most prominent women; the others received another kind of robe (*túg-NI.NI*) or a thin garment (*sal-TÚG*) / a skirt (*aktum-TÚG*), as in ARET 8.527 VI 7–11: the queen and other 3 women, 1 *zara₆-TÚG* each; VI 12–VII 7: 27 women, 1 *aktum-TÚG* each; ARET 7.8–20: 14 women, 1 *túg-NI.NI* each. [47] This clothes delivery fell regularly in month X (*i-ba₄-sa*) from the time of the minister Ibrium: TM.75.G.1793, 1890, 10150, 10153 (Ibrium); ARET 8.525, 527, 542 (Ibbi-zikir), or was postponed to month XI: TM.75.G.2233, 2257 (Ibrium); TM.75.G.2328 (Ibbi-zikir).

The musicians (*nar*) received clothes of little worth, usually a garment of second quality wool (*gu-mug-TÚG*), a thin garment (*sal-TÚG*) and a kilt (*íb-III-TÚG*). The deliveries were quite regular. In month III (*za-’à-tum*): TM.75.G.1748, 1775, 2355, 2451; month IX (*za-lul*): ARET 1.1, 1.5, 1.6, 1.8, ARET 8.531, TM.75.G.1731, 1853; month XI (*MAXGÂNAtenû-sag*): ARET 4.14. In several other MATs the month name is lost. The number of documents listing the deliveries

¹¹ Archi 1988f: 135–37 [147–152].

¹² The lists of the *dam en* (mostly in MATs) have been given by Archi 1988b: 255–59, and have been ordered chronologically by Tonietti 1989a.

for the musicians does not, however, suggest a frequency of two deliveries per year.¹³

1.2.2 Occasional Allotments of Clothes

In most cases, however, the deliveries of clothes (irrespective of the receiver's rank) were infrequent. They indicated a recompense, that is a gift, for a particular service rendered or the king's participation in some event involving the recipient and, consequently, the best garments were required for such deliveries. The §§ 1, 4, 5, 12 of ARET 4.13 (above. in 1.2.) deal with deliveries for individuals from city-states faithful to Ebla: a leader of Abarsal who had performed military action; the royal house of Lumnun which was in mourning; certain individuals from Ibubu who were visiting Ebla. The garments in §§ 2 and 3 are rewards for merchants from a city, Manuwat, which may recently have been included in Ebla's reign. Only §§ 6–11 relate to people from minor centres of Ebla's kingdom.

There existed, therefore, a circuit within the reign of Ebla and another which was external but the MATs did not distinguish between them. These documents had to account for the issue of clothes and wool; the social ranking or position of the recipients was of secondary importance.

Two MATs concern allotments of a particularly high number of clothes (túg-túg) in relation to a specific military undertaking: 513 clothes and at least an equal number of kilts in TM.75.G.2527(+) (= A); an even higher number of clothes (the total is not preserved) in TM.75.G.2491(+) (= B).¹⁴ From A §§ 3–4 it can be seen that a military action took place near Luatum, a city at the head of a system of fortresses that defended the northern border, north of Karkamiš.¹⁵ The §§ 1–5 concern the allotment of 23 complete sets of clothing ('à-da-um-TÚG, aktum-TÚG, íb+III-TÚG) to an equal number of men who must have held positions of a certain responsibility. There follows in § 6 the allotment of 216 sets of 1 gu-mug-TÚG 1 aktum-TÚG 1 íb+III-TÚG for the same number of men listed by name who were involved in the military action. There are then regular deliveries: 25 mantels (zara₆-TÚG) for 25 women of the king; a further 4 mantels for the sisters of the king's mother; 15 túg-NI.NI for 15 women of the court. Among the craftsmen there are 19 workers who prepared malt (?) (lú munu₄); 3 shearers (ur₄) and 11 of their apprentices; 3 temple priests (lú é

¹³ The MATs with the deliveries to the musicians are listed by Archi 1988b: 279–83.

¹⁴ The two documents will be published in ARET 17.

¹⁵ On Luatum, see ARES 2: 334, with previous bibliography.

dingir-dingir-dingir). [48] Among the other extraordinary allotments there is a multicoloured kilt of good quality for the king when he followed the procession of the god Hadabal, § 19. In *B* § 6, there are 344 men listed by name who receive a set of gu-mug-TÚG 1 aktum-TÚG 1 íb+III-TÚG.

2 Gifts

2.1 Terminology

The allotments for specific events were a form of compensation due to certain personnel, albeit not on a regular basis. Since they were not ordinary deliveries, these benefits can be considered as gifts. In general, however, the terminology merely indicates the passage of goods without further qualification: “he/they gave”, ì/in-na-sum; “he/she/they has/have received”, šu-ba₄-ti; “he/she/they has/have taken in possession”, šu-du₈; “he/they has/have handed over”, šu-mu-taka₄.

The term “gift”, níg-ba, is used in relation to clothes issued by the palace only when the recipient is a god.¹⁶ Otherwise, níg-ba appears when the goods are of greater value; ARET 4.15 § 30: “1 cloth, 2 toggle-pins of silver: gift (níg-ba) for the mother of Ibbi-zikir on the occasion of the marriage of the daughter of (the former minister) Ibrium”; or, in any case, on solemn occasions, ARET 1.11 § 41: “... clothes: gift (to) PN₁ (the father of PN₂, who married a daughter of the minister Ibrium)”. The use of níg-ba emphasises the exceptional nature of the event.

The term mu-DU, “income”, is used to define the deliveries to the administration. ARET 4.28 rev. V 1–3: “Total: 4,007 cloths: delivery of the lords (mu-DU lugal-lugal) (to the palace)”. ARET 4.31 lists a mu-DU of clothes and objects to the palace for a particular event.

hi-mu-DU is used: a) when the income is related to an issue to the administration; ARET 4.12 § 6: “7 + 3 cloths (to someone) of the city of Ibal because he has to deliver (hi-mu-DU) 4 oxen”; b) when goods have to be delivered (often in connection with messengers); ARET 4.2 § 37: “11 cloths have to be delivered (from the central administration to) the palace for the procession of the palace”; ARET 4.17 § 119: “clothes (to someone) of GN to be delivered to the messengers (kas₄-kas₄) of GN”.¹⁷

¹⁶ ARET 1: 299; 4: 315.

¹⁷ ARET 4: 301.

2.2 Clothes for the Kings and the Elders of the Allied City-States

In the last decade of Ebla, when the minister was Ibbi-zikir, it became the habit to send, once a year, a set of garments to the kings and elders (*ábba*) (in some cases also to representatives, *maškim*, and messengers, *ma-za-lum*) of those cities which recognised Ebla's hegemony. Eight MATs begin with the list of these issues, ARET 1.1–8.¹⁸ Four of these documents (nos. 1, 5, 6, 8) are dated to month IX (*za-lul*); one each respectively to [49] months XI and XII (MAXGĀN*Atenû-sag/úgur*); in nos. 4 and 7 the month name is in a gap. The city-states are: NĪrar, Ra'ak, Kakmġm, Imar, Burman, Dub (Tuba), Garmu, Lumnān, Ursa'um, Utugu, Dulu, Iritum, Ĥarran, Sanapzugum, Gudadanum, Ibal, and several other minor cities.¹⁹ The area covered is extensive, including part of the Middle Euphrates, from the region north of the modern border between Syria and Turkey (Ursa'um/Uršum, Iritum/Irrite and Ĥarran) to Imar, and southwards to include the region east of Selemye (Ibal).

Some previous documents have this kind of delivery, but not at the beginning of the document. ARET 4.6 (minister Ibbi-zikir; month III, *za-'ā-tum*) lists the *badalum* of Ĥarran (who came second in rank after his king) and his elders, §§ 1–2; the chiefs (*ugula-ugula*) of Ibal, § 17; the kings of Dub, Imar, Garmu with their elders, §§ 31–36; the *badalum* of Ĥarran, Iritum, Ursa'um and Gudadanum with their representatives (*maškim*), §§ 37–45. ARET 4.1 (minister Ibbi-zikir; month IV, *gi-NI*) has: the kings of Ibubu, §§ 8–9, Dulu, §§ 13–14, Ursa'um, §§ 44–45, with their elders; the chiefs of Ibal, §§ 65–66.

The administration gives no reason for these deliveries, which were certainly made annually. These are free deliveries, therefore gifts, by means of which ties of friendship were renewed with the kings of allied cities of inferior rank. Only Ebla, Mari and Nagar (Tell Brak) were regional states.

2.3 Gifts of Precious Objects for the Elite and the Officials of the Central Administration

On particular occasions, gold and silver objects were given to members of the royal family, the family of the minister and to personnel of the administration (according to each person's rank). These occasions were mainly fundamental

¹⁸ Notice the join ARET 1.2+ARET 4.23. ARET 1.5 (TM.76.G.530), from room L. 2752, is one of the latest documents.

¹⁹ These cities are listed in ARET 1: 224–25.

events such as marriage, the birth of a son (in this case the gifts were for the women) and funerals.²⁰

On the death of the minister Arrukum, a few months before that of king Irkab-damu, the central administration delivered for his funeral ceremony (ÉxPAP) 1 plate and 1 belt weighing 1 mina (470 g) gold each, and 1 dagger decorated with gold, ARET 15.47 obv. IX 9. On the death of the minister Ibrium, a pendent (*bu-di*) was given to each of his 14 women (dam-dam *Ib-rí-um*) for the purification ceremony (*i-giš-sag*), the value of each jewel being commensurate with the recipient's rank, MEE 10.20 obv. I 10–II 14. In the same document, gifts are also recorded for the princess Zugalum, on her marriage to the king of Ḫarran, obv. X 17–XII 8, as well as a gift for the bridegroom and those sent to the women of the royal family of Ḫarran by Dusigu, mother of the king of Ebla, the queen and the wife of the minister Ibbi-zikir, obv. XII 9–XIII 22. For the marriage of Kešdūt, daughter of the king and queen, to a son of the king of Kiš, gift were distributed to all members of the royal family and that of the minister.²¹ [50]

Certain gifts were directly related to the action performed: for a military expedition (*níg-kas₄*) against the city of Kakmium, 200 bronze daggers decorated with silver were made and distributed to the men of the palace (*guruš-guruš SA.ZA_x^{ki}*), TM.75.G.10144 obv. III 22–IV 12.²² In a few other cases, the gifts were quite simply pieces of equipment for personnel serving in the palace: '(silver for) 40 belts and 40 sheaths (40 *ib-lá* 40 *gír-kun*) ... (silver for) 18 bracelets (*gú-li-lum*) decorated with gold for the men of the palace (*guruš-guruš SA.ZA_x^{ki}*)', TM.75.G.1923 obv. XVII 20-rev. I 6.

The minister (first Ibrium, then his son Ibbi-zikir) normally led the army into battle as the last king, Išar-damu, was only a boy when he came to the throne.²³ The greatest gift he received following a military victory was a chariot. In the 3rd year of his term, the year in which expeditions were carried out against the cities of Ilwum and Bagara, Ibbi-zikir first received a number of objects for the chariot, for a value of 78 g of gold and 85 g of silver (TM.75.G.10088 obv. XIV 18–19, XXV 15–16). On his return from Bagara he received 1 plate of gold of 470 g and ear-rings of 24 g from the queen, as well as decoration for the chariot (the value of which cannot be determined since certain passages are missing), TM.75.G.10088 XXIV 29–XXVII 8. Later he received

²⁰ The sets of gifts for the marriage and the funerary ceremony of some ladies of high rank have been studied by Archi 2002b* [760–798].

²¹ Archi 2010a* [236–250].

²² Similarly, in TM.75.G.10201 obv. XXIV 24–XXV 9: '120 daggers (*gír mar-tu*) to the men for the expedition (against) Darašum'.

²³ Archi 2014.

further bridles and other objects, TM.75.G.10088 rev. VII 21–VIII 13. A plate of 940 g of gold was given to the minister ‘as a replacement of two of his plates of gold (offered for) the purification of the god Hadda’ (*áš-du 2 dib-sù sikil* ^dĀ-da), TM.75.G.10088 obv. XVIII 13–19.²⁴

In his 5th year, which followed the expedition against the city of Armi, Ibbi-zikir received further equipment for a chariot to replace that (of the 3rd year!) which he had offered to Hadda (*áš-du 1 GIŠ-gígir-II dib-sù sikil* ^dĀ-da). This gift needed 540 g of silver and 1,580 of gold (including the plate and the bracelet that Ibbi-zikir gave to the god: *lul-gu-ak 1 dib 1 gú-li-lum lú ì-na-sum* ^dĀ-da), TM.75.G.1918 obv. I 14–III 24.

2.4 The Chain of Gifts

The bracelet (*gú-li-lum*) and the plate (*dib*), both in gold (and of a weight that reflects the rank of the recipient), were two objects normally given as rewards to members of the central administration. [51]

The AAM TM.75.G.1918 (MEE 10.29) obv. V 24–IX 21 has a long list of deliveries of plates (*dib*). Those for the Eblaite officials do not include any justification for the expenditure incurred. In TM.75.G.1918 V 24–VI 12, four representatives of the city of Armi (who clearly were present at Ebla) each receive 1 plate in gold (weighing respectively 470, 391, 313 and 235 g, in line with the differing rank). The weight of the plates for the Eblaite officials varies from 470 to 78 g (sometimes the plates were covered with a thin sheet of metal, *ni-zi-mu*). The list ends with the delivery of 1 plate of 313 g of gold for a representative of Armi who had returned from a battle (*mè*), IX 12–21.

In certain cases, the officials had to give a colleague a similar but less valuable gift. ARET 15.20 § 7: Amuda gives (*ì-na-sum*) 2 bracelets (*gú-li-lum*) of silver and gold to a certain In-zé; this latter gives 1 bracelet of copper and gold to the son of Arahezu.

²⁴ The substitution from the side of the administration of precious votive gifts given by the king and the minister to the gods is quite frequent, see, e.g., TM.75.G.1464 rev. XI 21–XII 31: ‘940 g of gold in order to make 2 bracelets (and) 783 g of gold (for) 1 plate of the king in the replacement of his plate (given for) the purification of the god Hadda at the illness of his mother and of his 2 bracelets (given for) the purification of the god Hadabal of Luban at his own illness (1 *dib en áš-du dib-sù sikil* ^dĀ-da *al₆ tu-ra ama-gal-sù wa 2 gú-li-lum-sù sikil* ^dA₅-da-«bal» *Lu-ba-an^{ki} al₆ tu-ra-sù*). 940 g of silver in order to make 2 bracelets (for the minister) Ibrium in replacement of his 2 bracelets (given for) the purification of the god Hadda at the illness of the king (*áš-du 2 gú-li-lum-sù sikil* ^dĀ-da *al₆ tu-ra en*)’. For the ceremony *sikil*, see Archi 2000b.

TM.75.G.1247(+) concerns deliveries of gold plates to people connected in some way with the administration. In sections §§ 21–24, the same plate received by an official is transmitted to another man; e.g. § 23: 1;30 ma-na kù-gi 1 dib *lb-rí-um wa in-na-sum Sá-gú-šum* ‘1;30 mina of gold: 1 plate (to the minister) Ibrium; and he gave (it to) Sagušum’. Beginning with section § 25, the beneficiary transmits to the other individual the same kind of gift but of inferior value: § 27: 1;10 ma-na kù-gi 1 dib

Iš-má-da-mu

wa

in-na-sum

I-rí-ig-da-mu

lú Gi-gi

§ 28: 1 ma-na kù-gi 1 dib

I-rí-ig-da-mu

wa

in-na-sum

Ḫáb-ra-ar

lú I-rí-ig-ma-lik

§ 29: tar kù-gi 1 dib

Ḫáb-ra-ar

wa

in-na-sum

In-ma-lik

lú A-a-ma-lik

In section § 37, Re'i-Halab, who had received 1 plate of 30 shekels, gives to Igriš, his brother, 1 plate of 20 shekels. In section § 50, Enna-BAD of the town of Huzan gives 1 plate to his son. In section § 60, a trader (lú-kar) of the town of Manuwat gives 1 plate to IrNlba, a representative of the minister Ibrium. Beginning with section § 76, 1 bracelet is given, instead of a plate.

Sometimes, the final recipient of this chain is the “house of the king” (é en), that is to say, the central administration. TM.75.G.1840(+) obv. XI 4–12: “1 bracelet of 40 shekels PN has given (to) Ḫazir; 1 bracelet of 16 gr Ḫazir (has been given to) the house of the king”. Receiving a precious gift from the palace was a sign of distinction. The administration [52] occasionally, however, demanded that part of the value of the gift be returned for reasons that remain unknown.²⁵

²⁵ Other passages are quoted by Pomponio 1998: 36. According to this author (p. 39), “decorative objects ... were transferred from one official to another, in all probability, as sign of an advancement and succession to office. ... Since the advancement of an official often involved

2.5 Gifts of Precious Objects for the Kings of the Allied City-States and their Representatives

Through annual gifts of cloth, ordinary relations were maintained between Ebla and the other city-states (§ 2.2). Gifts of precious metal were, instead, given in exceptional situations (§ 2.3).

Allied states of less political importance responded with relatively modest deliveries of silver. These, defined as mu-DU ‘income’, were recorded in the annual documents (ARET 14). Towards the end of Ibrum’s mandate, few city-states came under this obligation. ARET 14.71 (Ibr. 19) §§ 16–19: Utigu: 2; 50 minas of silver; – Ibubu: 3 m. of silver, 30 m. of copper; – Ursa’um: 1 m. of silver; – Iritum: 1 m. of silver; – Ḫarran: 1 m. of silver. The minister Ibbi-zikir, by institutionalising the annual delivery of cloth on a wider scale, tied a greater number of city-states to Ebla. ARET 14.81 (I.Z. 5) §§ 13–20: Ibubu: 3 m. of silver, 30 m. of copper; – Kablul: 5 m. gold; – Tub(a): 3;55 m. of silver; – Utigu: 2 m. of silver; – Iritum: 2;04 m. of silver; – Sanapzugum: 1;45 m. of silver; – Ursa’um: 1;56 m. of silver; – Hutimu: 1;06 m. of silver. It is to be noted that, apart from the silver, Ibubu also regularly delivered about 15 kg of copper; Kablul about 2.5 kg of gold. Clearly these two city-states were located close to sources of these two metals.

According to ARET 14.81 §§ 24–33, 10 settlements belonging to the town of Armi sent small quantities of silver. If we link these deliveries to the distribution of 27 sets of clothes to the same centres, as well as a further 11 ones, including Armi itself (registered in ARET 1.8 § 38), we have a complete circuit of the exchange of gifts documented.

In this exchange of gifts, the variation in the goods exchanged reflects the subordinate position of the minor centres, who usually sent precious metals, either raw or in the form of objects (although, sometimes merely clothes were delivered). These were not, however, formal tributes especially since the quantities of metal tended to vary. The generic term, mu-DU ‘income’, had different shades of meaning. The silver and other goods which the villages belonging to the kingdom of Ebla sent to the administration as a kind of tax were considered to be mu-DU. The precious goods which the allied towns mentioned above (obliged to deliver an annual mu-DU) sent for the funeral of the queen mother, Dusigu, were also considered a form of mu-DU, ARET 14.81 §§ 57–64. In calculating the total amount [53] of silver and gold used to create these jewels (sec-

that of another in order that the latter might occupy the position previously held by the former and so on, we may find a series of these transfers of manufactured articles registered in the same section of a text”.

tion § 65), however, they are defined as “gifts (níg-ba) (for) the queen mother on the occasion of (her) death”.²⁶

Ebla also delivered precious metals on diplomatic occasions, not necessarily within the normal annual circuit. The equal exchange of embassies from Mari and Ebla (which often occurred several times a year) required that Ebla delivered to the head of the Mari mission 1 mina (470 g) of silver and less than half this amount to whom travelled with him. The messengers from Mari used to deliver lapis lazuli, wool and clothes. In this case, therefore, we have an exchange of gifts which differentiated different levels of prestige, in which both parties received what they wanted.²⁷

The gift received by the messengers were then given to their administration. For example, according to ARET 14.87 § 26 and § 48, two of Ebla’s envoys to Armi deliver two gold objects (*ti-gi-na*), weighing respectively 470 and 360 g that they had received at Armi.²⁸

3 Final Considerations

The embassies through which states of equal importance maintained social relations (for example, Ebla and Mari) exchanged gifts (plates, bracelets, daggers) that served no practical purpose and which we may consequently call ceremonial gifts. The economic aspect is clear, when the goods exchanged were those which the other party lacked (Mari received silver and provided lapis lazuli and wool, apparently not produced in sufficient quantities at Ebla).

Gifts for states under Ebla’s hegemony were generally differentiated. Ebla annually sent set of clothes to the lower-ranking kings and elders who, in turn (either annually or, during the final period, twice a year) delivered amounts of silver or other metals (in some cases, also clothes). It was this kind of differentiation of goods that established a hierarchical relationship, since sets of clothes also had a far from negligible economic value.²⁹ In particular circumstances there were also gifts in precious metals of equivalent value.

²⁶ The use of the terminology depended also from the point of view of each administration. In the letter of Enna-Dagan, king of Mari, it is said that Mari, after the victory of Iplu(š)-il, “received the tribute (mu-DU) of Ebla”, ARET 13.4 § 17. The Eblaite administration, listing this heavy tribute (1,028 kg of silver and 134 kg. of gold delivered to the kings Iplu(s)-il, Nizi and Enna-Dagan over more than 12 years) preferred to call it “gift” (níg-ba), TM.75.G.1953, see Archi 1981b: 132–35.

²⁷ See Archi 1999b: 147–51 [179–187].

²⁸ See the commentary to these two passages.

²⁹ For the value of the single pieces of clothes, see Archi 1999a* [311–320].

Gifts to members of the administration and to individuals outside this organisation consisted of clothes, often also gold plates, and other jewels. These were marks of ranks as well as precious goods for display and were given in recognition of particular merit.

Again, the economic aspect is quite clear. The circulation of such goods was helped by the fact that they were of standard weights. The gold plates weighed 60 – 50 – 30 – 20 – 10 – 5 shekels (1 shekel = 7.83 g). The weight of silver and gold used to decorate a dagger [54] (*gír mar-tu*) could be 60 – 40 – 30 – 25 – 20 shekels, similar to the quantities employed in creating pendants for the women (*bu-di*).³⁰

30 Archi 1985e* [723–733].

12 The Steward and his Jar

Peter Calmeyer in memoriam

Among those impossible and unconfessed desires which man had in the past, and still has today, there is that of turning the tables of power, of dominating instead of being dominated.¹ The tradition which holds that Sargon of Akkad was the steward of Ur-Zababa of Kiš before overthrowing him is a projection of such dreams. How, otherwise, is it possible to bridge the gap between a cupbearer and a king, a servant and his master?²

A steward was, however, a privileged servant, for he was in direct contact with the king. In a palatial organization anyone having responsibilities at court could be given others relating to the running of the state. The Ebla texts show that, apart from overseeing the drinks, a steward or cupbearer in a royal court of the third millennium BC also had important diplomatic responsibilities.³

1 The visits of the stewards of Mari to Ebla: a chronicle

At the time of Iblul-Il, and as long as Enna-Dagan was king of Mari, Ebla paid heavy tribute (mu-DU) of gold and silver to Mari. This tribute (which the Ebla

Iraq 61 (1999) 145–158.

1 Particular abbreviations: Ib. = the minister Ibrium, I-Z = the minister Ibbi-zikir, AAM = annual accounts of deliveries of precious metals, MAT = monthly accounts of deliveries of textiles.

2 As a reflection of Sargon's desires, his bloody accession to power is foretold to his victim in the "Sumerian Sargon Legend", see Cooper, Heimpel 1983: 66–82; cf. Alster 198: 169–173. For the "historical" texts that describe Sargon as the steward of Ur-Zababa see Jacobsen 1939: 110, VI 31–6; Grayson, 1975: 148–149, ll. 46–51. Finkel 1980: 72–74; cf. Goodnick Westenholz 1997: 51–55. Šarkališarri calls himself "steward (sagi) of Enlil," see Oelsner 1989: 405–406 (the text is a late copy). In Ḫatti, the steward (sagi) Ḫantili became king after having killed Muršili I. He had married, however, the sister of Muršili; see Hoffmann 1984: 18–21, ll. 31–42.

3 For the cupbearer, sagi, see Glassner 1993/97, with references to sagi-gal and sagi-maḫ in the pre-Sargonic and Akkad periods. Seals that belonged to sagi-officials of the Akkad period are listed by Edzard 1968/69: 12–20: see Nos. 15: 5, 40 and 47; 16: 9; 24: 5 and 11. A further seal-impression comes from Nagar/Tell Brak, see J. Eidem, in Matthews 1997: 308, No. 308: *I-šar-mu-b[i]* sagi. For the cupbearer, zabar-dab₅, see Lafont 1983: 97–117; Sallaberger 1999: 186–188; and, in a temple milieu during the OB period, Charpin 1986: 237–40; for the zabar-

chancery preferred to call “gifts”, níg-ba) was destined for the king (en), the elders (ábba), and the agents or representatives of the king (maškim-e-gi₄).⁴ As a matter of fact it was these agents who maintained diplomatic and economic relations with Ebla; later, when a balance of power was re-established, the two states exchanged ceremonial gifts. They were messengers and merchants (kas₄, garaš, lú-kar, u₅);⁵ the delegation was led, however, by a court official, the “steward”, sagi.

1.1 The first sagi of Mari known to us is DI.UD. He served King Enna-Dagan when Irkab-damu was king of Ebla and Arrukum was his minister. In TM.75.G.1564 § 10 = 1233 § 2,⁶ DI.UD receives five minas of silver, one mina of gold, thirty minas of copper, and some tools such as axes, saws, hammers and chisels (5 tún, 5 tún maḥ, 5 šum, 5 dub-nagar), while his agents (maškim-maškim-sù) receive 5,40 minas of silver (1 mina = 470 g; 1 shekel = 7,83 g). This is more than was sent to the king himself, Enna-Dagan: five minas of silver, thirty shekels of gold, as well as three minas of copper, while 6,16 minas of silver were meant for his agents. DI.UD also appears in ARET 3.526 obv. I 1–2. Chronological reasons suggest that the sagi mentioned in [148] MEE 2.13 obv. IV 6–7 was still DI.UD. There the gifts are for the king Enna-Dagan, his son (dumunita-sù), the sukkal-gal, the chief of the messengers (lugal kas₄-kas₄), the merchant (garaš lam:ki Ma-ri^{ki}), and the steward (sagi). The three officials receive ten shekels of silver each. We do not know if DI.UD was still active when Ibrium succeeded Arrukum as minister. According to TM.75.G.1771 rev. XIII 14–18 (AAM, Ib. 3),⁷ a certain Enna-i(l), brought a quantity of tin to the steward of Mari, on his way to Kiš: 1 gír mar-tu *ba-du-ud* babbar:kù-gi *En-na-ì lú Bu-za-ì DU.DU si-in* Kiš^{ki} [...] an-na sagi *Ma-ri^{ki} En-na-ì šu-mu* “tag₄”. See also ARET 2.6 § 6: 10 gín DILMUN babbar:kù *En-na-ì* maškim sagi; the king of Mari was Enna-Dagan, according to section § 19.

dab₅ of the Amorite Mari see Lafont 1987 (these data concern only the activities of the cupbearer as overseer for the drinks of the king).

⁴ Archi 1981b: 134.

⁵ See Archi 1985a: 79–81, where the titles and functions of the people travelling from Mari to Ebla are also listed.

⁶ Archi 1981b: 144–46. Another steward, sagi, is mentioned in the following sections, which refer to a later period, when ḪI-dar was king of Mari. This sagi should be Šugadu, for whom see below.

⁷ This text has been dated to the third year of Ibrium’s mandate on the basis of internal criteria. A list of the annual accounts of deliveries of precious metals (AAMs), dated by the same criteria, was provided by the present writer (1996c: 73–81), adopted here with a few changes.

The queen of Mari of this period, Baba, also had her own steward. According to TM.75.G.1559 obv. I 1–2, Ebla gave thirty shekels of silver to *En-na-il* sagi *Ba₁₄-ba₄*.⁸

1.2 In the eleventh year of the minister Ibrium the steward of Mari was Iram-Kur. He receives two minas of silver, apparently for having prepared a banquet for the king of Ebla, TM.75.G.10143(+) rev. I 1–9 (AAM, Ib. 10): 2 ma-na babbar:kù níg-ba *Îr-am₆-Kur^{ki}* sagi *Ma-rí^{ki}* in ud “kin”-ag kú en (see further, obv. IV 17–19: 1 ma-na an-na sagi *Ma-rí^{ki}*). Iram-Kur was accompanied on one of these journeys by Šugadu, obv. IV 17–V 2: 1 ma-na an-na sagi *Ma-rí^{ki}* šú+ša gín DILMUN babbar:kù níg-ba *Wa-ru₁₂-tum wa Šu-ga-du Ma-rí^{ki}* “One mina of tin (for) the steward of Mari; twenty shekels of silver, gift (for) Warutum and Šugadu of Mari;” obv. XVI 13–18: 50 gín DILMUN babbar:kù níg-ba *Těš-na wa Šu-ga-du Ma-rí^{ki}* “Fifty shekels of silver, gift (for) Tešna and Šugadu of Mari.”

For many years Tešna and Warutum were the messengers of Mari to Ebla, sometimes making more than one journey a year. Šugadu, who is here mentioned after the messengers, must have been younger. His career, however, was more successful than that of his companions, for he succeeded Iram-Kur as steward. Šugadu is already mentioned in TM.75.G.1904(+) obv. X 7–11 (AAM, Ib. 7): 10 gín [DILMUN babbar:kù] níg-ba *Šu-ga-du Ru₁₂-zi-lum Ma-rí^{ki}*.

1.3 Šugadu is at Ebla (already without doubt as “steward”, sagi) in the year that Ibbi-zikir succeeds his father Ibrium as minister. MEE 10.20 (TM.75.G.1860) obv. II 21–9 (AAM, I-Z 1): 2 ma-na kù-gi al₆-du₁₁-ga lugal *Ma-rí^{ki}* *Šu-ga-du* šu-mu-“tag₄” 1 ma-na babbar:kù níg-ba *Šu-ga-du* 10 gín DILMUN babbar:kù níg-ba *Bù-za-LUM* 5 gín DILMUN babbar:kù níg-ba *Těš-na* šú+ša gín DILMUN babbar:kù níg-ba *Wa-ru₁₂-tum wa ^dUtu-a-ba₄* 6 gín DILMUN babbar:kù níg-ba *Sá-ba* lú u₅ *Ma-rí^{ki}* “Two minas of gold requested (by) the king of Mari, Šugadu has brought; one mina of silver, gift (for) Šugadu; ten shekels of silver, gift (for) BuzaLUM; five shekels of silver, gift (for) Tešna; twenty shekels of silver, gift (for) Warutum and Utu-aba; six shekels of silver, gift (for) S., the messenger of Mari.” Here Šugadu heads a delegation which has come to ask Ebla for roughly 940 g of gold for his king. He personally receives as a gift 470 g of silver, and his companions, among whom there are Tešna and Warutum, receive lesser quantities. These gifts for the ambassadors and the messengers represented an important quota of the goods exchanged between the courts.⁹

⁸ Archi 1981b: 155.

⁹ For gifts to the members of embassies in the Old Babylonian period, see the data collected for Mari of the Amorite period by Joannès 1991; Durand 1997: 398–400.

The following year Šugadu is once again at Ebla for a similar “request”, $al_6-du_{11}-ga = \dot{i}-r\dot{i}-sa-tum$ / $\dot{i}r\dot{i}\dot{s}-t-um$ /.¹⁰ We must distinguish between a gift which has been expressly requested, $al_6-du_{11}-ga$, and delivered within the terms of a more or less equal exchange mechanism (depending on the balance of power), and ceremonial gifts, $n\acute{ig}-ba$, for members of the foreign delegation. For the messengers of Mari who presented themselves with these “requests”, the gift was of silver, the head of the delegation usually receiving one mina (470 g) or $\frac{1}{2}$ mina. TM.75.G.2462 obv. XIV 28–XV 9 (AAM, I-Z 2): 1 ma-na kù-gi $al_6-du_{11}-ga$ lugal *Ma-rí^{ki} wa* 1 ma-na babbar:kù *Šum-BAD Šu-ga-du* šu-mu-“tag₄” tar babbar:kù $n\acute{ig}-ba$ *Šu-ga-du* 10 babbar:kù $n\acute{ig}-ba$ *Bù-sum Ma-rí^{ki}* “One mina of gold, requested (by) the king of Mari and one mina of silver (for) Sum-BAD, Šugadu has brought; [149] thirty (shekels) of silver, gift (for) Šugadu; ten (shekels) of silver, gift (for) Busum of Mari.” In the same document (and, therefore, in the same year) Šugadu and Busum receive one mina and twenty shekels respectively, apparently on the occasion of another journey, rev. XV 25–32: 1 ma-na babbar:kù $n\acute{ig}-ba$ *Šu-ga-du* saġi 20 babbar:kù $n\acute{ig}-ba$ *Bù-sum Ma-rí^{ki}*.

In the fourth year of Ibbi-zikir only the indefatigable Busum and Warutum (but not the steward) travel to Ebla to ask for wine, TM.75.G. 10201 obv. III 14–20 (AAM, I-Z 4): tar babbar:kù $n\acute{ig}-ba$ *Bù-sum Wa-ru₁₂-tum Ma-rí^{ki}* $al_6-du_{11}-ga$ geštin. The following year Šugadu is, however, again at Ebla to arrange the purchase of a quantity of wine, a task befitting his role as steward. In line with diplomatic custom he receives a gift himself, TM.75.G.1918 (= MEE 10.29) rev. X 11–17 (AAM, I-Z 5): 1 ma-na babbar:kù $n\acute{ig}-ba$ *Šu-ga-du* saġi *Ma-rí^{ki}* $al_6-du_{11}-ga$ geštin “One mina of silver, gift (for) Šugadu, the steward of Mari, (for) the request for wine.” Šugadu receives another mina of silver for having performed a mission (?) to Adab, rev. III 22–28: 1 ma-na babbar:kù $n\acute{ig}-ba$ *Šu-ga-du Ma-rí^{ki}* $n\acute{ig}-AN.AN.AN.AN$ Adab^{ki}.

In the sixth year Šugadu goes to Ebla in order to take back to Mari the goods requested by his king, he himself receiving the usual mina of silver, TM.75.G.10074(+) obv. II x+1–III 7 (AAM, I-Z 6): ...] $al_6-du_{11}-ga$ lugal *Ma-rí^{ki}* *Šu-ga-du* šu-mu-“tag₄” 1 ma-na babbar:kù $n\acute{ig}-ba$ *Šu-ga-du*. A later passage lists the members of another delegation from Mari, XXI 23–31: 1 ma-na babbar:kù *Šu-ga-du* tar babbar:kù *Wa-ru₁₂-tum* tar babbar:kù *Tēš-na Puzur₄-LUM Tēš-ḥa-lab_x Ma-rí^{ki}*.

In the seventh year it would appear that Šugadu undertook four journeys. Only two of these are dated, to the third and sixth months respectively. The steward alone receives 3,30 minas of silver. TM.75.G.2622(+) obv. V 4–9 (AAM,

10 Kreberník 1983: 20.

I-Z 7): 1 ma-na babbar:kù níg-ba *Šu-ga-du* tar babbar:kù *Wa-ru₁₂-tum Ma-ri^{ki}* “One mina of silver, gift (for) Šugadu; thirty shekels of silver (for) Warutum of Mari.” X 12–21: tar babbar:kù níg-ba *Šu-ga-du* šú+ša gín DILMUN babbar:kù *Wa-ru₁₂-tum in ’Ā-da-ni^{ki}* šu-ba₄-ti éš^dAMA-ra “Thirty shekels of silver, gift (for) Šugadu; twenty shekels of silver (for) Warutum; they have received (it) in Adani for the month III.” XVIII 19–24: 1 ma-na babbar:kù *Šu-ga-du* tar babbar:kù *Wa-ru₁₂-tum Ma-ri^{ki}* iti *i-ri-sá* “One mina of silver (for) Šugadu; thirty (shekels) of silver (for) Warutum of Mari. Month VI.” XX 24–29: 1 ma-na babbar:kù *Šu-ga-du* tar babbar:kù *Wa-ru₁₂-tum Ma-ri^{ki}* [... “One mina of silver (for) Šugadu; thirty (shekels) of silver (for) Warutum of Mari [...”

A year later, only Šugadu is again in Ebla, TM.75.G.2508 rev. XV 8–12 (AAM, I-Z 8): 1 ma-na babbar:kù níg-ba *Šu-ga-du* sagi *Ma-ri^{ki}*. The document relating to the ninth year of the vizier Ibbi-zikir records notable activity on the part of the steward of Mari at Ebla. TM.75.G.2428 obv. III 40–46 (AAM, I-Z 9): 1 ma-na tar babbar:kù *Šu-ga-du* 1 ma-na babbar:kù níg-ba *Wa-ru₁₂-tum 2 Ma-ri^{ki}* šu-mu-“tag₄” “One mina thirty shekels of silver (for) Šugadu, one mina of silver, gift (for) Warutum, two people of Mari, have been brought (to them).” V 41–VI 1: 1 ma-na babbar:kù níg-ba *Šu-ga-du* tar babbar:kù níg-ba *Wa-ru₁₂-tum in SA.ZA_x^{ki}* šu-ba₄-ti “One mina of silver, gift (for) Šugadu; thirty (shekels) of silver, gift for Warutum, (which they) have received in the palace.” VI 17–23: 2 ma-na babbar:kù níg-ba *Šu-ga-du Ma-ri^{ki}* in ud nídba 2^dA-gúm “Two minas of silver, gift (for) Šugadu of Mari in the day of the offering (for) the two gods Agum.” XVIII 38–XIX 2: 10 gín DILMUN babbar:kù *Šu-ga-du NI-si-li-gú* “Ten shekels of silver (for) Šugadu who was allowed to return (to Mari)” (a MAT, ARET 4.23 § 33 concerns the same registration: 10 babbar:kù níg-ba *Šu-ga-du NI-si-li-gú*).¹¹ XIX 37–XX 6: 1 ma-na babbar:kù níg-ba *Šu-ga-du Ma-ri^{ki}* in ud i-ti *mi-nu Ma-ri^{ki}* “One mina of silver, gift (for) Šugadu of Mari when he came back from Mari.”

This document from the ninth year would appear to prove that another sagi was active at Mari, namely Kuku. TM.75.G.2428 obv. VII 12–18 (AAM, I-Z 9): [1[?]+]1 ma-na babbar:kù níg-ba *Ku-ku* tar babbar:kù 6 maškim-sù *Ma-ri^{ki}* iti *i-si* “Two(?) minas of silver, gift (for) Kuku; thirty shekels of silver (for) his six agents of Mari. Month I.” XXIII 1–14: 10 lá-2 ma-na babbar:kù níg-ba *Ku-ku Ma-ri^{ki}* ... šú+ša gín DILMUN kù-gi 1 dib dumu-nita-sù 1 ma-na babbar:kù níg-ba *Šu-ga-du* tar babbar:kù *Wa-ru₁₂-tum* šú+ša gín DILMUN babbar:kù *Iš₁₁-gi-BE*

11 This interpretation of NI-si-li-gú as a Š form of *alākum*, /ušilik/, is doubtful. The value ‘u_x for NI was suggested by Krebern timer 1982: 198, for another uncertain case; ā > ī should be explained as a case of vocalic harmony. -(g)ú is a “graphic” vowel, see *a-za-me-du* /ašmid/ “I have bound”, Edzard, ARET 5: 17, ll. 1, 3, 5. For the value ‘u_x for NI in Sumerian see Steinkeller 1984b: 137–38.

NI-gi 55 gín DILMUN babbar:kù 11 maškim-sù-V *Ma-rí*^{ki} lú DU.DU kú SA.ZA_x^{ki} “Eight minas of silver, gift (for) Kuku [150] of Mari; twenty (shekels) of gold: one plate of gold (for) his son; one mina of silver, gift (for) Šugadu; thirty (shekels) of silver (for) Warutum; ... twenty shekels of silver (for) Išgi-ba(‘1) (and) Nigi; 55 shekels of silver (for) his eleven agents of Mari, five (shekels each), who came (for) the reception at the palace.” This time the Mari delegation was headed by Kuku, accompanied not only by veterans such as Šugadu and Warutum, but also by one of his sons and eleven agents. We do not know if Šugadu was a subordinate of Kuku also at Mari.¹² Section § 5 of ARET 4.24, a MAT, concerns the same event. On that occasion the son of Kuku received, in addition to the twenty shekels of gold, two garments: 1 túg-gùn 1 aktum-TÚG 1 dib šú+ša (unwritten) dumu-nita *Ku-ku* sagi *Ma-rí*^{ki}. The scribe did not know the name of the young man; however, he noted that Kuku was a steward of Mari. Kuku is mentioned in another AAM, that of the thirteenth year.

In the tenth year, however, Šugadu also remained in Mari, and the tireless Warutum came alone to Ebla, TM.75.G.2429 (AAM, I-Z 10) obv. XXII 24, rev. XIX 23. What seems to be the eleventh annual document is very fragmentary.

In the following years, however, Šugadu travels to Ebla numerous times: TM.75.G.2507 obv. I 9–15 (AAM, I-Z 12): 1 ma-na babbar:kù níg-ba Šu-ga-du *Ma-rí*^{ki} GIŠ-tum nídba 2 ^dA-gú “One mina of silver, gift (for) Šugadu of Mari ... offering (for) the two gods Agu.” XVI 18–21: ša-pi gín DILMUN babbar:kù níg-ba Šu-ga-du “Forty shekels of silver, gift (for) Šugadu.” XVIII 16–19: šú+ša gín DILMUN babbar:kù níg-ba Šu-ga-du iti ḥa-li “Twenty shekels of silver, gift (for) Šugadu. Month V.” rev. VI 21–24: ša-pi gín DILMUN babbar:kù níg-ba Šu-ga-du *Ma-rí*^{ki} “Forty shekels of silver, gift (for) Šugadu of Mari.” rev. IX 33–X 4: A-da-ar šu-mu-“tag₄” 5 gín DILMUN babbar:kù níg-kaskal-sù ša-pi gín [DILMUN babbar:kù] níg-ba Šu-ga-du *Ma-rí*^{ki} lú šu-mu-“tag₄” “(objects for the king and the queen of Mari, lugal, nin *Ma-rí*^{ki}, which) Ada’ar (of Ebla) has brought; five shekels of silver (as) his provisions for the journey. Forty shekels [of silver,] gift (for) Šugadu of Mari, who (also) brought (the objects).” XV 28–XVI 1: 2 ma-na babbar:kù 2 si lú 1¹ 1¹ la¹-ḥa sagi 1 ma-na babbar:kù níg-ba Šu-ga-du *Ma-rí*^{ki} lú šu-mu-“tag₄” 1 aktum-TÚG 19 GIŠ-“bal” siki 5 gín DILMUN babbar:kù níg-kaskal A-da-ar DU.DU si-in *Ma-rí*^{ki} iti i-ba₄-sa “Two minas of silver (for) two handles of a steward’s jar. One mina of silver, gift (for) Šugadu of Mari, who brought (it). One garment, 19 measures of wool. Five shekels of silver (as) provisions for the journey (for) Ada’ar, who went to Mari. Month X.” Ada’ar

¹² In ARET 1.5 § 90 a certain Kuku appears in a list of 12 lú-kar of Mari. The identification of this person with the steward of the same name is anything but certain.

was a messenger from Ebla who accompanied Šugadu on his return journey to Mari.

ARET 8.534 + 537(+) obv. 18–25 (AAM, I-Z 13): ša-pi babbar:kù níg-ba Šu-ga-du Ma-ri^{ki} éš DU.DU ħi-mu-DU BAR.AN.BAR.AN iti še-gur₁₀-ku₅ “Forty shekels of silver, gift (for) Šugadu of Mari, because he went for the delivery of mules. Month II.” XVIII 4–8: ša-pi babbar:kù níg-ba Šu-ga-du Ma-ri^{ki} iti gi-NI “Forty shekels of silver, gift (for) Šugadu of Mari. Month IV.” XI 17-rev. I 4: 6 ma-na babbar:kù níg-ba Ku-ku 1 ma-na šú+ša babbar:kù níg-ba Ir₁₁-NI wa Šu-ga-du šú+ša babbar:kù níg-ba Iš-tup-i Ma-ri^{ki} “Six minas of silver, gift (for) Kuku; 1 mina twenty shekels of silver, gift (for) IrNI and Šugadu; twenty shekels of silver, gift (for) Ištup-i(l) of Mari.” Kuku was a sagi, like Šugadu, see above the ninth year; Ištup-i(l) was a lú-kar. Rev. I 12–16: 1 ma-na babbar:kù níg-ba Šu-ga-du Ma-ri^{ki} iti ga-sum “One mina of silver, gift (for) Šugadu of Mari. Month VII.” XI 12–24: 1 ma-na babbar:kù 1 gú-li-lum ... 2,30 gín DILMUN kù-gi 2 geštú-lá Šu-ga-du Ma-ri^{ki} DU.DU [...] “One mina of silver (for) one bracelet... 2,30 shekels of gold (for) two pendants, (for) Šugadu of Mari, (who) went [...]”

TM.75.G.G.10202(+) obv. X 11–17 (AAM, I-Z 14): ša-pi gín DILMUN babbar:kù níg-ba Šu-ga-du šú+ša gín DILMUN babbar:kù [níg-ba Bù-^dDa-]gan Ma-ri^{ki} “Forty shekels of silver, gift (for) Šugadu; twenty shekels of silver, [gift (for) Bu-Da]gan of Mari.” XXII 35–37: [x babbar:k]ù níg-ba Šu-ga-du “[x of sil]ver, gift (for) Šugadu.” Rev. XI 14–17: ša-pi gín DILMUN babbar:kù níg-ba Šu-ga-du Ma-ri^{ki} “Forty shekels of silver, gift (for) Šugadu of Mari.” XIV 32–38: ša-pi gín DILMUN babbar:kù níg-ba Šu-ga-du Ma-ri^{ki} lú ì-ti níg-kas₄ Ba-za-sá-du^{ki} “Forty shekels of silver, gift (for) Šugadu of Mari, who came back from the journey (to) Bazasadu.” XVIII 53–XIX 5: ša-pi [babbar:kù] Šu-ga-du Ma-ri^{ki} é ^dBE Ga-na-na-um šu-ba₄-ti “Forty [(shekels) of silver] (to) Šugadu of Mari (for) the temple of the Lord of Gananaum.” [151]

For at least fourteen years, when Ibbi-zikir was minister of Ebla, Šugadu, the steward of the king of Mari, was the person mainly responsible for maintaining diplomatic relations with Ebla, which he visited a few dozen times. The messengers from Mari had to come up the Euphrates towards Emar and from there travel westwards. The distance between the two cities is roughly 440 km, like that between Mari and Yamhad. This could be covered in eleven days if one supposes an average journey of 40 km a day.¹³

1.4 The foreign messengers never arrived empty-handed. Doubtless on their arrival they delivered gifts of homage to their host, the king; only then did they receive the welcome gifts listed above.

¹³ For the pace set by messengers from Mari in the Amorite period, see Joannès 1996: 329–30.

The documents concerning “deliveries”, mu-DU, provide proof of these gifts to the king of Ebla. The first section of the mu-DU texts presents a list of goods delivered by the minister to the palace (among which appear hundreds of minas of silver), while the third section records generally somewhat modest gifts from allied cities. Perhaps some deliveries of silver were received by the minister and he included these in the amount of silver that he delivered, mu-DU, to the palace. In the third section some of these documents list different kinds of gifts brought by the messengers from Mari.

In general the annual mu-DU texts provide too few facts to enable us to place them in chronological order. For those of Ibbi-zikir, however, we have a document with a list of goods which the vizier delivered personally to the palace year after year, taking them from his own possessions. Since some of these deliveries can be identified in the first part of certain mu-DU texts, these can be dated with certainty.

Here following we give the list of gifts (generally garments, TÚG) for the king of Ebla, starting with the dated mu-DU texts:

TM.75.G.2519(+) (I-Z 3) rev. VII 1-10:] 1 *mi-at* 84 *na₄* *siki Ma-ri^{ki} níg-ba en Šu-ga-du sa<gi> šu-mu-“tag₄”* “([Garments,] wool of Mari:) gift (for) the king, Šugadu, the steward, has brought.” VII 7-10: 1 *aktum-TÚG Šum-BE níg-gú-DU en* “(One garment:) Šum-ba(1) has provided (for) the king.” VII 11-VIII 3: 1 *zara₆-TÚG 1 gíd-TÚG [...]* *Šu-ga-du ma-lik-tum šu-mu-“tag₄”* “(Garments [...]) Šugadu has brought (for) the queen.” VIII 4-8: 5 *gín DILMUN KUR.KUR 1 mi-at 60 lá-2 ḥa-za-nu Šum-BE níg-gú-DU ma-lik-tum* “Five shekels of lapis lazuli ... : Šum-ba(1) has provided (for) the queen.”

TM.75.G.1985 +10188 rev. 13-17 (I-Z 6): 2 *aktum-TÚG 2 íb-TÚG 2 níg-lá-gaba 2 níg-lá-sag 1 zara₆-TÚG 1 gíd-TÚG 2 mu-DU Šu-ga-du Ma-ri^{ki}*.

TM.75.G.2289 obv. XIII 17-XIV 4 (I-Z 7): 1 *aktum-TÚG 1 níg-lá-gaba 1 níg-lá-sag 1 íb-III-TÚG ú mu-DU Šu-ga-du Wa-ru₁₂-tum Ma-ri^{ki}*; XIV 9-12: 5 *ma-na gín:za mu-DU Těš-na Ma-ri^{ki}* “Five minas of lapis lazuli: delivery of Tešna of Mari.”

TM.75.G.2244 (I-Z 8) rev. IV 9-V 1: 26 *ma-na šú+ša gín:za mu-DU Šu-ga-du Wa-ru₁₂-tum Ma-ri^{ki}* 1 *aktum-TÚG 1 níg-lá-gaba 1 níg-lá-sag 1 íb-II-TÚG ú ḥab mu-DU Šu-ga-du Ma-ri^{ki}* “26,20 minas of lapis lazuli: delivery of Šugadu and Warutum of Mari. (Garments:) delivery of Šugadu of Mari.”

TM.75.G.10236 rev. I 8-11 (I-Z 9): 10 *lá-2 ma-na tar ‘KUR.KUR’ Šu-ga-du Ma-ri^{ki}* *iti MaxGÂNAtenû-úgur* “8,30 minas of lapis lazuli: (delivery) of Šugadu of Mari. Month XII.” I 12-II 5: 2 *aktum-TÚG mu₄^{mu} 1 níg-lá-gaba 1 níg-lá-sag 10 lá-1 ma-na KUR.KUR 2 ù-ba[- ... KUR 10 lá-1 gur-gú-ru₁₂ KUR 30 lá-3 ‘ḥa’-za-an kù-gi mu-DU Ku-ku [Ma-ri^{ki} en(?)]* 1 *aktum-TÚG mu-DU Ku-ku Íl-’à-ag-da-mu iti i-si* “... Nine minas of lapis lazuli ...: delivery of Kuku [(the steward) of Mari

(for) the king (of Ebla)]. (One garment:) delivery of Kuku (for the prince) Ir'ag-damu. Month I.” II 6–18: 1 'à-da-um-TÚG-II 3 aktum-TÚG 2 níg-lá-gaba 2 níg-lá-sag 2 íb+IV-TÚG ú-háb ša ʾ20ʾ lá-3 ma-na ša-pi KUR.KUR 30 lá-ʾ3ʾ ra-ʾà-t[um]² 30 gír-sal 1 mi-at ba-ba mu-DU lugal Ma-ri^{ki} en 1 'à-da-um-TÚG-II 1 aktum-TÚG 1 níg-lá-gaba 1 íb+III-TÚG mu-DU lugal Íl-ʾà-ag-da-mu “... 17,40 minas of lapis lazuli ...: delivery of the king of Mari (for) the king (of Ebla). (Garments:) delivery of the king (of Mari for the prince) Ir'ag-damu.” II 19–III 14: 1 aktum-TÚG 1 níg-lá-gaba 1 níg-lá-sag 1 íb+IV-TÚG ú-háb ša 30 b[a](?) m[u-DU] [...] en 1 gu-dùl-TÚG gí₆ 96 ha-za-an KUR.KUR 96 ha-za-an kù-gi 1 šu-dub KUR.KUR [x-D]U KUR.KUR mu-DU Šu-ga-d[u] ma-lik-tum [i]n ʾudʾ [DU].DU [IZ]I.GAR(?) [SA.Z]A_x^{ki} “(Garments:) delivery of [...] (for) the king. (Garments; [152] objects in gold and lapis lazuli:) delivery of Šugadu (for) the queen, when (he) went for the ceremony of the IZI.GAR(?) of [the pala]ce.”

The ninth AAM of Ibbi-zikir, TM.75.G.2428, confirms the presence at Ebla of Kuku, the sagi of Mari, in the same year.¹⁴

TM.75.G.2072 rev. III 18–IV 4 (I-Z 12): 1 níg-lá-gaba 10 ʾxʾ [...] mu-DU Šu-ga-du Ma-ri^{ki} iti za-lul “(Garments:) delivery of Šugadu of Mari. Month IX.” IV 5–10: 1 aktum-TÚG mu₄^{mu} 2 na₄ 9 GÍŠ-“bal” siki mu-DU Šu-ga-du Ma-ri^{ki} iti i-ba₄-sa “(Garments, wool:) delivery of Šugadu of Mari. Month X.”

ARET 8.528 § 11 (I-Z 13): 1 'à-da-um-TÚG-I 1 aktum-TÚG 1 níg-lá-gaba 1 níg-lá-sag 1 íb+III-TÚG Ma-ri^{ki} 12 ma-na za-gìn 11 ba mu-DU Ku-ku “(Garments,) 12 minas of lapis lazuli ... : delivery of Kuku.” (12): 1 'à-da-um-TÚG-I 1 aktum-TÚG 1 níg-lá-gaba 1 níg-lá-sag 10 ba níg-anše-ag mu-DU Iš-má-ì u₅ “(Garments) ...: delivery of Išma-I(l), the messenger (of Mari).” § 13: 1 níg-lá-gaba 1 níg-lá-sag 2 aktum-TÚG 1 'à-da-um-TÚG 1 aktum-TÚG 1 íb+III-TÚG Ma-ri^{ki} 1 'à-da-um-TÚG 1 aktum-TÚG lú dam 3 gu kù-gi za-gìn mu-DU lugal Ma-ri^{ki} en iti i-si “(Garments:) delivery of the king of Mari (for) the king (of Ebla). Month I.” § 15: 5 ma-na ša-pi za-gìn mu-DU Ma-ri^{ki} iti ig-za “5,40 minas of lapis lazuli: delivery of Mari. Month II.” § 19: 1 'à-da-um-TÚG 1 aktum-TÚG 1 níg-lá-sag 10 ma-na za-gìn en lugal Ma-ri^{ki} šu-mu-“tag₄” “(Garments,) ten minas of lapis lazuli (for) the king (of Ebla), the king of Mari has brought.” § 20: 1 'à-da-um-TÚG 1 aktum-TÚG 1 níg-lá-sag en Ku-ku sagi mu-DU iti i-ri-sá “(Garments) (for) the king, Kuku, the steward, has delivered. Month VI.” Also the AAM of the thirteenth year confirms the presence of Kuku at Ebla.

From these deliveries it emerges that Mari played a predominant role in providing Ebla with lapis lazuli. The value of lapis lazuli compared to silver was of the ratio 3 : 1.

¹⁴ See above, 1.3.

2 la-ḥa “storage jar” and the jar of the steward

2.1 The la-ḥa was a large-size earthen container used for long-term storage of liquids, flour and other edible goods. There were “large” (maḥ), and “small” (tur) la-ḥa.¹⁵ When the la-ḥa was used as a standard, the ratio between the la-ḥa and the sila was 1 : 30 (a sila is the equivalent of about one litre). Flour was measured in both liquid and dry measures.¹⁶ A smaller container was the dug, with a capacity which one text gives as twenty sila.¹⁷

The la-ḥa was the usual container for oil, wine and honey. ARET 7.148: 7 *li-im* la-ḥa i-giš al₆-gál uru-bar 4 *li-im* la-ḥa i-giš al₆-gál SA.ZA_x^{kl} iti *i-ba₄-sa* “Seven thousand jars of oil stored in the suburbs; 4,000 jars of oil stored at the palace. Month X.” TM.75.G.2560(+) rev. V 5: 7 *mi-at* la-ḥa geštin “Seven hundred jars of wine.”¹⁸ ARET 7.149 obv. I 1: 3 *mi-at* la-ḥa lâl “Three hundred jars of honey.”

Other goods stored in la-ḥa were: a-UD, perhaps (geštin-)ḥád-a “raisins”, ’à-mi-zu (Akk. *emšum*) “sour-dough”, dabin “barley flour”, *du-gu/gúm* “fine (crushed flour)”,¹⁹ GIŠ-šim (an aromatic product, see Akk. *kanaktum*), “GIŠ-GAL”-titab, a kind of malt, i-giš-ir “aromatic oil”, munu₄ “malt”, ninda-si-ga “germinated cereal bread”, ninda-síki(UD), a kind of bread, ŠE+TIN, a kind of beer, *ti-tum*, a kind of malt, *za-la-tum*, a kind of flour, zíd “flour”, and zíd-a-sa, zíd-gig, zíd-gu and zíd-sig₁₅, four more kinds of flour.²⁰ [153]

¹⁵ Cf. Archi 1986b: 202.

¹⁶ See Milano 1987a: 529–530; ARET 9: 349–352. The bilingual lexical lists, MEE 4 Nos. 933–937, have the following sequence: sila / la-ḥa / dar-áb / dar / dug, where the vessels are not listed in order of size; in fact 1 la-ḥa corresponded to 3 dar-áb, see Milano, *ibid.* The la-ḥa of 30 sila is used in, e.g., TM.75.G.10041 + 10249 obv. VI 4 and 8: 170 / 11 la-ḥa 20 sila i-giš.

¹⁷ TM.75.G.1451 obv. VI 5–7: 70 dug i-giš ša-ti 20 sila “Seventy vessels of oil, those of 20 sila (each).” See Archi 1981c: 6–7. M. Heltzer (1996: 80) suggests that the capacity of the Ugaritic *kd* (Akk. *karpātu*, Sum. *dug*) was approx. 22 litres.

¹⁸ Wine was also transported and stored in the smaller dug vessels, see ARET 3.90 II 1: 2 dug geštin; 243 I 3; 507 III 4. For large numbers of oil jars see also ARET 2.20 § 4: 2,800 la-ḥa i-giš al₆-gál 2,286 la-ḥa i-giš è.

¹⁹ ARET 2.21 II 3: 30 la-ḥa *du-gu*; TM.75.G.1383 obv. I 2: 21 la-ḥa *du-gúm* (between *za-la-tum* and zíd-sig₁₅, as in 2046 obv. I 2), see Archi 1986b: 194 and 198. For *du-gu* /*duququ*-(m)/, see *dq*, Oakk *daqqu(m)* “thin”; *duququ* (and the *hif’il* form in Heb.), “to crush”, *AHW*: 162b–163a. See also TM.75.G.1723 obv. I 2: 5 *gú-bar* zíd *du-gúm*.

²⁰ See Archi 1986b: 202. For la-ḥa munu₄, *ti-tum* (= še-ŠILIG-titab, see Conti 1990: 175 No. 649) and zíd, see TM.75.G.1674 rev. I 2–4.

It has been thought that *la-ḥa* corresponds to the Sumerian ^{duš}*la-ḥa-an*,²¹ Akkadian *laḥannu*, which is, however, a kind of bottle.²² This term passed into Syriac: *laqnâ* and Greek: *lekânē* “dish, pot”.²³ The Eblaite *la-ḥa* is, instead, a large container used for storing liquids and flour, thus having the functions of the Sumerian ^{duš}*laḥtan* / *lāḥtan* / *mùd*.²⁴ The capacity of the *mùd* (LAK 449)-amphora “seems to lie in the 30–60 litre range”.²⁵ In the sign list from Ebla, the reading *la-ḥa-da* (mu-mu) is given to the two signs Nos. 141 and 150, which are very similar to LAK 449: *mùd*, LAK 450: *lāḥtan* and LAK 453.²⁶ This list shows that the scribes of Ebla were not aware of the subtle distinctions between the various signs which represented an amphora with an inscribed sign. For them, that amphora-like jar was called *laḥta(n)*, which they wrote syllabic *la-ḥa-da*. It is possible that instead of writing a complicated sign like LAK 449 (or a similar one) scribes preferred to use the first two signs of its reading as a logogram: *la-ḥa*. TM.76.G.221 obv. I 3–5 runs: 1 *la-a-tum* maḥ *ab* 1 *la-a-tum* tur ì-giš. The context would suggest that *la-a-tum* (apparently attested only here) is an anomalous, Semitized form of *la-ḥa*, although there are no examples of /ḥ/ > /ʾa/.

Among the storage vessels found in the royal palace of Ebla there is a kind of jar which tends to be found in two sizes, thirty litres and roughly twenty litres. These may correspond to the large and small jars, *la-ḥa* maḥ and *la-ḥa* tur. A burnished globular jar may be the *dar-áb* / *zi-ru*₁₂, although the example preserved holds fifteen litres rather than the standard ten litres.²⁷

2.2 The jars for ceremonial use were of metal (silver, gold and copper), and also of antimony. [1] ARET 7.24 obv. I 2–3: 10 lá-2 ma-na 50 babbar:kù “kin”-ag 1 *la-ḥa* “8,50 minas (4.2 kg) of silver in order to make one jar (... delivery of the minister Ibbi-zikir).” [2] ARET 2.48 II 1–III 4: 10 lá-3 ma-na a-gar₅-gar₅ *al*₆ *En-na-BE* in “kin”-ag 1 *la-ḥa* “Seven minas of copper (3.20 kg) in charge of PN, in order to make one jar.” [3] TM.75.G.2154 obv. I 1–II 4: 41 ma-na šú+ša gín

²¹ Archi and Biga, ARET 3: 365; Milano, ARET 9: 394. Pettinato, MEE 2: 171 ad r. I 2, considers this term Semitic and reads: *la-ku*₆.

²² CAD L: 39; AHw: 527b: “eine Trinkschale”.

²³ Shroeder 1930–31: 111; Salonen 1966: 225–28.

²⁴ Salonen 1966: 206–208.

²⁵ Powell 1987–90: 507b–08a.

²⁶ Sallaberger 1996: 56–59.

²⁷ Mazzoni 1994: 251–52, and Figs. 8–10. A specific study on the capacity of these vessels is being prepared.

DILMUN *a-gú-lum*²⁸ “kin”-ag 1 la-ḥa EN-mar šu-ba₄-ti “41,20 minas (19.43 kg) of antimony paste in order to make one jar, PN has received.”

At the court of Ebla the steward's jars were sumptuous, [4] TM.75.G.2074 obv. III 5–10: 5 ma-na šú+ša kù-gi níg-ki-za en ni-zi-mu 1 la-ḥa sagi “5,20 minas of gold (2.505 kg), dues (to) the king, (for) the *decoration* of one jar of the steward.”

It is a fact that at Ebla these jars were the objects of greatest value in the form of which precious metals were accumulated. The first section of TM.75.G.2286 is an account of the gold and silver deposited by the kings Kundamu and Igriš-Ḫalab and by Ibrium, who was minister under Irkab-damu and, for the first half of his reign, the last king, Išar-damu. Among the goods collected in the following years there is a gold and silver jar which weighs all of 76.3 kg, and a crown, [5] TM.75.G.2286 rev. I 2–6: 95 ma-na šú+ša kù-gi 70 lá-3 ma-na babbar:kù “kin”-ag la-ḥa sagi 80 lá-2 ma-na šú+ša 4 babbar:kù gil-im(GI.GI) “95,20 minas of gold (44.806 kg) (and) 67 minas of silver (31.49 kg) in order to make the jar of the steward. 78,24 minas (36.85 kg) of silver (for) the crown.” The same text records, further, an undisclosed number of other jars kept in a storehouse, to a total of 117 kg of silver and 29.85 kg of gold, [6] TM.75.G.2286 rev. III 6–8: 2 mi 50 lá-1 ma-na babbar:kù 63 ma-na tar kù-gi la-ḥa-la-ḥa é-ti-TÚG. Objects of such value are without parallel in the third millennium; they seem more suited to the Neo-Assyrian court. According to the data cited above, however, we are in the realm of reality.

An account of goods of the palace starts as follows: [7] TM.75.G.10228 +10262 obv. I 1–II 4: [154] 3 li-im 5 mi-at 70 lá[-1] ma-na babbar:kù [x] ‘dib’(?) k[ù-gi](?) “kin”-ag 1 la-ḥa wa 6 mi-at ma-na bab[bar]:k[ù] 60 ‘x’[...] “3569 minas (1,677.43 kg) of silver ... g[old] in order to make one jar, and 600 minas (282 kg) of silver ...” A shortened version of this account is TM.75.G.1700, which lists only the 3569 and 600 minas, without giving further details.²⁹ It is possible that the silver (or some of it) represents the value of the gold used in making the jar, that is 335.48 kg, given that the relation of silver to gold was 5 : 1 (only

²⁸ This form, /’akuḥl-um/ (Akk. *guḥlu*, Semitic *kuḥl*, see AHw: 296b), provides the reading of the gloss in MEE 4.941: šembi-MI/ME = A, B ‘a₅(NI)-gu-um, C: a-gu-u[m]; TM.75.G.1301: ù-gu-um, interpreted by M. Civil (1987b: 155), as “antimony paste”. A secondary form used in the administrative documents is *a-gú-gi* (G. Conti, *apud* ARET 9: 73 ad 5), Akk. *eg/qû*, AHw: 191a. Antimony was usually evaluated (níg-sa₁₀) in wool: ARET 2.15 X 10 (*a-gû*); III 856 rev. 2 (*a-gi*); IV 16 rev. IV 4 (*a-gû*); in TM.75.G.2362 rev. XV 11–13, however, in silver: ½ gín DILMUN babbar:kù níg-sa₁₀ *a-gú*.

²⁹ TM.75.G.1700 obv. I 1–2: 3 li 5 mi 70 lá-1 ma-na babbar:kù 6 mi ma-na babbar:kù, see Archi 1982: 182.

in the final three years did this drop to 4 : 1 or even 7 : 2).³⁰ That unbelievable amounts of gold could be hoarded in the form of a jar is confirmed by [8] ARET 7.68: 8 *mi-at* 22 ma-na kù-gi zag-mì 1 la-ḥa 30 lá-3 ma-na 50 kù-gi *a-bi-lum-sù wa* 20 lá-3 ma-na 10 kù-gi zàḥ in *na-gu-lum* “822 minas (386.34 kg) of gold employed³¹ (for) one jar, 27,50 minas (12.93 kg) of gold (for) its stand,³² and 17,10 minas (8.08 kg) of gold lost in executing³³ (it).” The initial weight of the gold was 867 minas (407.49 kg); loss in production amounts to 1.98 per cent. Faced with this extraordinary quantity of gold we can do nothing but accept the epigraphic evidence.

A jar of only slightly lesser value, 838,20 minas, equal to 394 kg, is described in [9] MEE 2.23: 2 *mi-at* 3 ma-na ša-pi kù-gi e₁₁ 1 tuš 1 la-ḥa 3 *mi-at* 12 ma-na 50 kù-gi e₁₁ *ga-bi-LUM* 1 *mi-at* 90 ma-na šú+ša kù-gi e₁₁ 1 zag 1 *mi-at* 31 ma-na tar kù-gi e₁₁ 1 KA.NU AN.ŠĒ.GÚ 8 *mi* 40 lá-2 ma-na šú+ša kù-gi 1 la-ḥa *ab* 5 ma-na 14 kù-gi *gú-zu-u₉-sù* nu-mu-ti 1 ma-na tar ZU.PIRIG gi₄ 50 kù-gi gi₄ *si-in Puzur₄-ra-ma-lik* nu-mu-ti “203,40 minas (95.73 kg) of gold received: one base (of) one jar; 312,50 minas (147 kg) of gold received: (its) stand; 190,20 minas (89.46 kg) of gold received: one shoulder; 131,30 (61.81 kg) of gold received: one lip (i.e. its mouth).³⁴ Total: 838,20 minas (394 kg) of gold for one jar. Further, 5,14 minas (2.46 kg) of gold (for) its g.: not delivered. 1,30 minas (0.7 kg) of <gold> returned (for its) clasp; 50 shekels (0.416 kg) of gold returned

³⁰ See Pomponio 1983–84.

³¹ For zag-mì “to transfer; to carry out, to perform”, see Archi 1987a: 116 n. 8; Fronzaroli, ARET 11: 177.

³² *a-bi-lum* has been analyzed as /wābil-um/, from *wabālu*, in ARET 7: 203; the meaning “(vessel) stand” has been proposed in Pettinato, D’Agostino 1995: 5. Note, however, that in passage § 9 the term *ga-bi-lum* is found in a parallel context. The term *ga-NE.LUM* is attested in a quite different context, TM.75.G.2547 obv. I 1–II 4: 1 mí-TÚG 1 dumu-mí ... [*si-in*] ÉxPAP *ga-NE.LUM* PN i-na-sum. For *ga-bi-lum*, see Akk. *kablu* “leg of a piece of furniture”. It is tempting to consider the first form as a variant of the second, notwithstanding the phonetic problems which this equivalence presents.

³³ *na-gu-lum* /nakkul-um/, the Eblaite and Assyrian infinitive and verbal adjective form of the D stem from *nakālu*, Akkadian “to execute in an ingenious, artistic way”, *AHW*: 717b, *CAD* N/I: 155a. This term is used as a logogram (it is preceded by the Sumerian negation nu) in TM.76.G.974 obv. I 1–2, II 3–6, in a form where /l/ is not expressed: 4 [l]i 73 ma-na babbar:kù *na-gu-um* ... *wa zi-ru₁₂ na-gu-um wa zi-ru₁₂ ‘nu’* [*na-gu*]u-[u]m “4,073 minas (1,914.31 kg) of silver to work, ... and z.-vessels executed and z.-vessels not executed.”

³⁴ This text shows that KA.NU was the upper part of a jar; see also passage § 10. KA.NU is connected also with the bur-kak vessel, see TM.75.G.2622 rev. XVII 24–30: 1 ma-na babbar:kù 2 bur-kak ... 8 gín DILMUN kù-gi nu₁₇-za KA.NU-sù “One mina of silver (for) two b. vessels ... 8 shekels of gold (for) covering its lip/mouth.” KA.NU has been explained by Fronzaroli 1988b: 15, as the writing used at Ebla for KAXNUN, nundum, “lip.” For nu instead of NUN, cf. ÉŠ.NUM/NU.ÉŠ, see Conti 1997: 55.

to Puzurra-malik:³⁵ not delivered.” The mouth of a jar, decorated with figurines, is mentioned also in [10] TM.75.G.2508 obv. XXIV 28–33: 15 gín DILUMN babbar:kù GIŠ-lu-LUM zag an-dùl-an-dùl lú KA.NU 1 la-ḥa sagi “Fifteen shekels (117 g) of silver: (for) the G., the shoulder, the figurines of the mouth of one jar of the steward.”

Another jar weighing more than 160 kg of gold and silver is described in [11] TM.76.G.974 obv. IV 6–V 5: 1 mi ʾ70ʾ[+x] m[a-na kù-gi] 1 mi 72 ma-na babbar:kù 1 la-ḥa 2 tuš gi 1 dag-KU³⁶ 75 m[a-na k]ù-gi[(x)] “kin”-ag GIŠ-asar [(x)] dub-du “170[+x] minas (79.9[+x] kg) [of gold,] 172 minas (80.8 kg) of silver (for) one jar, two bases (for) the reed(s), one socle (and) base; 75 minas (35.25 kg) of gold in order to make a tray ...” Alongside the jar, the tray and the crown³⁷ are objects associated with the steward, [12] TM.75.G.10088(+) rev. XXIV 23–26: 1 ma-na 5 babbar:kù ni-zi-mu gilim GIŠ-asar sagi “1,5 minas (0.509 g) of silver (for) the decoration of a crown (and) a tray of the steward.”³⁸ Parts of a tray for the steward are listed in [13] TM.75.G.10144 obv. V 15–21: 11 gín DILMUN babbar:kù nig-sa₁₀ 11 ra-ʾà-tum 10 gín DILMUN babbar:kù nig-sa₁₀ [155] LAGABxUD-LAGABxUD “kin”-ag GIŠ-asar sagi “Eleven shekels of silver, value of 11 r.; 10 shekels of silver, value of L., to make a tray of the steward.”

Instead of a tray the steward could use a “table”, [14] TM.75.G.2622 rev. XIX 1–6: 1 ma-na tar babbar:kù ni-zi-mu wa-za-ru₁₂ gilim GIŠ-banšur sagi “1,30 mina (0.7 kg) of silver (for) the decoration in order to shape³⁹ a crown (and) a table of the steward.” [15] TM.75.G.10201 rev. XXIV 1–20: 20 ma-na babbar:kù šu-bal-ag 4 ma-na kù-gi 1 dug 30 lá-3 ma-na šú+ša gín DILMUN babbar:kù 2 dug gaba-ru 4 níg-tur níg-a-dé 20 ma-na babbar:kù ni-zi-mu si-in 50 lá-1 ma-na babbar:kù gilim 2 ma-na šú+ša gín DILMUN babbar:kù šu-bal-ag šú+ša 8 kù-gi ni-zi-mu 4 zag an-dùl sagi lú GIŠ-banšur sagi “Twenty minas of silver: value of

³⁵ Puzurra-malik was a goldsmith, see ARET 7: 189.

³⁶ Cf. TM.75.G.2286 rev. II 6: 1 tuš 1 dag-KU.

³⁷ For other passages where a crown is mentioned, see TM.75.G.1860 obv. III 26: 4 kù-sal gilim(GIxGI) “Four (shekels of gold for) a stud (for) a crown”. TM.75.G.10054 rev. III 8–9: šú+ša kù-gi maš-maš gilim (GI.GI) “20 (shekels) of gold ... (for) a crown.”

³⁸ GIŠ-šilig/asar is interpreted by H. Waetzold (1990: 23–24) as a “(Streit-)Axt”, which is unlikely.

³⁹ wa-za-ru₁₂ /wašār-u(m)/ “to model, to shape”, is attested also in ARET 8.534+537(+) rev. XIII 28, see below, passage §16, and, with the suffix -iš, in TM.75.G.2428 obv. XVIII 11; II. 10–14 run as following: 6 gín DILMUN a-gar₅-gar₅ wa-za-rí-iš 1 gi-di ne-di en “Six shekels of copper in order to shape one flute (for) a dancer of the king”. For baḥar/bāḥar = wa-zi-lu-um “potter”, see Kreberník 1983: 36 ad No. 1012; Fronzaroli, in Fronzaroli 1984c: 152. Cf. Ugar. and Heb. yšr “to shape”; yāširūma (pl.), yōšēr “potter”; Akk. ešēru “to draw”. Note also the GN Wa-za-ru₁₂ lú Ib-al₆^{ki}, ARES 2: 474.

4 minas (1.88 kg) of gold (for) one vase. 27,20 minas (12.85 kg) of silver (for) two vases to *receive* for four n.-vessels for pouring. Twenty minas (9.4 kg) of silver (for) the *decoration* (and) 49 minas (23.03 kg) of silver (for) a crown. 2,20 minas (1.1 kg) of silver: value of 28 shekels (219 g) of gold (for) the *decoration* of the four sides (of the) statue of the steward for the table of the steward.”

As in passages [5] and [12], so too in [15] we find mention of a heavy crown in connection with the functions of the steward. The following passage shows that the crown (this time a very light one) completed the jar somewhat like a complex baroque decoration, [16] ARET 8.534+537(+) rev. XIII 27–31: 12 babbar:kù *wa-za-nu*₁₂ gilim ʾ1 la-ḥa [sagi] “Twelve (shekels; 93 g) in order to shape the crown (for) one jar [of the steward].” A jar and crown could also be added to a statue, [17] TM.75.G.2073 obv. I 3–8: 24 ma-na tar 6 babbar:kù 1 la-ḥa *ab gilim*(GI.GI) 1 alan_x(KÍD.ALAM) *a-a-ti-mu* “24,36 minas (11.56 kg) of silver (for) one jar, and further the crown (and) one statue ...” In passage [10] are mentioned figurines, an-dùl-an-dùl, which decorated the mouth of the jar. Another statue appears in [15]: “Four sides (of the) statue of the steward for the table of the steward.” We have no data available with which to determine what this statue or statuette “of the steward” represented.⁴⁰ It may have been extremely valuable. [18] ARET 7.34 obv. 1–II 1: 3 ma-na ša-pi 6 ½ gín DILMUN kù-gi an-dùl sagi “3,46,3 minas (1.77 kg) of gold (for) the statue of the steward.” [19] ARET 8.528 obv. III 11–12: 1 ma-na tar kù-gi nu₁₁-za an-dùl sagi “1,30 minas (0.7 kg) of gold (for) *covering* the statue of the steward.”

Various objects relating in different ways to a jar are listed in [20] TM.75.G.2429 rev. XIV 3–XV 7: 3 ma-na babbar:kù šu-bal-ag ša-pi 5 gín DILMUN kù-gi *ni-zi-mu* 1 gír 3 NI-bù-gu lú AN.ŠÈ 1 la-ḥa 2 ma-na tar 6 gín DILMUN babbar:kù šu-bal-ag tar 9 gín DILMUN kù-gi *ni-zi-mu* 1 sag 1 GIŠ-SAL.X 1 an-dùl 16 gín DILMUN babbar:kù šu-bal-ag 4 gín DILMUN kù-gi ZU.PÉŠ-sù tar 1 gín DILMUN an-na šub *si-in* 3 ma-na 9 a-gar₅-gar₅ 4 GIŠ-ZÚ 4 *mu-a-tum* 6 GIŠ-kak lú “kin”-ag 1 la-ḥa. According to the last lines, four hooks, four *m.* and six bronze nails (weighing altogether 3,10 minas, the equivalent of 1.49 kg), are used to “make one jar”, ZU.PÉŠ(-sù), an anomalous writing for ZU.PIRIG, probably a kind of clasp for fixing the lid,⁴¹ also occurs together with a la-ḥa [156]

⁴⁰ Passages like ARET 7: 205: an-dùl mí DN “a feminine statue (for) DN”, and Archi 1988g: an-dùl ... IGI.DUB / *ba-nu-ù* ... šu-sù ... DU-sù “a statue ... its face ... its hand ... its feet...”, show that an-dùl means “statue”, not “canopy, cover”, Akk. *andullu*; see also Id. 1990b: 103–105.

⁴¹ Confusion between PIRIG and PÉŠ is attested also in the writing of the sign AZ(PIRIGxZA), see ARES 1: 272. For the signs ANŠU, PÉŠ and PIRIG see in Archi 1987b: 97, 107. Another variant is SU.PIRIG. Apart from the la-ḥa (see also MEE 2.23, above, 2.2), a larger vessel, the sùr, was also provided with a ZU.PIRIG (see the passage quoted below in 3.1). This element is associated with other objects, such as a) *gù-li-lum* “bracelet”, see (among the many passages)

in [21] TM.75.G.2508 rev. XXIII 8–12: [1] ma-na [x] gín DILMUN [an]-na [šub si]-in 10 lá-1 ma-na a-gar₅-gar₅ “kin”-ag-“kin”-ag 1 la-ḥa sagi ZU.PÉŠ-sù 15 “[1,x] minas (0.47 + x kg) of tin [to be melted] with 9 minas (4.23 kg) of copper in order to make one jar of the steward (and) its clasp of 15 (shekels; 117 g).”

Another part of the jar, la-ḥa, was the si “handle”, according to TM.75.G.2507 rev. XV 28 ff.: 2 ma-na babbar:kù 2 si 1 la-ḥa sagi “Two minas of silver (for) two *handles* of a steward’s jar.”⁴²

2.3 Because a storage jar, la-ḥa, held the standard capacity of 30 sila (something less than 30 litres), the steward’s jar, la-ḥa sagi, had to be a vessel of similar dimension and form. It is by far the most precious object listed in the documents. Passage [4] registers 2.5 kg of gold for its decoration; according to [5], 44.8 kg of gold and 31.5 kg of silver were used for such a jar. Passage [7] registers the enormous amount of 1,677 kg of silver, equivalent to 335 kg of gold according to the ratio of 5:1 usual at Ebla. In [8] the amount of gold is even larger: 386 kg for the jar itself and a further 13 kg for its stand; this is similar to [9]: 394 kg for all its parts. Passage [11] seems to list two bases for reed drinking-straws, while, according to [12]–[14] trays or a kind of silver table were associated with this vessel. Decorations for divine statues were just thin gold-leaf weighing a few shekels; in a renewal ritual for the face of Kura, the major god of the pantheon, only one mina (ca. 470 g) of silver was expended yearly.

The jar certainly had a central function in banquet ceremonies at the palace. The documents, however, are totally silent on this subject: only the amount of metal used in the artefacts was relevant. Mention of a heavy silver crown, directly associated with the jar in [5] (there weighing almost 37 kg), [12], [14], [15] and [16], suggests a kind of symposium.

TM.75.G.1730 obv. XV 13–19: 1 ma-na 15 gín DILMUN kù-gi šir-za 5 gú-li-lum a-gar₅-gar₅ tar-II 10 gú-li-lum a-gar₅-gar₅ šú+ša-šú+ša-II 5 gú-li-lum a-gar₅-gar₅ 15–I 10 gú-li-lum a-gar₅-gar₅ 10–I 2 gín DILMUN babbar:kù ZU.PIRIG-sù; b) dib “plate”, see TM.75.G.2464 obv. V 1–4: tar babbar:kù ZU.PIRIG “kin”-ag 23 dib a-gar₅-gar₅ kù-gi; TM.75.G.10077 rev. XII 23–26: 4 gín DILMUN babbar:kù ZU.PIRIG 2 dib *Lu-a-tum*^{ki}; c) kù-sal “stud” and d) níg-anše-ag “reins”, see TM.75.G.10077 obv. III 4–9: 10 ½ gín DILMUN babbar:kù ZU.PIRIG “kin”-ag gú-li-lum wa níg-anše-ag kù-sal; e) á-MUŠEN “eagle”, see TM.75.G.1860 rev. XVII 16–20: 2 gín DILMUN babbar:kù *ni-zi-mu* 1 á-MUŠEN wa ZU.PIRIG. For ZU.PIRIG not associated with another object, see TM.75.G.1923 obv. VI 15–16: [20+] 30 gín DILMUN babbar:kù ZU.PIRIG. A meaning such as “clasp” would fit all the contexts quoted. The ZU.PIRIG, ZU.PIRIG-tur (not SU.PIRIG!) attested in an animal list, see MEE 3: 67, must not be confused with the object discussed above.

⁴² This text is the AAM of I-Z 12, see above 1.3.

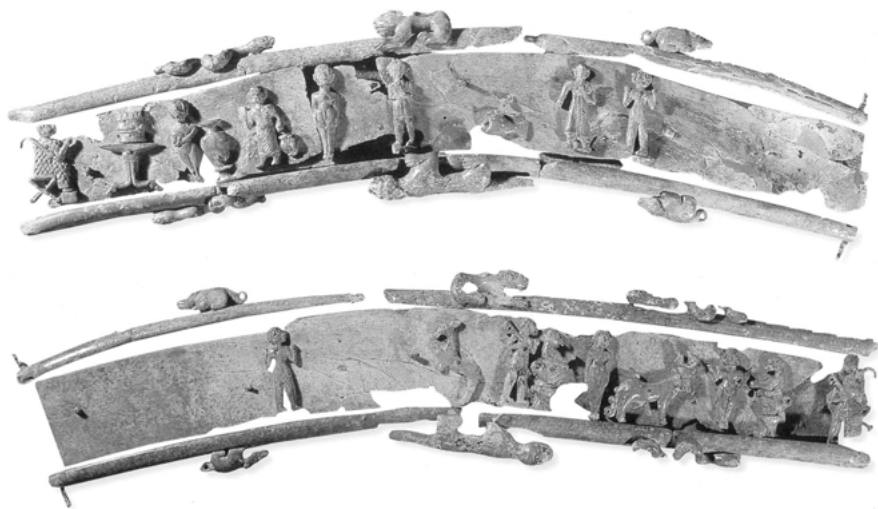


Fig. 1: Ebla: bone amulet from the “Tomb of the Lord of the Goats” (ca. 1750–1700 BC).

Drinking scenes are often depicted on seals and relief plaques, beginning in Early Dynastic IIIa, and usually represent two people sitting one facing the other, drinking through reed-straws from a large jar placed between them.⁴³ At Ebla a scene on a bone amulet dated to the Middle Bronze Age (about 1750–1700 BC) represents a man sitting, a cup in hand, in front of a loaded table, behind which is a large jar placed on a stand. Because this object was found in a royal grave the scene may have a funerary character (Fig. 1).⁴⁴ This kind of jar might be similar in function to those mentioned in the written sources of several centuries earlier.⁴⁵

2.4 While information is not lacking regarding the presence of the stewards of Mari at Ebla, paradoxically for Ebla itself we know the name of only one steward, Dulba-malik, [157] ARET 3.531 V 6–7: 1 túg-NI.NI *Dùl-ba-ma-lik* sagi. This is possibly due to the fact that several officials were not mentioned in the administrative texts by the title of their position. As a result the documents only provide data relating to the vessels which they used. One passage mentions

⁴³ Selz 1983.

⁴⁴ Matthiae 1995a.

⁴⁵ I owe this observation to remarks of Adelheid Otto and Ursula Seidl, made on the occasion of a lecture I gave at the Institut für Assyriologie und Hethitologie, University of Munich, in June 1998.

twelve silver cups of the steward, weighing 29 g each, TM.75.G.10077 obv. XI 18–XII 1: 1 ma-na babbar:kù “kin”-ag 12 zi-bar lú sagi kas₄-kas₄ é en.

3 The value of other vessels

Other vessels, such as the dug and the *zi-ru*₁₂ (smaller than the la-ḥa), although sumptuous were not of extraordinary value. It is no coincidence that these are never associated with the sagi.

3.1 The *sûr* (ḪIxMAŠ) was a vessel which probably held the equivalent of four la-ḥa (approx. 120 litres), at least according to TM.75.G.1383 obv. II 5: 10 *sûr* 3 la-ḥa ninda-sîki(UD).⁴⁶ The metal examples (in copper or bronze) could weigh even more than 200 kg. The clasp attaching the lid was usually in silver.

[1] MEE 2.1 obv. 3–6: 5 *mi-at* 60 ma-na ‘urudu’ 1 *sûr* maḥ urudu 5 *mi-at* 30 ma-na urudu 1 *sûr* urudu-II “560 minas (263.2 kg) of copper (for) one large *pithos* of copper; 530 minas (249.1 kg) of copper (for) a second *pithos* of copper.” [2] TM.75.G.1539 obv. I 1–3: 5 *mi-at* 20 lá-1 ma-na šú+ša a-gar₅-gar₅ e₁₁ 1 *sûr* urudu “519,20 minas (245.5 kg) of refined copper received (for) one *pithos* of copper.” [3] TM.75.G.2622 rev. XXV 5–10: 10 lá-1 ma-na an-na šub *si-in* 9 *mi-at* ‘55’ ma-na a-gar₅-gar₅ 3 ma-na 18 babbar:kù ZU.PIRIG-sù 2 *sûr* maḥ “Nine minas (4.23 kg) of tin to be melted with 955 minas (444.85 kg) of copper; 3,18 minas (1.55 kg) of silver (for) their clasps: (for) two large *pithoi*.” [4] TM.75.G.2502 obv. VIII 16–IX 6: 11 ma-na an-na šub *si-in* 6 *mi-at* ma-na a-gar₅-gar₅ MU.MU.MU “kin”-ag 2 *sûr* gibil 5 ma-na [babbar:kù] ZU.PIRIG-sù “Eleven minas (5.17 kg) of tin to be melted with 600 minas (282 kg) of copper ... in order to make two new *pithoi*; five minas (2.35 kg) of [silver] (for) their clasps.” [5] TM.75.G.2428 rev. XI 31–36: 4 ma-na tar an-na šub *si-in* 5 *mi-at* 10 lá-3 ma-na a-gar₅-gar₅ 2 *sûr* tur 2 ma-na ša-pi 5 babbar:kù SU.PĒŠ-sù “4,30 minas (2.11 kg) of tin to be melted in 507 minas (238.29 kg) of copper (for) two small *pithoi*; 2,45 minas (1.29 kg) of silver (for) their clasps.” [6] ARET 8.534 § 51: 1 ma-na tar 5 an-na šub *si-in* 1 *mi-at* 90 ma-na a-gar₅-gar₅ 1 *sûr* gibil 2 ma-na babbar:kù ZU.PIRIG-sù “1,35 minas (0.744 kg) of tin to be melted in 190 minas (89.30 kg) of copper (for) one new *pithos*; two minas (0.94 kg) of silver (for) their clasps.” [7] TM.75.G.2464 rev. XIII 2–4: 5 ma-na ša-pi zabar 2 ma-na tar urudu 1 *sûr* tur “5,40 minas (2.62 kg) of bronze, 2,30 minas (1.18 kg) of copper (for) one small *pithos*.” [8] ARET 7.142 obv. II 1–2: 1 *sûr* tur GĀxLĀ 5 ma-na urudu 1 *sûr* tur

⁴⁶ Archi 1986b: 194 and 204.

GÁxLÁ 3 ma-na tar SU.PIRIG “One small *pithos* weighing five minas (2.35 kg) of copper; one small *pithos* weighing three minas (1.41 kg); thirty shekels (235 g): (their) clasps.”

3.2 The *zi-ru*₁₂, Sumerian dar-áb, held ten síla (ca. 10 litres), and was therefore one-third of the size of a la-ḥa.⁴⁷ The standard weight of this vessel, if for ceremonial use, was ten minas (4.7 kg).

Gold: ARET 7.67 § 2: 90 ma-na (42.3 kg) kù-gi 10 lá-1 *zi-rí*; 8.528 obv. I 1–2: 4 *mi-at* ma-na (188 kg) kù-gi 40 *zi-ru*₁₂. TM.75.G.2073 obv. I 9–10: 40 ma-na (18.8 kg) kù-gi 4 *zi-ru*₁₂. TM.75.2286 obv. VI 2–3: 8 *mi-at* [158] 40 ma-na (394.8 kg) 84 *zi-ru*₁₂.

Silver: TM.75.G.1556 obv. I 3–4 and TM.75.G.1864 obv. I 6–7: 3 *mi-at* ma-na (141 kg) babbar:kù 30 *zi-ru*₁₂. TM.75.G.2286 obv. II 3–4: 6 *mi-at* ma-na (282 kg) babbar:kù 60 *zi-ru*₁₂. TM.75.G.2286 obv. V 6–7: 4 *mi-at* ma-na (188 kg) babbar:kù 40 *zi-ru*₁₂. TM.75.2341 obv. I 1–2: 1 *mi-at* ma-na (47 kg) babbar:kù 10 *zi-ru*₁₂.

Occasionally we find heavier or notably light *zi-ru*₁₂. TM.75.G.2244 obv. I 3–4: 12 ma-na šú+ša (5.7 kg) kù-gi 1 *zi-ru*₁₂. ARET 2.2 § 4: 10 <gín> babbar:kù 3 <gín> kù-gi (102 g) ... 1 *zi-ru*₁₂ wa GIŠ-šú-GIŠ-šú *gi-zu-gi-zu*.

3.3 The weight of a metal dug, usually five minas, was half that of a *zi-ru*₁₂, which had twice the capacity (20 síla).⁴⁸

Gold: ARET 7.67 § 1: 5 ma-na (2.35 kg) kù-gi 1 dug. 8.528 obv. I 3–4: 2 *mi-at* (94 kg) ma-na kù-gi 40 dug. TM.75.G.2070 obv. I 6–7 and TM.75.G.2072 obv. I 5–6: 10 ma-na (4.7 kg) kù-gi 2 dug.

Silver: TM.75.G.2341 obv. I 3–4 and TM.75.G.10088 rev. XXVI 5–6: 2 *mi-at* 30 ma-na (108.10 kg) babbar:kù 46 dug.

Some dug, however, had different weights, TM.75.G.10201 rev. XXIV 3–6: 4 ma-na (1.88 kg) kù-gi 1 dug 30 lá-3 ma-na šú+ša gín DILMUN (12.85 kg) babbar:kù 2 dug.

⁴⁷ Milano, ARET 9: 352. For *zirum* in OA texts, see Derksen 1996: 241.

⁴⁸ See above, n. 17.

13 Trade and Administrative Practice: The Case of Ebla

Interactions among distant areas, often with different political-economic systems, begin processes of important cultural changes. And a determinant factor in establishing contacts among distant areas is the need, or the desire, to acquire certain goods.

The Uruk-Jemdet Nasr expansion along the Euphrates valley and its tributaries in northern Mesopotamia and eastern Anatolia, which at Habūba Kabīra and Jebel Arūda is attested by extraordinary urban settlements, surely had as a primary cause a system of long-distance exchange; the so-called secondary urbanization that exploded in those areas at the beginning of the 3rd millennium owes much to that cultural contact. And Mari, on the Middle-Euphrates, is a new foundation of that period, growing up after the Uruk-Jemdet Nasr culture at a strategic point for the control of the main communication route connecting southern Mesopotamia and the northwest, that is, slightly south of the areas of the Ḥabur and the routes leading to the west, where the caravans could not leave the banks of the Euphrates because of the region's aridity.¹

If it is therefore possible that the "prime mover" in the formation of a more complex society in northern Mesopotamia was long-distance trade, in general it is necessary to keep in mind also various other factors. The introduction of writing in Ebla, towards the end of the 25th century, can certainly be accredited to the motive of wishing to emulate Mari, the dominant state in the Middle-Euphrates. Ebla thus became equipped with the instrument that enabled one state to maintain diplomatic relations with another one in conformance with a practice requiring that the verbal message brought by the messenger be confirmed by a written document (cf. the letter to Hamazi, TM.75.G.2342). In addition, political agreements could be set down in an indisputable way (Treaty with Abarsal, TM.75.G.2420; agreements with Mari, TM.75.G.2268),² and [44] an administration could be maintained according to models which lent prestige to the great Mesopotamian tradition, a fact of which the ruling class in the outlying areas was certainly aware.

Altorientalische Forschungen 20 (1993) 43–58.

¹ See Margueron 1989.

² The letter to Hamazi has been published by Pettinato 1981a: 97–98; the treaty with Abarsal is edited by Sollberger 1980 [= ARET 13.5]. Leemans 1977: 2–3, raises the problem whether the adoption of early Mesopotamian writing and language in the peripheral areas can be attributed to trade-connections with Mesopotamia.

Trade, as one of the fundamental forms of socio-economic integration, has been the subject of various analyses during the last few decades. In particular, the archeologists studying the formation of the first state organizations have produced a series of ingenious models.³ In any case, it is significant that the chronological limit given to these models is the beginning of the period documented by written sources. The studies dedicated to the time following the Early Dynastic III period doubtlessly have less theoretical vigour and have a certain pragmatic character (even when an attempt is made to define an entire society) inasmuch as effort is made to force their arguments to fit the information gathered from the epigraphic documentation.

Some promoters of new research directions insinuate, not even too covertly, that in general philologists spend their best energies on a first interpretative level of the documents, precisely the one which they use (and without particular sentiments of gratitude) for further interpretations. It is true that philologists, accustomed to supporting their theories with pieces of evidence, lack imagination when they do not find precise documentary confirmation. It has been repeated to the point of boredom that Mesopotamia lacked many of those resources necessary to the functioning of a complex society, such as tall-trunk trees, precious stones and metals. It has even been established that the kings of Akkad made the area of their military expansion coincide with that of the commercial interests of their country in order to maintain direct control over trade.⁴ But no one has established a model clarifying the system of exchanges during the Akkadian Age. This is because pertinent epigraphic documentation is extremely scarce. B. R. Foster, who has dedicated a study to "Commercial Activity in Sargonic Mesopotamia",⁵ writes:

"If the majority of foreign imports such as precious stones were acquired in a way that has left no records in the official and private archives ... one must assume they were either not accountable property, or became accountable property at a point beyond the horizon of these archives. Gems and rare metals may not have been for the most part accountable property of the state, but [45] private property of the king or other wealthy individuals. This property would appear in records only if it was entrusted to craftsmen for working These goods represent foreign gifts, tributes, or booty accessible to the ruling establishment but not found in state inventories. As for commodities such as copper that were

3 The study by C. C. Lamberg-Karlovsky (1975) is of particular worth, because it produces beside theory also archaeological evidence. According to this author, the exportation of chlorite (steatite) vessels from southeastern Iran to early Dynastic Mesopotamia set in motion a process which changed the political system of that area in Iran.

4 Oppenheim 1970: 14. On the administration of forests in the Umma region during the Ur III period, see Steinkeller 1987b.

5 Foster 1977.

accountable ... and for which no records of acquisition are available, one can conclude only that they were acquired by the state by means or agents as yet unknown. One seeks in vain among the thousands of preserved Sargonic records for an example of agents acquiring such goods for the state.”⁶

For the immediately subsequent period, that of the 3rd Dynasty of Ur, perhaps the best documented of all of ancient history from the administrative point of view, the conclusions are similar, despite the fact that various silver balanced accounts concerning some merchants of Umma are preserved:

“The evidence for merchant travel ‘outside of central Mesopotamia’ is quite slim. The reason for the paucity of evidence is probably that the bureaucracy was not interested in where exactly the products were obtained.”⁷

Let’s come to Ebla. This city is located in the area which controlled access to the Mediterranean coast, to the Amanus and Taurus for those coming from the Euphrates valley (further to the south, the Syrian desert was extremely difficult to cross for a caravan of asses). It is significant that Sargon and Naram-Sin declared they reached “the Cedar Forest and the Silver Mountains” after having conquered Ebla, whether the significance of the mention of Ebla in these contexts be historical fact or, more likely, literary *topos*. The literary tradition which blossomed around the extraordinary deeds of Sargon and Naram-Sin, preserved for us in later documents, presents the expedition of these kings as in support of the Akkadian merchants who traded with Anatolia. Certainly the timber necessary for the construction of the imposing buildings in the cities of southern Mesopotamia were brought on the waterroute directly from the regions immediately adjacent to the Euphrates. And, in fact, Gudea, only slightly posterior to the end of the Dynasty of Akkad, declares having imported “cedar trunks, 60 and 50 cubits in length, boxwood trunks, 25 cubits in length”; further “from Uršu, in the mountains of Ebla: junipers, large firs, trunks of plane and mountain trees”, in addition to “stones for stelae from the Basal mountains”, and gold from Hahhum. Thus, even approximately 250 years after the fall of Ebla there remained a clear memory of the prestige of that city as the one which controlled the Syrian region to the west of the Euphrates.

Ebla was one of the external poles of that system of longdistance trade which had its center in southern Mesopotamia of the Early Dynastic II and III periods! And, indeed, different interpreters have sought to explain the rise of Ebla as a regional power with the combination of two factors: 1. its being situat-

6 Foster 1977: 37–38.

7 Snell 1977 (quotation from p. 47). See also Neumann 1979.

ed [46] in a region, the plain of Idlib, favourable to agriculture and, in addition, adjacent to the interior of the steppe, which is suitable for the transhumance of herds of sheep and goats; and 2. its being able to control the trade routes to the west, especially when it succeeded in annexing Karkamiš, on the right bank of the Euphrates.⁸ That Ebla's position was particularly felicitous is demonstrated by the fact that when it fell, Aleppo (distant only 55 km to the north), took its place and for 4,000 years played uninterruptedly an important role in trade with the Orient.

This, then, is the situation: on the one hand, an economically rather well-developed area without raw materials, and another one which produces, or in part controls access to those goods; and on the other hand, some slightly later historical information and a vast literary tradition which confirm the existence of an important long-distance trade activity. In addition, there was a trend towards economic relations, a trend which remained unchanged for several millennia. In short, Ebla seems truly to be a most appropriate case upon which to build exemplary models demonstrating the fundamental role of trade in causing socio-economic changes through interactions among differently organized groups.

Ebla, however, has given us direct epigraphic documentation, the completeness of which is comparable to that of the 3rd Dynasty of Ur, and which gives a more unified portrait of the administration because the central archive records every aspect of the Palace's economic activity. And singularly, or perhaps significantly, the discordance between a reconstruction based on the above-stated elements and the data furnished by the archives is wholly analogous to that verified for the Sargonic and Ur III periods.⁹

It is impossible to quantify the agricultural production of the Eblaite kingdom, which consisted mainly of cereals, olive oil and wine, and equally so to determine its surpluses with respect to local consumption. Oil and wine are, however, goods which have been traded in all periods.¹⁰ Two types of documentation are dedicated to industrial production: 1. monthly registers showing fabric allotments (approximately 540 in number); and 2. a few dozen [47] an-

⁸ Matthiae 1977: 193–198; Pettinato 1981a: 184–85.

⁹ G. Pettinato is of different opinion. He has devoted to this subject an elaborate essay (1979c); his thesis is that: “the chief activity of the Eblaites was commercial ... the commercial texts prove most useful in that they permit a good view of the skill with which this Semitic people dealt with other countries and show the economic equilibrium throughout the Near East in the third millennium. It would even seem that their great economists were at work to create a Common Market that was both functional and stable. This may look like an exaggeration, but ...” (pp. 172–173; reproduced *verbatim* in English in Pettinato 1981a: 184).

¹⁰ On the oil production in Ebla see Archi 1991a* [333–349].

nual registers for the consignment of metal objects, mainly silver and gold. Although some accounts regard the quantities of these goods stored in the warehouses, they do not enable us to ascertain their annual availability because they are without sufficient dates and administrative indications. For example, ARET 1.26: “(a detailed list of articles of clothing) general total: 5,336 pieces of clothes”; ARET 1.40 and 41: “supplementary delivery of 2,510/1,150 pieces of clothes, 1,174/1,359 belts ... present in the ‘house of wool’”. And for silver, TM.75.G.1908: “4,002 kg of silver: verified; 3,895 kg of silver: expenditure; 3rd year ...”; TM.75.G.1841: “1,784 kg of silver: expenditure for the 3rd year; 836 kg of silver: 2nd year ...”.¹¹

Regarding the production of wool, there is an indirect datum in the documents concerning sheep breeding: the number of animals directly controlled by the Palace fluctuated between 80,000 and 110,000 heads, and it should be considered that to this number must be added those belonging to the village communities scattered throughout the territory. An approximate estimate of wool production belonging to the Palace could be 64 tons, if we suppose that 80,000 heads produced an average of 800 grams of wool each.

In contrast, the process of acquiring metals is not clear. The annual accounts covering the outlays of silver and gold in the colophon give only the total of the quantities paid out and those still held in the treasury, called anachronistically “house of wool,” é-siki, a denomination that is a relic of a time when the principal good accumulated was wool. For an idea of the amount of silver expended by the Palace yearly, the following totals (expressed in kg) are given for five different years:

Text	TM.75. G.1860	TM.75. G.2429	TM.75. G.2469	TM.75. G.2507	TM.75. G.2508
outgoing	271	176	127	208	258
in treasury	202	521	351	564	141(+x)

The entrances of metals for the Palace administration are recorded in another category of documents, characterized by the key-word, mu-DU, “delivery,” and which concerns the deposits of metals and fabrics by the administration’s highest officials, the “lords,” lugal-lugal. The texts, about sixty in number, can be classified in three different groups according to some formal elements and on the basis of prosopographic considerations.¹² The most ancient group

¹¹ See Archi 1982: 179–181.
¹² On these documents [ARET 14], see Archi 1991b: 204–18.

presents the simplest typology. It records simple lists of deliveries of silver or of garments by those officials, whose number fluctuates generally between 15 and 20. Each delivery of silver (which should be annual) varies from 2 to 10 minas (1 mina = 470 grams,) with the exception of those of two officials who stand out for their importance within the administration: Darmia, who, according to the data [48] of 6 probably annual documents, deposits a total of 141 kg of silver, 3 kg of gold and 2,800 articles of clothing; and Tir, who over a period of 12 years delivered 433 kg of silver, 2.5 kg of gold, 75 kg of copper, 14 kg of bronze and 1,700 pieces of clothes. The functions of these lords are rarely specified, nor is it clarified why they had those goods at their disposal. Some of them were heads of a district, but in general held positions in the central administration, such as the control of the raising of livestock, the stables and the organization of work, having at their disposal an average of 500 workers each.

For a period of only four or five years it was Arrukum at the head of the administration. He was succeeded by Ibrium, who held that office for eighteen years, during which Ebla became a regional power. While the deliveries of the lords maintained their values, the increase in the Eblaite economic power is reflected in the goods consigned by Ibrium, that is, yearly 200 to 300 kg of silver, 3 to 5 kg of gold, 1,300 to 2,800 pieces of clothes, and sometimes even quantities of copper of approximately 200 kg, with a maximum of 512 kg. According to the totals of 16 documents (which make up the second group), for a period of 16 years, the deliveries to the Palace amount to 3,731 kg of silver, 86 kg of gold and over 30,000 pieces of clothes (in addition to a similar number of belts). With Ibrium's son and successor, Ibbi-zikir, there occurred a further marked increase which more than doubled the receipts: yearly between 420 and 730 kg of silver, between 2 and 22 kg of gold, between 3,100 and 5,300 pieces of clothes. In the documents of Ibbi-zikir (which constitute the third group) there is also a constant delivery of copper the weight of which corresponds to that of the silver. For a period of ten years (to the ten complete documents are added three others, not utilizable because largely fragmentary), there were deliveries of 5,561 kg of silver, 179 kg of gold, 4,929 kg of copper, and 51,600 pieces of clothes (and a slightly smaller number of belts).

The documents of Ibrium and Ibbi-zikir differ from the older ones because they are organized in three sections, dedicated to the deliveries of the two heads of the administration or viziers respectively, of the "lords", and of the city-states recognizing Ebla's hegemony.¹³ The contributions of the latter, which were collected on two yearly occasions, are very low in any case, and it

¹³ For a mu-DU text of Ibrium, which lists also the deliveries of the city-states, see TM.75.G.1261, Pettinato MEE 2.1.

is clear that the receipts at the Palace's were made up substantially of the goods contributed directly by the viziers. The relationship between the three types of deliveries is given in the following table, where the total is reached by adding to two previous data the goods delivered by the friendly city-states:

	silver	gold	copper	clothes
lb̄bi-zikir "lords"	5,127 kg 272 kg	139 kg	4,929 kg	48,779 pieces
Total	5,561 kg	179 kg		51,622 pieces

[49] These data demonstrate that Ebla had at its disposal an extraordinary amount of silver and gold in comparison to that of the Mesopotamian states of the Old and Middle Babylonian Ages, at least so far as what can be deduced from the documents. It can also be inferred that the Eblaite administration, and therefore the social organization that it expressed, were highly centralized. This is confirmed also by the large quantities of agricultural products and by the number of animals controlled by the Palace, as mentioned above. From some lists of allotments of foodstuffs and fabrics it is demonstrated that from 600 to 800 women were employed in the Palace's activities, and that the workers directly dependent upon the central administration officials numbered from 4,000 to 5,000.¹⁴ Therefore, almost the entire population of the city of Ebla, was directly or at least indirectly dependent on the Palace. Naturally, the kingdom of Ebla, which extended from Karkamiš to Hama (for approximately 200 km from north to south) included various other urban centers and numerous villages, where officials of the administration were present but which in general probably constituted autonomous communities bound to the Palace mostly by the obligation to make contributions.

In any case, there is no doubt that the city of Ebla had the characteristics of a "central place" administrated according to a redistributive system. The archives record precisely and with great exactness the goods entering and going out. However, no mention is found of great quantities of goods that were traded.

Of the goods entering, in all probability the metals were not mined in northern Syria, and the closest sources of silver, copper and gold were obviously in Anatolia. The texts, however, do not record the activity of caravans transporting these metals. Large quantities of silver and copper, as we have seen,

¹⁴ See Archi 1988f* [143–153].

are found in the documents of deliveries, mu-DU on the part of the vizier, but there is not the slightest reference to their provenance. The deliveries of the city-states, recorded in a special section, are rather modest, singularly and ceremonial in character. It is certainly not only with those entrances that Ebla was able to store up metals. See, for example, TM.75.G.1261 (= MEE 2.1) rev. III 8–V 3:

“1 + 1 piece of cloth, 2 belts, 1 plate of 35 shekels of gold, 1 belt of 30 shekels: delivery of the king of Ra’ak; 2 + 2 pieces of clothes, 2 belts, 1 belt with sabre and sheath of 30 shekels of gold: delivery of the king of Irar; 940 grams of silver: delivery of the king of Utik; 30 shekels of gold: delivery of the king of Kablul.”

A notable amount of commercial activity from the accounting sector did not emerge. The great annual accounts of outlays of metals record consignments of gold and silver objects and, more rarely, of bronze. There are bracelets, *gú-li-lum*, (weighing one mina, i.e., 470 grams or of its submultiples, decreasing by 5 to 5 shekels); pendants for women, *bu-di*, usually in pairs (weighing 50 shekels, 390 grams or submultiples); earrings for men, *geštu*(GIS.PI)-lá (of only a few [50] shekels); daggers of different types and sabres with belts and sheaths, *gír mar-tu*, *gír-kun*, (usually worth one mina, or 30 shekels of gold), vases of various shapes, bridles and blinders for horses, *níg-anše-ak kù-sal*, decorations for chariots and parts of votive statues.

The destinees are deities, members of the royal family, officials, or sovereigns of other city-states, their families and officials, and people who for whatever reason had come in contact with the Eblaite administration. And each of these individuals received a single object. It is therefore a system of a redistributive nature, and in the case of the persons not belonging to the Eblaite kingdom, of consignments of ceremonial nature in exchange for another gift or because they had taken part in a ceremony.

In the monthly records of cloth consignments – the other primary product of the Eblaite economy – there are the same destinees and the same mode. The standard delivery consisted of three pieces of clothes: a cloak, *’à-da-um-TÚG*, a tunic, *aktum-TÚG*, and a belt, *íb-TÚG*, the quality of which could have differed (double, or simple cloaks; multicoloured belts) or could have been substituted by some other article of clothing. Low-level employees were often given more simple clothes or skeins of wool, and these allotments, when they are cumulative for groups of workers, are recorded as “rations” by the Palace for the maintenance of its own personnel. The sovereigns of the friendly city-states and their officials receive the same articles of clothing, in quality and number, as members of the Eblaite court. Some documents begin with the allotments for these city-states, according to a rather constant order which could correspond

to a geographic one. Added to the usual three articles of clothing destined to the king of each city are from three to six combinations of the same three pieces for the elders of that city (with the only difference that the king received only double cloaks).¹⁵

The totals of the pieces of clothing, as for the belts, fluctuated from a few hundred to almost a thousand. It is without question that these documents give the accounts relative to the greatest part of Ebla's fabric production. They are dated only according to the month and not by year, but the frequency of the shipments to foreign courts was probably yearly. It is clear that these were ceremonial gifts, whose importance was political and not economic, also because they are reciprocal in character. The foreign rulers, in fact, exchange such shipments more or less with the same articles of clothing and the same objects (or also with unworked silver) and in a similar way.¹⁶ It is a fact that the circuit of goods toward the exterior recorded in the archive documents was dictated by political reasons. It was a matter of yearly exchanges between sovereigns and of consignments to representatives of other palace organizations determined by occasional events, such as the participation in ceremonies and [51] the sending of messengers. In short, they formalize and attest the good diplomatic relations between political entities.

The rare occasions when the administration records movements of large quantities of goods are once more determined by political reasons. This is the case of shipments of silver to Mari. Ebla sent 1,028 kg of silver and 63 kg of gold during a period of perhaps 15 years.¹⁷ The term adopted by Ebla was "gift", *níg-ba*, whereas for Mari it was a question of "delivery", *mu-DU*, on the part of Ebla. The state of unbalanced power was played down by the administrative terminology. Ebla paid that tribute to Mari to avoid its destruction, and did so until it succeeded in increasing its strength to match that of its rival city.

Great care must be taken when evaluating the terminology defining the passage of goods: *mu-DU* is a "delivery" based on an obligation assumed by an inferior towards a superior authority, a tribute; *níg-ba* is a "gift", that is, a gratuitous consignment, at least in the declared intentions; *šu-mu-tak₄* is the act of sending; *níg-sa₁₀* is the "value" (generally in relation to silver) of a product, and therefore in some cases its "purchase price"; *šu-bal-ak*, "exchange", for example, "50 minas of silver, exchange for 10 minas of gold delivered to the king (of Mari)", ARET 7.1 § 8 (where, with a ratio of 5:1 between silver and gold, gold of better quality is indicated).

¹⁵ See ARET 1.1–10 and pp. 219–25.

¹⁶ These deliveries are listed in the third section of the *mu-DU* texts.

¹⁷ See Archi 1981b: 131–134; Id. 1985a: 63–69.

In the annual accounts, the deliveries of metals other than silver are all evaluated in relationship to silver, following that same expression: “x shekels / minas of silver: exchange for x shekels / minas of gold / of tin ... to decorate a statue / a dagger of ...” It is probable that here *šu-bal-ak* truly indicates a withdrawal of silver to meet the gold or tin expended, not an abstract accounting operation with which the value of the outgoing goods is fixed in relation to silver. In fact, at the end of the documents the amount is given of both the silver expended and that still “present”. But in some other cases it is surely a question of goods evaluated in silver, as in ARET 7.11 § 2: “13 minas of silver: exchange (*šu-bal-ak*) of 90 jars of oil, price (*níg-sa₁₀*) of 417 garments ...”. The item exchanged for the clothing is the oil, the value of which is estimated in silver. In any case, here, too, the colophon seems to include those 13 minas in the total sum of the silver expended.

In some cases also *níg-sa₁₀* indicates simply the “value” of an item, as in TM.82.G.266 (Archi 1993b: 8–11), a list of goods belonging to the king: “464,000 measures of barley ... 64,515 sheep ... 3.5 kg of gold, value (*níg-sa₁₀*) of 760 cows from the steppe ... 800 kg of silver: value of the box wood and cedar lumber.” It is difficult to admit that all the barley and sheep already belonged to the king, whereas all the cattle and all the valuable lumber had to be purchased. In general, however, the term *níg-sa₁₀* implies an exchange of goods, and in those cases *níg-sa₁₀* means something like “purchase”. In a list of “rations”, *še-ba*, of cereals destined to the court, we read: “10 measures, *gubar*, of barley, purchase (*níg-sa₁₀*) of vegetables [52] for the king”, ARET 9.10 § 13. There is no doubt that here barley was given in exchange for another type of foodstuff. Some examples of these transactions make clear the interpretative problems they cause:

1. ARET 7.10 § 4: “4.17 minas of silver: purchase of clothing, for I. and B.” I. and B. are two messengers charged with delivering gold and silver to the king of Mari. The 4.17 minas are either the value of the clothing given to those two officials for their mission, or else the sum at their disposal to purchase clothing in Mari.
2. ARET 7.11 § 5: “5 minas of silver: purchase of 286 belts for the Storm-god Hadda, PN purchased”; § 7 “2.14 minas of silver: purchase of 106 belts for the Palace”; § 8 “5 minas of silver: purchase of 5 daggers of gold from the city of Kablul.” The palace seems to have purchased a quantity of textile products of internal production, whereas a certain number of metallurgical products come from other city-states.
3. ARET 7.13 § 1: “17.30 minas of silver: purchase of 7 garments, 16.30 minas of cornelian and lapis lazuli, 54 shekels of cornelian, 10 shekels of ‘red stone’, by PN of Mari”; § 5 “16.30 minas of silver: purchase of 8 garments,

3.8 minas of cornelian and lapis lazuli, by PN of Mari”; § 8 “x minas of silver: purchase of x belts for the goddess Adamma to PN; Barama.” The expenditures in silver regard: a) two purchases of semi-precious stones (found in the Iranian region) made in Mari, the nodal center for relations with the southeastern areas; two purchases of clothes, of local production since the provenience is not given, to the personnel of two goddess.

4. ARET 7.70: “4 minas of silver for the purchase of cereals: 4 PN, merchants (dam-gâr), have received.”
5. ARET 7.71: purchase of 11 onagers for (?) the same number of “lords.”

Many more examples could be cited, also on the basis of only the texts published in ARET 7. They prove beyond any doubt that in Ebla, as in the towns connected to it, in addition to goods evaluated in silver, silver itself was also used as a means of exchange, and to such an extent that there is absolutely no comparison in third-millennium Mesopotamia. Silver was also used for the purchase of ordinary goods, such as clothing and belts, which were produced locally. A valuable product such as wine was only sometimes purchased (ARET 2.45; 3.433 II 2), or perhaps simply evaluated in silver (ARET 7.72); in general, it was given, and the person who delivered it received clothing: ARET 1.14 §§ 16, 43; 17 §§ 18, 20; 3.44 III; 58 II; 137 rev. II, etc. This was also true of an item like the *’â-bîl*, whereas a vegetable like the KASKAL.SAR was generally purchased with silver.¹⁸ In any case, with few exceptions, it was a question of modest quantities of goods and amounts of silver.

In general, the circulation of goods was considerable, but commercial implications were not the most frequent, and there is no evidence of commercial [53] activities involving large quantities of goods. Under the name *kaskal*, “expedition, journey,” there are large expenditures. In an annual account, TM.75.G.1841 obv. II-3 III 1, to 1,128 kg of silver “expended”, are added 47.5 kg for “expeditions”.¹⁹ But it is not certain that these were commercial trade expeditions. In the case of TM.75.G.1872 obv. 1–6, since the destinees are the king of Nagar, on the Ḥabur (47.5 kg of silver for 3 journeys), and his agent, *maškim-e-gi₄* (2.8 kg for 10 journeys), it seems rather to be a matter of journeys of a political-ceremonial nature, and the silver probably corresponds to the value of the gifts. In any case, immediately following (II. 8–10) are recorded 9.2 kg of silver for the “purchase” of onagers.

¹⁸ For *’â-bîl*, see ARET 1.12 §§ 8, 11, 16, 25; 8.521 § 4; 524 § 32; and for KASKAL.SAR: ARET 1: 289; 7: 218.

¹⁹ Archi 1982: 180.

Let us take into consideration also the functions of those persons specified with names connected with trade.

The term *dam-gār*, a loan-word from the Semitic *tamkārūm*, “merchant”, is rather rare in Ebla. In the texts already published, ARET 1–4, 7–10, it is found only three times: in ARET 4.9 (in a cultic context); 3.147 (a garment and a belt are given to a merchant going to a small town); 7.70 (4 *dam-gār* received 4 minas of silver, that is, 1.9 kg, to purchase barley). In addition, Mari was the largest political center known to Ebla, and the most frequently mentioned one. Despite this, the unpublished texts record only: a *dam-gār* “residing” in Mari and another who “goes” to Mari. Both receive three garments. A *dam-gār* of Mari consigns three garments to an Eblaite. Finally, two commercial operations are made by some *dam-gār*: the purchase of 230 and 231 garments, respectively, for 7 and 11 minas of silver.²⁰

More frequently appears the *ga-raš/ešg*, another “merchant” according to the translation in use for the Mesopotamian documents. Among the other passages to be noted are ARET 3.635: 1.20 minas of lapis lazuli are furnished by a *ga-raš*; ARET 7.16: 3.40 and 2 minas of silver to the *ga-raš* of Irraku for some trade expeditions, and 3 shekels to another three *ga-raš* each.

The term *mā-ḥu* = *u₅* may indicate a messenger rather than a merchant. A certain Gulla, *u₅* of Irpeš, received some silver several times (1 and 0.5 minas; 10 shekels), but apparently not for a commercial transaction, ARET 7.1 § 16; 11 § 28; 16 § 3. Instead, the elder of the *u₅* of Sahar consigned clothing in exchange for 1 mina of gold and 40 minas of tin; and in 7.11 § 3, the agent of that same elder received a not preserved number of minas of silver as the “price” of 738 garments.

The *lú-kar* “the man of the port (of trade), *kārūm*” is one of the names of function that occurs most frequently in the documents.²¹ But the goods [54] he received (often also in groups of 4–6 individuals) generally were only a garment with a belt, or some wool, so they were gifts and not goods to trade. Only one documents, ARET 4.12, records fully 13 of these cases, and only two where the *lú-kar* of Manuwat and that of Kakmium received instead a true capital: respectively 1.19 and 0.50 minas of gold.²² Some of these *lú-kar* from Manuwat

²⁰ The passages are quoted in: Archi 1985a: 79, *sub dam-gār*. Further, TM.75.G.1730 obv. IX 3 ff., XVII 12 ff.: “5/10 minas of silver: price of 109/191 dresses for Mari, which the merchant (*dam-gār*) has sent.”

²¹ See Pettinato, MEE 2: 46; and Waetzoldt 1984: 416–417. E. Arcari (1987: 123) wrongly believes that the *lú-kar* officials were in charge of Eblaite commercial settlements in those towns for which they are attested.

²² See the sections §§ 12, 13, 15–20, 30, 33, 51, 55, and §§ 9–10. Several other passages are listed in the Indexes of the ARET volumes.

“reside at the Palace”;²³ that of Armi received “rations” of barley evidently because he was a guest at the court.²⁴ They came from various city-states, but their largest numbers were from Kakmum, Manuwat and Mari. Also, of the other 40 citations concerning the *lú-kar* of Mari, only 6 seem to refer to commercial activities:²⁵

- 1–2. TM.75.G.2442 obv. V 3 and ARET 7.14: two *lú-kar* of Mari receive large quantities of barley (the first number is broken; the second is of 800 measures, *gubar*).
- 3–6. Garments and belts for workers are consigned to the *lú-kar* of Mari living in Tunip in the number of: 260 + 260 for a value of 26 minas of silver in TM.75.G.2251 obv. II 5; and of 347 + 347 in ARET 4.1 § 30. And wool also: 470 and 380 measures, respectively, in ARET 8.522 § 21 and 532 § 48.

Why the *lú-kar* of Mari living in Tunip should provide, with goods received from the Eblaite administration, for hundreds of workers, is unknown. In any case, only the first two passages seem to refer to any commercial activity. The name itself, *lú-kar*, doubtlessly links these officials to functions relative to the acquisition of goods. But the procedures and the areas of their competence remain unspecified. The administration records above all consignments to these persons of ceremonial clothing and objects (daggers) for personal use, one per individual, on the occasion of their arrival in Ebla.

The administrative documents record, as stated earlier, an extensive movement of goods. Clothing and objects in silver and gold were consigned to the employees of the administration or to the representatives of the other city-states present in Ebla for diplomatic and ceremonial reasons, or were also sent to the sovereigns and officials of those cities. These modes of transactions reflect directly the socio-political organization of Ebla, that is: a) a redistributive system for the administration’s dependents; and b) a system of reciprocity toward those belonging to other societies. In fact, the king of Ebla and the Eblaite officials who went to those city-states received from the other sovereigns gifts very similar to those which Ebla sent to them. The area constituting this system of reciprocity included all of Syria to the north of Damascus and part of northern [55] Mesopotamia, beyond the Ḥabur basin and up to Mari, which was the opposing city and also the most important partner in this circuit of exchanges. Farther south of Mari, the only point of contact was Kiš, the capital of Babylonia.

²³ Ibid., section § 12.

²⁴ ARET 9: 395.

²⁵ Archi 1985a: 80, where the quotations from the unpublished texts are given.

Data regarding Ḫarran, Imar, Mari, Tuttul and Nagar have been gathered in particular studies in order to illustrate these relations between states.²⁶ The picture is constant: shipments by Ebla (according to an undeterminable frequency) of clothing for the king and elders of those cities (to each a complete outfit); and similar consignments to some other officials; in addition, gifts, *níg-ba*, of objects in precious metals for special occasions. A flow of more or less analogous items in the opposite direction balanced these expenditures from Ebla.

Relations between Tuttul and Ebla were maintained especially by a *u₅*-official, “messenger” or “merchant”, named Ismai(l). He “delivers,” *mu-DU*, at a single time fully 27 minas (12.5) kg of lapis lazuli (no. 31),²⁷ and on three different occasions received silver as a “gift,” *níg-ba*, for a total of 16 minas (5.7 kg; nos. 46–47, 53). It was also his task to acquire wine (no. 46). Another official, *ga-raš*, “merchant”, received as a “gift” 4 minas of silver (41), and his agents received more modest quantities. Gold and silver were sent to the temple of Dagan of Tuttul (nos. 24, 53). Pieces of clothing were purchased in Tuttul (no. 11).

Tuttul was an obligatory passage toward Mari and an important center of cult, but it belonged to the area of Mari influence. Therefore, the local authorities were ignored. Ebla preferred to maintain diplomatic relations directly with Mari. Different were the relations with the city-states over which Ebla sought to establish its hegemony, such as Ḫarran and Imar. In these cases, gifts of a ceremonial nature were given which had the function of maintaining diplomatic relations on a personal basis. To the king and elders (and for Ḫarran also to the *badalum*, something like “vizier”), were destined the standardized clothing deliveries (a cloak, a tunic and a belt) and the rare gifts in precious metals, such as daggers and gold ingots. Some “agents,” *maškim*, were sent by those states to Ebla, and they, too, received the usual garments. Ceremonies and cult offerings reinforced these bonds, especially the oath of alliance sworn in the temple of Kura in Ebla, as well as the offerings, especially from the king of Imar, to the gods of Ebla. Zugalum, queen of Ḫarran and Tišalim, queen of Imar, played an important role in these relations. They visited Ebla and other Eblaite royal residences, participated in funerary ceremonies and sacrificed to the gods. On those occasions, and when they gave birth to a child, they received gifts, usually silver earrings encrusted in gold. Jewels for Queen Tišalim are listed for a value of at least 10 kg of silver. These facts make it probable

²⁶ See, respectively, Archi 1989a* [400–409]; Id. 1990a* [363–390]; Id. 1985a; Id. 1990c* [391–400]; Id. 1998b.

²⁷ The passages quoted are in Archi 1990c* [393–400].

that the two queens [56] came from the Eblaite royal family. Besides the exchange of gifts, Ebla most likely sought to bind itself to other states through inter-dynastic marriages. On the whole, for a period that can be estimated as being approximately 25 years, about 1,000 garments were sent to Imar, whereas there were few gifts made by Imar. In contrast, Ḫarran every year delivered from 0.5 to 1 kg of silver and sometimes also gold jewellery. All these goods were moved through a circuit of ceremonial exchanges.

The commercial transactions of the Palace administration took place on other levels of exchange. In two parallel documents with which King Irkabdamu confirms to Tišalim of Imar the possession of some villages on Eblaite territory, a clause excludes the merchants of Ebla from the villages under Imar's jurisdiction and those from Imar from the villages under Ebla's jurisdiction: "The agent (maškim) of the king (of Ebla) shall exclude (his) merchant (lú-kar) from the villages of Tišalim, and the agent of Tišalim shall exclude his merchants from the villages of the king (of Ebla)."²⁸ The small towns also needed goods that were not produced locally and that were certainly not prized or of great value. And the traders who traversed the country provided for those needs. The political powers, that is, the Palaces, guaranteed through treaties the safety of their activities. In the treaty between Ebla and Abarsal mention is made of "messengers," kas₄, of "agents," maškim-e-gi₄, and also of "merchants," dam-gàr (left edge, fragmentary) and lú-kar (rev. V 9–VI 13): "Ebla shall trade (ga-raš) with Abarsal; Abarsal shall trade with Ebla ... large ships That which belongs to the merchant (lú-kar) of Ebla, Abarsal shall restore; that which belongs to the merchant of Abarsal, Ebla shall restore."²⁹ In a trade treaty with Mari, TM.75.G.2268, in which "deep-going boats", má-gur₈, are also mentioned, regulations are established regarding the merchants (dam-gàr) from Ebla traveling to Mari and Kiš [ARET 13.15].

It is probable that the merchants mentioned in the edict in favor of Tišalim were acting of their own initiative, and that they "went into business in order to make money."³⁰ And it is also probable that the Palace used those merchants for its commercial transactions. They therefore transacted both private business and that given to them by the "great organizations", a model of behaviour which had been suggested and in general accepted, for the merchants of the 2nd and 1st millennia. In the society of the 3rd millennium documented by the Ebla archives, it was not, however, trade which determined the largest move-

²⁸ Archi 1990a: 26–28 [369–371].

²⁹ Sollberger 1980: 142 [= ARET 13.5 § 42–45].

³⁰ Foster 1977. Adams 1974: 248b, stresses that "goal-motivated behaviour has been a decisive fact in many social transformations", an idea which goes back to Max Weber.

ment of goods. Trade was not “the first mover” in contacts between different areas and in social transformations. At the basis of the middle-distance exchange of goods between [57] state and state, were above all political considerations combined with economic ones, that is, the desire to dominate and the need for prized goods. Both developed in complex societies. Hence, a circuit developed of ceremonial exchanges which was activated to maintain a *status quo*, that is relationships either on a reciprocal level or unbalanced ones. Its procedures were still in use in 2nd millennium Mari. Gifts were offered to foreign princes, and in exchange they gave vases in precious metals. The messengers from Mari handed over the gifts they had received to the administration.³¹

In addition, there was another circuit of goods, in one direction only and imposed by force. This was the case of the tributes in precious metals that Ebla made to Mari to maintain its independence. The political situation is made clear by the “Letter of Enna-Dagan” (ARET 13.4). Iblul-il of Mari, (after) having ascended the Euphrates and plundered Haššuwān near the Amanus, threatened Ebla and received a tribute. For approximately 15 years thereafter, from about the middle of the reign of Iblul-il to the early years of Enna-Dagan, including the short period of Nizi who ruled in between, Ebla paid to Mari the sum, huge for that time, of 1,028 kg of silver and 63 kg of gold, divided as in the table.³²

[58] In the opposite direction, there was a payment made to Ebla by Abar-sal of 202.54 kg of silver (TM.77.G.23+ obv. III 1–3), probably during the last year of King Igriš-Ḫalam, on the occasion of the stipulation of the treaty between the two cities.

31 J.-R. Kupper 1982: 168: “Les cadeaux offerts aux princes étrangers représentent, eux, une opération blanche, car Zimri-Lim reçoit à son tour des vases en métal précieux. Il en va de même apparemment des gratifications en argent, ouvragé ou non, accordées selon le coutume aux messagers en visite à Mari. En effet, à leur retour de mission à l’extérieur, les messagers mariotes remettent au trésor royal les présents qu’ils ont reçus de leur côté. Un document comptable signale un versement de plus de 14 mines d’argent à la caisse du roi ...” Further, see Finet, 1990: 139: “Il faut encore rappeler que suivant le rang de l’invité, celui-ci reçoit une ration plus ou moins importante, mange assis ou à croupetons, et que les convives honorables sont revêtus d’une tenue d’apparat fournie par l’hôte”. He quotes ARM II 76,8 ff.: “On nous (y) a pourvus ... des vêtements. Quant aux gens de Yamhad qui étaient entrés avec nous, on les a revêtus eux tous.” See also a letter from Mari of Yarim-lim of Aleppo to Zimri-lim, published by Birot 1990: 129–131 ll. 32–35: “Sois amical envers ces (rois qui sont) tes frères! Quand ils viendront chez toi, fais-leur remettre des vêtements et une coupe en argent. Tu n’es pas pauvre en vêtements et en coupes.”

32 Archi 1985a: 64.

Tributes and ceremonial gifts, then, were the two predominant motives for the transfer of goods in the Ancient Near Eastern societies during the 3rd millennium BC.

		silver	gold
Iblul-il	king	547.23 kg	42.06 kg
	elders	86.61 kg	
	agents (maškim-e-gi ₄)	128.13 kg	6.93 kg
Nizi	king	72.61 kg	8.19 kg
	elders	23.26	
	agents	36.32 kg	1.41 kg
Enna-Dagan	king	72.29 kg	3.78 kg
	elders	25.28 kg	
	agents	36.57 kg	0.78 kg

14 The Business of Mr. Iram-malik

Document TM.75.G.1245 concerns the registration of animals, carts and other goods relating to the activities of ten individuals. Iram-malik is responsible for most of the movements of these commodities: sections § 2, § 4, § 5 (his brother), § 11, § 12, § 13, § 14, § 15, § 18, § 19, § 20, § 23, § 24, § 25, § 31, § 33, § 34. Ada-gar appears in four entries only, sections § 3, § 17, § 21, § 26; the other individuals appear less frequently.

There are no elements enabling us to date this document,¹ nor can we prove that these same people are mentioned in other texts, apart from ARET 2.24, where four of them occur, as well as a place name from the first text: *A-da-gâr* § 9; *Ba-su-ru*₁₂ § 4; *Îr-am₆-ma-lik* §§ 6–8; NI-BAD § 9; *Nu-ba-du*^{ki} § 6. ARET 2.24 concerns purchased or received animals (*a-dè* “[silver as] value of”; *níg-sa*₁₀ “purchase”; *šu-ba₄-ti* “has received”; *al₆* “on account of”).

The unusual number of administrative terms which recur in TM.75.G.1245 indicates that these people were acting on their own behalves and that their activity only involved the central administration tangentially. A similar case is that of Gida-na'im, an entrepreneur to whose activity a single, detailed document is dedicated, ARET 2.29, interpreted by Lucio Milano.²

The administrative terms employed are:

- *al₆* “on account of”: § 3, § 11, § 12, § 13
- *a-dè* “value of”: § 23
- *ḫi-DU* “has to deliver”: § 7, § 8, § 10 (*ḫi-DU si-in* GN), § 14, § 15, § 17, § 25
- *ḫi-mu-DU*: § 5 (*si-in* GN *ḫi-mu-DU*)
- *îl* “to carry”: § 26, § 28, § 33
- *kú* “to take for himself, to consume”: § 4, § 34
- commodities *al₆* GN PN *kú*: § 3, § 11, § 12, § 13
- *níg-ki-za* “competence”: § 16, § 31 [10]
- *níg-[sa₁₀]* “purchase”: § 27
- *šu-ba₄-ti* “has received”: § 18, § 32
- *šu-du₈* “to hold”: § 2, § 22, § 24
- *šu-du₈ wa ug₇*: § 20, § 21

Pp. 9–19 in *Memoriae Igor. M. Diakonoff. Babel und Bibel* 2, eds. Leonid Kogan, Nina Koslova, S Loesov, and S. Tishenko, Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns. 2005.

¹ *Lum-na-an*^{ki} section § 32, is the sole writing used in the documents of the minister Ibbi-zikir; the earlier documents may have also *Lu-mu-na-an*^{ki}.

² The meaningful title given by L. Milano to his paper (2003) is “Les affaires de Monsieur Gida-na'im.”

- šu-du_g *a-dè* object § 23
- šu-mu-tag₄ “to hand over, to bring”: § 19, § 33

1 The document TM.75.G.1245

- § 1: (obv. I 1–2) 2 *mi-at* 72 udu-udu / lú EN-*mar*
 “272 sheep of ENmar.”
- § 2: (I 3–7) 82 udu-udu / lú šu-du_g / kur^{ki} / *Īr-am₆-ma-lik* / [x-D]U-[] / [(ca. 9/10 cases)]
 “82 sheep which are held (from) the hilly region, Iram-malik .[..”
- § 3: (II 1–6) 20 lá-3 siki na₄ / al₆ / 1 lú / *Īr-ku^{ki}* / *A-da-gàr* / kú
 “17 ‘stone measures’ of wool on account of 1 man of the town of Irku: Ada-gar took for himself.”
- § 4: (7–13) 70 udu-udu / *Úr-lu^{ki}* / in / 7 iti / *Īr-am₆-ma-lik* / kú / ‘ab’ / [(ca. 7 cases)]
 “70 sheep of the town Urlu for 7 months: Iram-malik took for himself [...]”
- § 5: (III 1–10) 5 IGI.SAL / 5 BAR.AN tur / wa / 2 GIŠ-gígir-sum siki³ / *En-na-il* / šeš / *Īr-am₆-ma-lik* / si-in / *A-a-za-du^{ki}* / ħi-mu-DU
 “5 donkey mares, 5 mule foals and 2 sum-carts of wool: Enna-il, the brother of Iram-malik, had to deliver to the town of A’azadu.”
- § 6: (11–13) 2 GIŠ-GÍGIR.É / 6 GIŠ-ÚRxKÍD / [(ca 6 cases)].
 “2 covered wagons, 6 (plough-)points⁴(?) [...]” [11]
- § 7: (IV 1–3) 90 udu-udu / *Dam-mu-gu* / ħi-DU
 “90 sheep: Dammugu has to deliver.”

3 The sequence of the signs is: 2 GIŠ-gígir siki sum. Section § 26, ll. X 13–14: 1 GIŠ-gígir-sum / siki, proves that two cart-loads of wool are meant. See, further, section § 31, II 2’–3’: 8 GIŠ-gígir-IV siki-siki “8 four-wheeled wagons (loaded) with wool.” GIŠ-gígir-sum is attested also in sections § 31 and § 34. The other type of chariots mentioned in this text are: GIŠ-GÍGIR.É, section § 6; sections § 8, § 26, § 31, § 34 present the usual writing: GIŠ-ÉxGÍGIR. The two-wheeled chariot, GIŠ-gígir-II, is mentioned in sections § 28 and § 34. On these type of vehicles, see Conti 1997: 23–26.

4 The term GIŠ-ÚRxKÍD, which appears also in sections § 8, § 9, § 26, § 28, § 34, is very rarely attested. A bronze GIŠ-ÚRxKÍD is an instrument of a carpenter or even of a physician, see the passages quoted in Archi 1995. It is listed among instrument in copper, and it follows dub-nagar-URUDU “hammer,” in the Sumerian list MEE 3.53 obv. III 3–4. It has to be a kind of point or narrow blade. Steinkeller 1980: 79 and 83–84, has published a tablet which concerns: 2 šag₄-TAG giš-nú lugal UŠxTAG₄(KÍD)-UŠxTAG₄, a passage which he has translated as: “two mattresses of the king’s bed(s) to be cleaned (?)” The meaning could be: “to be carded.”

- § 8: (4–8) 1 ÉxGÍGIR / 1 asar GÍŠ-taskarin / 2 GÍŠ-ÚRxKÍD / *A-ga-na* / ʕi-DU
 “1 covered wagon, 1 tray of box-wood, 2 (plough-)points(?): Agana has to deliver.”
- § 9: (9–13) 10 udu / 2 GÍŠ-ÚRxKÍD / 40 siki *zi-rí* / 4 e / 1 ʿxʿ[-x]-d[u-x] / [(ca. 6 cases)]
 “10 sheep, 2 (plough-)points(?), 40 *zi-rí*-measure, 4 troughs(?),⁵ 1 .[...”
- § 10: (V 1–6) [...] / ʕi-DU / *na-se₁₁-na-se₁₁* / *Úr-lu^{ki}* / ʕi-DU / *si-in* / *A-a-za-du^{ki}*
 “[...] has to deliver; people of the town of Urlu has to deliver to the town of A’azadu.”
- § 11: (7–11) 50 udu-udu / *al₆* / *A-ga-ar^{ki}* / *Ìr-am₆-ma-lik* / kú
 “50 sheep on account of the town of Agar: Iram-malik took for himself.”
[12]
- § 12: (12–16) 2 ma-na 50 gín DILMUN babbar:kù / *al₆* / *Ìr-ku^{ki}* / *Ìr-am₆-ma^ʿ-lik* / [kú]
 “2;50 minas of silver on account of the town of Irku: Iram-malik [took for himself].”
- § 13: (VI 1–4) [(ca 4 cases)] / *al₆* / *Zú-mu-na-an^{ki}* / *Ìr-am₆-ma-lik* / kú
 “[...] on account of the town of Zumunan: Iram-malik took for himself.”
- § 14: (5–10) 6 BAR.AN / lú *Úr-lu^{ki}* / *wa* / lú *A-ga-ar^{ki}* / *Ìr-am₆-ma-lik* / ʕi-DU
 “6 mules of the town of Urlu and of the town of Agar: Iram-malik has to deliver.”
- § 15: (11–15) 1 BAR.AN / *Du-bí-lum* / *Mar-ra-du^{ki}* / *Ìr-am₆-ma-lik* / ʕi-DU
 “1 mule of Dubi-lum of the town of Marradu: Iram-malik has to deliver.”
- § 16: (16–VII 1) 5 BAR.AN / níg-ki-za / [*G*]a-sùr^{ki} / [x-]ʿxʿ [...] / [...] / [...] / *I-rí-ig-da-mu*
 “5 mules, competence of the town of Gasur [...] Irik-damu.”
- § 17: (2–9) 12 GUD / 3 IGI.SAL / 1 IGI.NITA / 1 BAR.AN / *mi-nu* / *Ša-dab₆^{ki}* / *A-da-gar* / ʕi-DU
 “12 head of cattle, 3 donkey mares, 1 jackass from the town of Šadab: Ada-gar has to deliver.”
- § 18: (10–16) 10 ma-na a-gar₅-gar₅ / tar 7 urudu sa / 1 ma-na babbar:kù / *mi-in* / *Ša-dab₆^{ki}* / *Ìr-am₆-ma-lik* / šu-ba₄-ti
 “10 minas of refined copper, 37 (shekels) of copper sa, 1 mina of silver from the town of Šadab: Iram-malik has received.”

5 The term e occurs in connections with wooden objects, TM.76.G.156 obv. II 4 (see Milano 1987b: 193); between objects and containers, ARET 13.9 § 2; in connections with wooden objects and skins, TM.75.G.1432 obv. IV 2, TM.75.G.1383 rev. II 12 (Archi 1986b: 193–195). It can be “large” or “small,” TM.75.G.1546 rev. IV 1–2: 3 e-maḥ 1 e-tur 4 baḥar. This object was made by a “carpenter,” nagar, ARET 1.13 § 14: nagar lú e; lú e seems to mean a kind of craftsman, ARET 1.7 § 36; ARET 9.61 § 7: PN₁-PN₃ e-e.

- § 19: (17–21) 20 dūl-TÚG / *in* / Ūr-lu^{ki} / Īr-am₆-ma-lik / šu-mu-“tag₄”
 “20 veils in the town of Urlu: Iram-malik has brought.”
- § 20: (VIII 1–7) 2 BAR.AN / Ba-s[u-ru]₁₂ / A-ga-ar^{ki} / Īr-am₆-ma-lik / šu-du₈ / wa / ug₇
 “2 mules of Basuru of the town of Agar: Iram-malik has held, and (they are) dead.”
- § 21: (8–13) 1 BAR.AN / NI-BAD / Ūr-lu^{ki} / A-da-gār <šū-du₈> / wa / ug₇
 “1 mule of NI-BAD of the town of Urlu: Adagar has held, and (they are) dead.”
- § 22: (14–18) 1 BAR.AN / Ba-su-ru₁₂ / A-ga-ar^{ki} / EN-mar / šu-du₈
 “1 mule of Basuru of the town of Agar: ENmar has held.”
- § 23: (19–IX 2) ʿ50ʿ lā-2 udu-udu / Gú-da-du / Nu-ba-du^{ki} / Īr-am₆-ma-lik / šu-du₈ / a-dè / ʿgāmʿ⁷
 “48 sheep of Gudadu of the town of Nubadu: Iram-malik has held as a replacement for gām.”
- § 24: (3–11) 2 m[i] 20 udu-udu / Ad-da-da / 5 gud / ʿĀ-la-lum / 1 BAR.AN / ʿĀ-da-ša / Ša-dab^{ki} / Īr-am₆-ma-lik / šu-du₈ [13]
 “220 sheep of Addada, 5 head of cattle of Alalum, 1 mule of Adaša of the town of Šadab: Iram-malik has held.”
- § 25: (12–16) 7 gud / *in* / Mug-rí-du^{ki} / Īr-am₆-ma-lik / ħi-DU
 “7 head of cattle in the town of Mugridu: Iram-malik has to deliver.”
- § 26: (17–X 19) 4 GIŠ-ĒxGÍGIR / 2 GIŠ-ŪRxKÍD / 4 é / še-še / 1 mi-at gū-bar / ninda-bappir / 10 lā-2 GA-ʿxʿ / 10 GIŠ-gígir-II / 4 la-ħa i-giš / wa / diri / é / GIŠ-UM / wa / GIŠ-ád / GIŠ-ti-mar₆ / GIŠ-NE-ir / 1 GIŠ-gígir-sum / siki / 7 gu-dūl-TÚG / TUMxSAL / Du-du-lu^{ki} / A-da-gār / il
 “4 covered wagons, 2 (plough-)points(?), 4 building (with) barley, 100 gu-bar-measure of beer breads, 8 ... , 10 two-wheeled chariots, 4 jars of oil, and in addition, a building (with) GIŠ-UM and boxthorn,⁶ (chariot-)rail(s), GIŠ-NE-ir, 1 SUM-cart of wool, 7 cloaks, looted(?)⁷ (by) the town of Tuttul: Adagar has carried.”

6 For GIŠ-ád = *a-da-tum* at Ebla, see Conti 2003: 123, who quotes passages where this term has to mean a kind of aromatic substance. This is not possible in this passage, and in TM.75.G.2362 obv. II 1–2: (silver) níg-sa₁₀ GIŠ-ti-mar₆ GIŠ-ád. For GIŠ-ti-mar₆, translated “Wagenrippen (?)”, see H. Waetzoldt, MEE 12: 389. The value of this object can be 0.6, or even 3.33 shekels, TM.75.G.1860 (MEE 10.20) rev. I 25–26, II 6–8. See, further, TM.75.G.2637+ rev. I 4–8: 40 GIŠ-ti-mar₆, 80 GIŠ-maš GIŠ-UM GIŠ-šú kuš-kuš 3 GIŠ-GÍGIR.É, which lists also 80 “planks”; for GIŠ-maš = *a-ū-um* / lāħum/, see Fronzaroli, ARET 11: 31.

7 The meaning “to conquer; conquest” for TUMxSAL has been determined by Pettinato 1980b: 244, basing himself on a passage of the Enna-Dagan’s letter. Other passages are listed in ARET 13: 302.

1 *mi-at* 40 *zi-rí* siki / 35 *dùl-TÚG* gu-dùl-TÚG / 5 *aktum-TÚG* / lú *Ìr-am₆-ma-lik* / kú / *Ga-sùr^{ki}* / (unwritten)

“[x] donkey mares, 12 two-wheeled chariot, 10 covered wagons, 14 SUM-cart, 18 (plough-)points(?), 4 building (with) barley, 200 *gú-bar*-measures of flour of einkorn [...], 140 *zi-rí*-measures of wool, 35 veils (and) cloaks, 5 tunics, which Iram-malik took for himself (in) the town of Gasur.”

2 The commodities

The “house,” é, of Iram-malik, (that is to say, his centre of activity) was in a settlement of modest size, A'azadu, not far from Urlu, which lay to the [15] east of Ebla (section § 31). The inventory, kas₇, of this house includes wool and garments, as well as wagons, carts and wooden implements, all goods which require the work of specialised craftsmen. According to section § 34, Iram-malik went as far as Gasur in the Euphrates valley in order to acquire, for his own purposes, kú, a large number of such carts (12 + 10 + 14), 18 (plough-)points(?), donkeys, wool and garments.

Iram-malik took for himself, kú, some commodities (sheep, wool, silver; sections 3, 4, 11, 12, 13). He received, šu-ba₄-ti, copper, silver and sheep (sections 18, 32). He delivered, ħi-(mu-)DU, carried, íl, brought, šu-mu-tag₄, many goods, in one case directly to the palace at Ebla (section 33).

There is no balance account. We have the impression that Iram-malik (and, on his behalf, also his brother Enna-il and other agents) bought and sold goods produced and required by the provincial centres, moving over a wide area that stretched even east of the Euphrates. The central administration was directly involved in this activity.

The commodities mentioned in this documents are:

- sheep and goats: sections 1; 2; 4; 7; 9; 11; 23; 24; 29; 30; 31; 32
- donkeys and mules: sections 5; 14; 15; 16; 17; 20; 21; 22; 24; 29; 34
- cattle: sections 17; 24; 25; 30
- people: section 10
- wool: sections 3; 5; 9; 26; 28; 29; 31; 34
- grain: sections 26; 34
- oil: section 26
- garments: sections 19; 26; 27; 29; 31; 34
- carts: sections 6; 8; 26; 28; 31; 34
- (plough-)points (?): sections 6; 8; 9; 26; 28; 34
- objects: sections 8, 9; 26; 31

- silver: sections 12; 18; 30; 31
- copper: section 18

3 The geographic horizon

The region in which Iram-malik and the other individuals mentioned in this document moved and acted consists of the valley of the Euphrates from Emar to Tuttul (the latter city being mentioned in sections 26 and 28), and neighbouring countries. Tuttul-on-the-Baliḥ was an important commercial crossroads. The documents mention several ga-raš/eš_g, involved in river commerce who received only small amounts of silver from the administration of Ebla. The activities which they performed [16] for the palace were therefore, presumably, only marginal. One exception is the family business of a certain Wabarum. He received as a gift, níg-ba, four minas of silver, whilst two were given also to his wife, one for a son and one to two of their representatives, maškim, for delivering beer, TM.75.G.2359 obv. VI 11–VII 5. A major role was played by Isma-i(l) of Tuttul, a messenger, u₅, who received various minas of silver on a number of occasions, the reasons for this, however, not being specified.⁹

Mugridu (section 25) was run by an overseer, ugula, see ARES 2: 388–389. A certain Ingar and Irik-damu, a son of the minister Ibrium, owned estates in this village according to ARET 7.153 and 155.

Also Marradu (sections 15, 31) was a small centre run by an overseer, ugula, which delivered sheep to the central administration, TM.75.G.1558, see ARES 2: 381.

Agar (*A-ga-ar*^{ki} sections 11, 14, 20, 22; other writings are probably: *A-ga-lu/lum*^{ki}, *ʾĀ-ga-lu_x*^{ki}) is rarely attested. According to ARET 3.106 rev. VII, Agalu belonged to the territory administred by Ebla.

The town of Irku (sections 3, 12) was inside the administrative horizon of Ebla. TM.75.G.1919 registers the large amount of 598.5 minas of silver (probably, the value of goods) which “Irku has given.”¹⁰ According to MEE 10.39, Irku was possibly not far from Emar, obv. IV 3–V 6: “222 people ... of Emar; 21 people of Irku; 21 people from Lumnanu; 60 people of Emar.” See also ARET 8.534 § 36: “a gift (to) Mari, Tupuḥu-Hadda has given in Irku” (read in line 10: *in*

⁹ A list of passages concerning the garaš and the u₅ of Tuttul is given in ARES 2: 202–203. Some of these passages are published by Archi 1990c: 203–207.

¹⁰ See Archi 2002: 98.

Îr-ku^{ki}). Ebla bought several commodities at the market (ki-lam₇ / gamba)¹¹ of Irku, see: MEE 10.29 rev. I 5–6; TM.75.G.1464 obv. VIII 9–10; TM.75.G.2333 rev. XIII 10–11; TM.75.G.2622 rev. III 2–3; TM.75.G.3481+ obv. XIV 16–17; TM.75.G.10201 rev. IX 26–27.

Gasur (sections 16, 34), Šadab (sections 17, 18, 24) and Nubadu (section 23) are all three mentioned in the Enna-Dagan's letter, ARET 13.4 § 19: ù Na-ḫal^{ki} [ù] Nu-ba-du^{ki} ù Ša-dab^{ki} kalam^{tim}-kalam^{tim} Ga-sùr^{ki} àga-kâr in Ga-na-ne^{ki} "in Ganane (Iblul-il, king of Mari) won Naḫal, Nubadu and [17] Šadab: countries of Gasur." They were located probably in the vicinity of the Euphrates valley.¹² Šadab was inside the administrative horizon of Ebla. MEE 10.38, which lists people from the kingdom of Ebla, the Palace (SA.ZA_x^{ki}) and Emar, mentions Šadab in obv. IX 9 (see also MEE 10.39 obv. II 1, rev. III 6). Šadab appears also in ARET 2.27a I 2, a document which lists fields given as a dowry to Tiša-lim by king Irkab-damu on the occasion of her marriage with Ruzi-damu, king of Emar.¹³ Šadab was, therefore, close to Emar.¹⁴ Gasur should be placed perhaps north-east to Emar and east to the Euphrates.¹⁵

Urlu (sections 4, 10, 14, 19, 21, 33) laid probably to the east of Ebla, see MEE 12.35 § 47a: u₅ Du-du-lu^{ki} in Ūr-lu^{ki} šu-ba₄-ti. The writing UR-lu(m)^{ki} seems to refer to another locality, see ARES 2: 465, 470–471.

A'azadu appears in sections § 5, § 10, § 31. According to ARET 1.13 § 32, three men of A'azadu (rev. I 13) are in Urlu.

Zumunan(u) (section 13) seems to be in the region of Tuttul. ARET 1.5 § 28 lists people from Zumunan, Naḫi and Tuttul.

Dalu[ba/ri] (section 27) was a village, see ARES 2: 188.

Lumnan (section 32) had to be in the region of the Euphrates, see ARET 8.533 § 42: Ra-'à-ag^{ki} ... Î-mar^{ki} ... Lum-na-an^{ki} ... Gâr-mu^{ki}. Ra'ak is mentioned in the Enna-Dagan's letter, ARET 13.4 § 6; for Garmu, see the Treaty with Abar-sal, ARET 13.5 § 13: Ga-ra-mu^{ki} in šu [en Ib-la^{ki}]. Lumnan was ruled by a king;

11 On ki-lam₇, "market," see Biga 2002: 277–88.

12 Nubadu was run by an overseer, ugula. Nu-ba-ti-um^{ki} is perhaps a variant of Na-ba-ti-um^{ki}, that is Nabada (Tell Beydar); see ARES 2: 390, 411–12.

13 On Tiša-lim and the town of Emar, see Archi 1990a; Id. 1993e. Another document concerning the estates given to Tiša-lim by king Irkab-damu mentions Šadab in obv. I 6 and V 4, published by Dietrich 1993. The documents of Emar of the 13th century mention the town Šatap(p)i, which could be identified with Šadab of the Eblaite period, see Sallaberger 1996d: 143. M. Astour (1996: 39) prefers to read this GN: Ša-da₅^{ki}, (at p. 42 there is a discussion on Šatap(p)i).

14 See, further, ARET 4.15 § 18: níg-ba in Ša-dab^{ki} wa in Du-du-la^{ki}.

15 The data on Gasur are collected in ARES 2: 234–35; this town cannot be placed in the region of Kirkuk.

the queen Dati-^dTU was probably an Eblaite princess. An older writing of this GN is *Lu-mu-na-an/nu*^{ki}. See ARES 2: 339, 341–343. [18]

4 Trade and central administration

The palace received primary produce (foodstuffs, cattle, wool) from its own lands and through taxation. The minister and other officials of the administration delivered unworked metal and cloth. There is no indication as to where these metals came from. Two friendly cities, Kablul and Ibubu, to be located to the north, each year sent (mu-DU) gold and copper respectively, but only in very modest quantities. These gifts to the court could have been entrusted to a merchant, dam-gâr, according to ARET 13.2, a chancery document relating to the swearing of an alliance between Ebla and Kablul.

Precious goods such as lapis lazuli, shells, tin and mules were obtained via the circuit of ceremonial gifts, in particular with Mari and Nagar. Ebla gave gold and silver, or oil, in exchange, as recorded in the annual accounts. The amounts involved were small, but seemed to satisfy the requirements of a royal residence of the period.¹⁶ The palace occasionally purchased clothing with silver at the internal markets (ki-lam₇), held on the occasion of religious festivals.¹⁷ Local trade, conducted mainly in terms of payment in kind, is not mentioned in the written documents.

The administrative accounts mention merchants to whom quantities of silver were sometimes entrusted for making modest purchases on external markets. The central administration, however, controlled the activities of Eblaite merchants acting in foreign territories.

The treaty with Abarsal makes river trade the exclusive reserve of traders from Ebla, whereas merchants from both Ebla and Abarsal could move freely in each other's lands. ARET 13.5 § 42: *Ib-la*^{ki} *A-bar-sal*₄^{ki} ga-eš₈ *A-bar-sal*^{ki} *Ib-la*^{ki} nu-ga-eš₈ “Ebla (may) exercise river commerce (towards) Abarsal; Abarsal (may) not exercise river commerce (towards) Ebla”; §§ 44–45: *me-nu* lú-kar *Ib-la*^{ki} *A-bar-sal*₄^{ki} gi₄ *me-nu* lú-kar *A-bar-sal*₄^{ki} *Ib-la*^{ki} gi₄ “With regard to the merchant of Ebla, Abarsal (will let him) [19] return (undisturbed). With regard to the merchant of Abarsal, Ebla (will let him) return (undisturbed).”

¹⁶ On trade at Ebla, see: Archi 1993a; , Id. “. On the administrative organization of Ebla, see Id. 1991b. On the ceremonial exchange of gifts, see: Id. 1999b: 147–58.

¹⁷ Biga 2002; Ead. 2003.

A reciprocal protectionist regulation may, instead, be laid down in ARET 13.7 §§ 5–6 (if the interpretation of the passage is correct): *ap mi-nu uru^{ki}-uru^{ki} Ti-ša-li-im maškim en lú-kar è ap [mi]-nu uru^{ki}-uru^{ki} en maškim Ti-ša-li-im lú-kar è* “Moreover, with regard to the villages (given as dowry to) Tiša-lim (bride of the king of Emar), the representative of the king (of Ebla, can let) the merchant (of Emar) leave. Moreover, with regard to the villages of the king (of Ebla), the representative of Tiša-lim (can let) the merchant (of Emar) leave.”

The fact merchants are rarely mentioned in the texts of the central administration shows that they generally acted on their own behalves. Iram-malik had a residence in a small centre, A’azad. According to the two texts which concern him, he and his associates bought, received, exchanged and “took” for themselves. Gida-na’im did likewise. The goods in which they dealt were those required by the provincial and rural centres. The area in which these men were active was the valley of the Euphrates, which was also for Ebla the region of greatest political and economic interest. Gida-na’im travelled even as far as Mari.

ARET 13.15, which records also the rations provided by Mari to Eblaite merchants, makes lively reference (in the interpretation given by P. Fronzaroli) to certain situations that these merchants (dam-gàr, ga-eš₈, u₅) had to face in their journeys along the Euphrates.

15 “Debt” in an Archaic Palatial Economy: The Evidence from Ebla

The archives of Ebla (c. 2400–2350 BC) attest to one of the most ancient uses of the term “debt.” No. 673 of the Sumerian-Eblaite Lexical Lists reads as follows: še-ŠU.ĤA-mul = *ĥu-bù-lum/lu-um* (A, B), *ĥu-bu_x(NI)-lum* (C)¹ /*ĥubullum*/ “debt.”² In all the three manuscripts, the following line (no. 674) has še-SAGxĤA-mul, without a Semitic equivalent. The second term has thus to be regarded as a mere graphic variant of the preceding lexeme. It is that term, še-SAGxĤA-mul, that we find in the administrative documents. A few use the aberrant writing KAxĤA-mul instead (see below nos. § 1, § 3, § 12, § 17).

The Semitic equivalent *ĥubullum*, “debt (with interest),” occurs in such Old Akkadian documents as HSS X 109: 21, 110: 5: *ĥu-bu-lum šu al PN i-ba-šè-ù* “(animals, barley) which is the debt upon PN.”³ The še “barley” at the beginning of the Sumerogram še-SAGxĤA-mul used at Ebla places the practice of contracting debts within the context of an agrarian society.⁴

Pp. 95–108 in *Debt and Economic Renewal in the Ancient Near East*, eds. Michael Hudson, and Marc Van der Mieroop. Bethesda MA: CDL Press. 2002.

1 Correct Pettinato MEE 4: 275, no. 673b (= C): not še-ĥa-mul!; *ad* no. 675, read: še-SAGxĤA-mul!

2 Pomponio 1982: 96 n. 2, who quotes three pre-Sargonic texts: RTC 6 obv. IV 2 (še-SAGxĤA-mul); BIN VIII 45 obv. II 6; 46 obv. IV 2 (še-ĤA-mul). He understands this term as “pledge,” a meaning which does not seem to apply well to the Eblaite administrative documents. About SAGxĤA see also Civil 1983a: coll. 564–566.

The Akkadian lexical lists have ur₅-ra = *ĥu-bul(/bu-ul)-lu*; še ur₅-ra = *še-im ĥu-bul-lum*, kù ur₅-tuk = *kasap ĥu-bu-ul-li*, see CAD Ț: 217.

3 Gelb 1957: 124; CAD, Ț: 217a.

4 Notice, however, that SAGxĤA is usually interpreted as “fish-pond.” Steiner 1998, reads in Uruinimgina II 11’ and III 7’: ur₅ SAGxKU₆-na, and translates the whole sentence as following: “Wenn ein ‘Sohn eines Armen’ eine (verzinsliche) Schuld auf (s)einen Fischteich (machte).”

The Sumerian word for “interest” is máš = *šibtu*. That máš “goat” and máš “interest” are in some way linked had been suggested by A. P. Riftin, W. F. Leemans and W. Eilers; the references are in Steinkeller’s important article of 1981a: 140. Steinkeller notes that the meaning “interest” of máš is not recorded before Ur III, and reconstructs the development of this secondary meaning in the following way: “the Pre-Sargonic tenant farmer delivered a tax in silver for the yearly increase in the number of his goats and sheep, which actually represented a fee for the right to utilize the rented field for grazing.” In the Pre-Sargonic period the Sumerian term for: “to yield interest” was kug-rá ... ús; two documents have the expression: ur₅-ra kug-rá íb-ús “(barley) loan, bearing interest,” see *ibid.*: 141–45.

The economic documents from Ebla are the expression of a palatial society. The city consisted of the king's residence, some administrative centers, and the dwellings of the officials and servants employed there.⁵ This structure rested on an agricultural sector (fields and herds) which was partly administered directly by the palace, and also relied on the quotas of products given by the villages. Manufactured goods (cloth and metal objects) were distributed among members of the administration or destined for other palatial organizations within the context of ceremonial exchanges.⁶

In a situation where agricultural production was directly administered by the Palace, apart from the microsystems of village communities, [96] and where manufacture was channeled into redistribution and gift exchanges, credit could only have played a minor part. It is, however, possible that loans with interest were occasionally used, especially in the villages where the fragile economic circumstances of the peasants made them particularly vulnerable to family misfortunes and natural disasters.

The social organization and economic life of these rural centers is not known to us from the archives which are concerned solely with registering the amounts of barley and other agricultural products consigned by them to the central administration. There is a single exception in the Ebla corpus. It is a small tablet (TM.76.G.749) found in 1976 during the cleaning of room L. 2769, where the central archive was kept and which had been excavated the previous year. This tablet involves a case of debt.

The situation it records was as follows: four or five elders, representatives of the Irkutu community, obtained a loan with interest from two other villages, possibly a quantity of barley evaluated in silver (for the restoration in obv. I 1, see below). The name of the second village is missing, while the first, Mašgatu, occurs (though rarely) in texts relating to the assignments of garments. It must have been situated to the east of Ebla, since persons of Emar and Mari receive garments there.⁷ ARES 7.3 § 7 shows that Irkutu was also to be found in the same direction. There we have the consignment of a notable gift in silver and gold for the king of Mari.⁸

The loan was obtained in the ninth month of the year, hence in winter, presumably when it was clear that the year's grain production had been insufficient to survive until the following harvest as well as pay the taxes owed to the palace. The agreement made indicates that the capital received plus the interest

⁵ Archi 1991b.

⁶ Archi 1993a* [165–178].

⁷ See ARES 2: 384.

⁸ For another similar passage, see ARES 2: 310–311, sub *Irkutu*^{ki}.

had to be repaid twelve months later. Unfortunately, the line at rev. I 5, which must have contained the expression indicating the interest to be paid, is damaged. The traces remaining do not enable us to restore š[e-K]A[xḪA-mul]-sù because the vertical wedge at the end of the sign which must have read KA (= SAG!) is too high and touches the dividing line with the preceding line.

Therefore, the term tak₄ “to bring, to hand over” is proposed here as a restoration for line I 5 of the reverse.⁹ This reconstruction leads to a special syntactical structure: (Subject) – Verb – Predicate < — > Predicate ... – Verb – Subject.¹⁰ The change of subject and the complementary nature of the predicates (interest and capital) in the two final phrases (rev. I 3–II 7) would receive special stress by this structure: [97]

§ 1 TM.76.G.749

obv. I	1	[60 ma-na babbar:kù (?)] [PN (?)]	[60 mina of silver (?)] [PN (?)]
	3 [?]	<i>I-da-ar</i> <i>In-ti</i>	Ida’ar, Inti,
II	1	<i>Áb-ra-nu</i> BE-ti	Abranu Ba’lti,
	3	<i>ábba-^rábba^ˀ</i> <i>ˀIr^ˀ-ku-tu^{ki}</i>	the elders of Irkutu,
	5	še-KAxḪA-mul	have received
rev. I	1	<i>iti za-lul</i> <i>šu-ba₄-ti</i>	in the ninth month (as) a debt with interest;
	3	<i>wa</i> <i>i[n-n]a-sum</i>	and they will give
	5	<i>l[ú? “ta]g^ˀ”²-sù</i> <i>wa</i>	w[hat] is their [hand] over(?) (that is: their interest); and
	7	<i>sag-sù</i>	Mašgadu
II	1	<i>in</i>	[together with / in (?)]

⁹ This is the meaning of tak₄ at Ebla. See ARET 7.63, where the 13;58 minas of gold in § 7 constitute the tak₄ of Puzur-malik, that is, what this official had to hand over. They represent the amounts of gold “given,” i-na-sum, by this official in the preceding sections. At Ebla, šu-mu-tak₄ means “to hand over” as considered from the side of the one who personally performs the action; see the examples in ARET 7: 235. For the identification of this sign as tak₄ “to leave,” see Krecher 1984: 142–43. Civil 1990, translates šu tak₄ as “to send,” for texts from southern Mesopotamia in general.

¹⁰ On the word order according to the Eblaite syntax, see Fronzaroli 1996: 130–31.

	iti ʾza ⁷ -lul	[GN (?)]
3	1 mu	will receive
	šu-ba ₄ -ti	their capital
5	Maš-ga-ʾdu ^{ki}	in
	[wa(?)]	the ninth month,
7?	[...] ^{ki}	in one year.

Transactions between private individuals were not usually written down at Ebla. The find of this tablet within the palace archive may lead us to suppose that the creditors, looking for a greater guarantee of their loan, asked a palace scribe to draw up a document and conserve it.¹¹ On the other hand, there are factors which indicate that the palace was directly concerned in this economic operation, and that it belongs thus still within the palace sphere of the economy. The loan recorded here could have served to complete the tribute owed by the village to the central administration.

A document which records the tax to which Irkutu was subject provides a direct comparison with the contract published here. TM.75.G.1919 lists on its obverse nine people who pay silver to the administration. Among these are three of the elders found in TM.76.G.749: *En-da-ar* (a different writing for *I-da-ar*), *Ab-ra-an* (a variant of *Āb-ra-nu*) and *BE-ti*. The section given here below in § 2 registers 60 minas of silver as debt of the village of Irku (a shorter writing for Irkutu). This [98] sum could represent the value of the barley which Irkutu had to take as a loan according to TM.76.G.749. The total amount of silver paid by Irkutu is very high, and part of this could have come from palace officials who carried out some form of activity in this village. Uti, for example, is the son of the minister Ibrium, who also had important administrative responsibilities. The usual lack of administrative and chronological data prevents us from determining the total sum of annual tax for this village.

§ 2 TM.75.G.1919 obv. III 8–IV 4: 60 ma-na babbar:kù l[ú (x)] Īr-ku^{ki} še-SAGxĪA-mul AN.ŠĒ.GÚ 5 mi-at 98 ma-na 5 babbar:kù Īr-ku^{ki} ì-na-sum 1 ma-na

¹¹ ARET 7.152, 153 and 155, which are lists of fields and farms owned by the sons of minister Ibrium, are evidence of cases where one had recourse to the palace authority. These documents, like ARET 7.154, which concerns the proprietries of the sons of Gia-lim, were kept in the central archive as guarantee for the owners. There are also cases in which the king was asked to make certain private dispositions by edict, such as the donation of estates by Ibrium in favor of three of his sons, TM.75.G.1444 [= ARET 16.27], see Edzard 1981a. A royal verdict (di-kud) concerning the rights on some estates, judged by Uti and two sons of his brother Irig-damu, is TM.75.G.1452 [ARET 16.28], published by Fronzaroli 1980a. Both Uti and Irig-damu were sons of the minister Ibrium.

4 babbar:kù al₆-sù “60 minas of silver of [(x)] the village of Irku: (its) debt. Total: 598;5 minas of silver Irku has given; 1;4 minas of silver on its charge.”

The preceding entries of this document all involve silver which “has been given,” ì-na-sum, by nine people, among whom is Uti, the son of Ibrium and the brother of Ibbi-zikir, who were both ministers (see also below, no. § 26). According to one of these sections, 1;4 mina is “on his charge” al₆-sù, that is, it has not yet been given by that man, and therefore it remains as a debit for him (the total sum registers this silver separately). Then Irku is debited (še-SAGxĤA-mul) with an amount of 60 minas. These 60 minas, added to the other sums of silver effectively given (with a slight correction), amount to 598;5 minas which, according to the total, “Irku has given.” To close the accounts with Irku, the administration included, together with quantities effectively paid by officials active there, also the 60 minas which are missing and which are still owed by the village.

The term še-SAGxĤA-mul or še-KAxĤA-mul appears in another group of palace documents, a full list of which is provided here.

§ 3 TM.75.G.2560+ obv. I 2–II 1: 1 *ma-i-at* 9 *ri-pap* 3 *li-im* 3 *mi-at* še *gu[-bar]* al₆-g[ál] 7 *ri-pap* 7 *mi-at* še *gú-bar* ì-na-sum še-KAxĤA-mul “193,300 *gubar* of barley present; 70,700 *gubar* of barley given in debt (i.e., as a loan).”

The document opens with these two large quantities of barley. We must bear in mind that a *gubar* was equivalent to 20 níg-sagšu, and the níg-sagšu must have represented a capacity little under a liter. Thus, 3,866,000 liters (accepting, for simplicity’s sake, the equation 1 níg-sagšu = 1 liter) lie in the stores controlled by the Palace,¹² while 1,414,000 liters¹³ “have been given as debts.” The document then goes on to the deliveries of barley and other cere-

¹² More precisely, 3,177,852 liters, if 1 níg-sagšu = 1 sila, and 1 sila = 0.822 liter = 0.493 kg. Calculating 720 níg-sagšu / sila per person per year, this amount could feed 4,414 persons. On the question of rations in general, see Renger 1987: 304–305.

For measures of volume at Ebla, see Milano 1990: 349–50. A less common system equated 1 *gubar* with 24 níg-sagšu. Milano suggests that the an-zam₆ (1/6 of a níg-sagšu) corresponds roughly to a liter, since otherwise the rations for the palace personnel would have been very limited. For example, in Milano 1990: 49, 16 women (dam) receive per month 1/4 of a *gubar*, and another 34 women 1/5 of a *gubar* each, thus respectively 5 and 4 liters a person (accepting for simplicity’s sake the equation 1 *gubar* = 20 liters). If, instead, the an-zam₆ corresponded to roughly one liter (and therefore 1 *gubar* = 120 liters), we would have more acceptable levels, that is to say, 30 or 24 liters per woman each month. What prevents one from accepting Milano’s theory is that, in the system of liquid measures, 1 an-zam₆ is 1/6 of a sila; 30 sila = 1 la-ḫa, see Milano 1990: 352. The jars conserved in the Royal Palace had, on average, a capacity of 30 liters, e.g., those published by Mazzoni 1994: 274–75.

¹³ More exactly, 1,162,308 liters.

als, as well as jars of wine and various kinds of goods given (i-na-sum) to certain officials. This second section [99] could provide an explanation for the “debt” of 70,700 *gubar*, but the fragmentary state of the tablet prevents any certainty in this matter. If this hypothesis that the explanation for the debt is given in the second part of the text holds true, “debt” refers here to goods delivered for the maintenance of dependents of the administration. These goods should be accounted for by the officials who have taken them. Otherwise, “debt” here relates to barley which the Palace has yet to receive.

§ 4 TM.75.G.1475 obv. I 1–II 6: 4 *li-im* 1 *mi-at* 50 še *gú-bar* al₆-gál 4 *li-im* 3 *mi-at* še *gú-bar* i-na-sum še-SAGxĤA-mul ... lú 2 šu *Ti-ra-i* “4,150 *gubar* of barley present; 4,300 *gubar* of barley given (as) a debt, (cattle, oil): in the hand (i.e., authority) of PN.” III 1–IV 5: 5 *li-im* 2 *mi-at* 70 še *gú-bar* al₆-gál 2 *li-im* 5 *mi-at* še *gú-bar* i-na-sum še-SAGxĤA-mul ... lú 2 šu *NE-ti-ra-i* “5,270 *gubar* of barley present; 2,500 *gubar* of barley given (as) a debt, (sheep, cattle): authority of PN.”

The document has two more similar entries, each with barley “present (al₆-gál)” and further barley given in loan (i-na-sum še-SAGxĤA-mul). Four officials, therefore, have at their disposal (al₆-gál) quantities of barley, oil, cattle and sheep, while further amounts of barley is “given” by them, that is to say perhaps left temporarily at the disposition of the centers of production.

§ 5 TM.75.G.10235 rev. VII 1–5: [AN.ŠĖ.GÚ] [1] *li* 6 *mi* 50 *gud* i-na-sum še-SAGxĤA-mul [10+]31 [ma-n]a [15 *gín* babbar:kù] [...]x x’ šu-nigin 1 *mi-at* 23 *ma-na* ša-pi 5 babbar:kù “[Total: 1,]650 cattle given (as) a debt; 41 minas [15 shekels of silver ...]. Great total 123;45 minas of silver.”

The text presents the following structure: *n* babbar:kù *a-dè* *n* *gud* PN i-na-sum “*n* silver corresponding to *n* cattle: PN has given.” Certain people, therefore, deliver cattle, the value of which is calculated in silver. Each head of cattle has, on average, a value equivalent to 3 shekels (23.49 gr.). The totals (this section is, unfortunately, fragmentary) enable us to deduce that the 123;45 minas of silver in the “grand total” represent the value of 1,650 head of cattle (1,650 head of cattle at 3 shekels each = 4,950 shekels = 82;30 minas), which is added to the 41; 15 minas of silver itself that has been delivered. In the preceding passages § 3–§ 4 we have the contrast: al₆-gál – i-na-sum še-SAGxĤA-mul, that is to say, barley received by the administration and barley which is still owed to the administration. So here it would appear that the cattle, valued in terms of silver, was given to the administration to settle a debt. [100]

§ 6 TM.76.G.96 obv. I 1–2: 9 *mi-at* še *gú-bar* e₁₁ lú še-SAGxĤA-mul ... Ša-na-ru₁₂-gú^{ki} “900 *gubar* of barley brought up, (which was) a debt ... GN.”

This would seem to refer to the recovery of a quantity of barley not previously delivered by the village of Šanaragu.

§ 7 ARET 9.87 § 1: 1 *li* 5[+1] *mi-at* 20 *še bar* 2 *mi-at* *še bar* *munu*₄ 80 *lá-2* *še bar* *še-SAGxĤA-mul níg-kaskal* ‘*guruš-guruš*’ “1,620 *gubar* of barley, 200 *gubar* of barley (for) malt, (plus) 78 *gubar* of barley (as) a debt (to complete) the provisions for the journey of the workers.”

The quantity of 78 *gubar* of barley which served to make up the provisions for the workers, are registered as a debt by the administration since they had still to be delivered.

§ 8 TM.75.G.1546 rev. V 1–5: 7 ½ *gú-bar* *sig*₁₅ *še-SAGxĤA-mul* 2 *sig*₁₅ *še-ba Zú-ba-lum* “7;10 *gubar* of einkorn: debt; 2 (*gubar*) of einkorn (for) rations: PN.”

§ 9 TM.76.G.188 (Milano 1987: 181) obv. II 4–III 2: 30 *še-numun* 30 *še-SAGxĤA-mul*¹(AN.AN.AN.AN) *Ur-lum*^{ki} 70 *še-numun* 1 *mi* 26 *še-ʿSAGxĤA-mul*¹ *I-ti*^{d,ʿ} *Ā-da*^{ki} 30 (*gubar*) of barley seed; 30 (*gubar*) (of barley) in debt: GN₁. 70 (*gubar*) of barley seed; 126 (*gubar*) (of barley) in debt: GN₂.”

The text registers barley withheld by villages or assigned to them for sowing. The two villages listed here would appear to have additional debts to the administration.

§ 10 TM.75.G.2079 rev. I 1–4: 40 *še gú-bar zíd-sa* 30 *še gú-bar* *še-SAGxĤA-mul Lu-ra-an*^{ki} “40 *gubar* of flour ... (and) 30 *gubar* of barley in debt: GN.”

§ 11 ARET 7.82 § 3 (preceded by two quantities of barley and silver “from PN,” *áš-da Ru*₁₂-*sa-gi-su*; for two different years): 5 *mi* *še gú-bar mu-ti in* *še-še* *še-SAGxĤA-mul lu Ru*₁₂-*sa-gi-su* “500 *gubar* of barley: receipt relating to the barley owed by PN.”

According to the first and second sections of this document, Rusa-gišu owed the administration 320 *gubar* of barley (equal to 2;40 minas of silver) for one year, and 30 shekels of silver (which corresponds to 60 *gubar* of barley if we apply the same ratio between the two goods) for a second year. The third section, reproduced here, records the repayment of a debt of 500 *gubar*. If this barley represents the total of the debt owed [101] by Rusa-gišu to the administration (which, however, is only a supposition), his debt had been subject to an interest of 24 %.

Rusa-gišu is also mentioned in the following passage:

§ 12 TM.75.G.1634+ obv. I 1–II 5: 50 *la-ḥa i-giš* *še-KAxĤA-mul Sa-ù-lum* 16 *la-ḥa i-giš lú Sa-ù-lum* *še-KAxĤA-mul áš-da Ru*₁₂-*sa-gi-iš* 36 *la-ḥa i-giš* *še-KAxĤA-*

mul 10 la-ḥa ì-giš *ba-ra-u*₉ lú *Ru*₁₂-*sa-gi-iš* 40 la-ḥa ì-giš è nu-mu-ti “50 jars of oil: debt of PN₁. 16 jars of oil which PN₁ (has) in debt from PN₂. (Further) 36 jars of oil in debt; 10 jars of *chosen* oil of PN₂. 40 jars of oil which have left. Not received.”

§ 13 TM.75.G.2183: obv. I 1-rev. I 2: 346 /160 /160 la-ḥa ì-giš še-SAGxḪA-mul 27 / 40 / 50 la-ḥa ì-giš *ti-ba-ù* GN₁ / GN₂ / GN₃.

This is an account of jars of oil, la-ḥa ì-giš. The three sections reproduced here in abbreviated form concern the quantities of oil owed by three villages, as well as further amounts seemingly “added” to the debt, *ti-ba-ù* /*ṭepā’um*/ (Akk. *ṭepû* “to add”).¹⁴

§ 14 TM.75.1661 Obv. I 1–II 2:7 *mi-at* še *gú-bar* sag lú še-SAGxKIR-mul in *Wa-ti-in* wa lul-gu-ak tu-da-sù “700 *gubar* of barley of first quality, which is the debt for PN(?) and reimbursement ...”

§ 15 TM.75.G.1402 (Milano 1980: 2–3) obv. III 10–IV 7: šú+ša gín DILMUN bab-bar:kù lul-gu-ag babbar:kù SAGxḪA-mul *Ig-na-da-mu* UL.KI *áš-ti Ma-rí*^{ki} “20 shekels of silver as reimbursement of the silver (which was) the debt (of the administration in relation to) Igna-damu, the UL.KI, (who came back) from Mari.”

The first section of this document records expenditures by the palace. It seems that the administration reimburses expenses incurred by one of its officials during a journey to Mari. Igna-damu, the UL.KI, was a “lord,” lugal, in the period preceding minister Arrukum.

§ 16 ARET 7.81: šú+ša babbar:kù *A-bù-ma-lik* lú *’À-da-mi-gu* nar še-SAGxḪA-mul iti *i-si* “20 shekels of silver of PN₁ (dependent / son) of PN₂, the musician: debt. Month I.”

§ 17 TM.76.G.155: 2 ma-na babbar:kù *Ba-NE-ù* še-KAxḪA-mul iti *i-si* “2 minas of silver of PN: debt. Month I.”

§ 18 ARET 2.43: 10 gín kù-gi še-SAGxḪA-mul PN₁ iti ... 20 / 10 gín babbar:kù PN₂ / PN₃ še-SAGxḪA-mul iti ... (wool) PN₄ še-SAGxḪA-mul iti ... “n shekels of gold / silver / wool: debt of PN. Month ...” [102]

¹⁴ This interpretation is uncertain, because the Old Akkadian form is *ṭapā’um*, see AHw: 1388a. Notice the writing *dib-ù* in TM.75.G.1959 rev. III 4 (gig), 2079 rev. II 1 (še); TM.76.G.96 rev. II 4 (sig₁₅).

§ 19 TM.75.G.1604 (= MEE 7–7) obv. II 3–rev. 13: 5 ma-na babbar:kù *Iḥ-su-ub-da-mu* 1 dumu-nita še-SAGxḪA-“mul” “5 minas of silver (for) PN, a son of the king, (his) debt.”

The preceding section concerns 5 minas of silver given (i-na-sum) by the king. The reason for which the administration lends silver to Iḥsub-damu is clarified by the following text:

§ 20 TM.75.G.2469 obv. III 1–6: 5 ma-na babbar:kù še-ba é-sù *Iḥ-su-ub-da-mu* še-SAGxḪA-mul iti za-’à-tum “5 minas of silver (for) the rations of his house, to PN (as his) debt. Month III.”

Iḥsub-damu was a “son of the king,” dumu-nita en.

§ 21 TM.75.G.2362 rev. VI 15–VII 3: 4 ma-na babbar:kù níg-sa₁₀ še guruš-guruš-sù wa dam-sù *Za-ba-rúm* še-<SAGx>ḪA-mul “4 minas of silver: value of the barley (for) her (i.e., Dusigu, the king’s mother) workers and women, (to) PN (as his) debt.”

§ 22 ARET 7.131: 10 lá-1 gu-dùl-TÚG *A-zi* še-SAGxḪA-mul é *I-bí-zi-kir* iti MAX-GÁNA-*tenû-sag* “9 garments (to) PN (as his) debt (for) the house of the minister Ibbi-zikir. Month. XI.”

§ 23 ARET 7.134: 3 mi 10 na₄ siki áš-da Šu-ma-^dKu-ra Puzur₄-ra-ma-lik še-SAGxḪA-mul íbXIII-TÚG *A-da*-NE-gú^{ki} iti za-’à-tum “310 measures of wool from PN₁ (and) PN₂ (as their) debt (for making) kilts (for) GN. Month. III.”

§ 24 TM.75.G.1685 obv. I 1–II 4: 2 ma-na šú+ša 7 ½ babbar:kù al₆ dam-gâr *Du-ub*^{ki} ... 1 ma-na babbar:kù libir-rá lú še-SAGxḪA-mul “2;27;3 minas of silver in charge of the merchant of GN ... 1 mina of silver previously (entrusted to him), which (is his) debt.”

§ 25 TM.75.G.1485 obv. VII 3–VIII 4: (objects) AN.ŠË.GÚ 4 ma-na kù-gi lú áš-da Ab²-ma-lik še-<SAGx>ḪA-mul wa ’è’ [si-in(?)] en *Kak-mi-um*^{ki} I-[ti-]^d[Aš-]*dar* šu-mu-“tak₄” “(Objects) Total: 4 minas of gold, which (is) from PN’s debt, and (is) an issue [for] the king of GN; PN has brought.”

§ 26 TM.82.G.266 (Archi 1993b: 8–11) (13)–(14): 8 mi ma-na babbar:kù še-SAGxḪA-mul *Kam₄-lu-lu*^{ki} 8 mi ma-na babbar-kù še-SAGxḪA-mul *Û-ti* “800 minas of silver: debt of GN. 800 minas of silver: debt of PN”

Uti, son of Ibrium, and therefore a brother of the minister Ibbi-zikir, often appears in the documents and, thus, had important [103] administrative re-

sponsibilities which are, however, never specified. Kamlulu was one of the centers near Ebla where palace artisans lived.¹⁵ The high values of the two debts (800 minas are equal to 376 kg of silver) are in line with the other goods recorded: the document is a general summary of goods belonging to the palace.

§ 27a TM.75.G.10019 obv. II 2–7: (garments) [] *I-bí-zi-kir Lu-ma-NI še-SAGxĤA-mul* iti *i-ba₄-sa*; obv. IV 5–7: 4 íb+III-gùn-TÚG *Nu-zú Lu-ma-NI še-SAGxĤA-mul* “garments (for) PN₁ / PN₂; PN₃, as (his) debt. Month X / ...”

§ 27b TM.75.G.10019 obv. V 10–VI 4: 1 ’à-II 1 aktum-TÚG 1 íb+III-TÚG-sa₆-gùn *Du-bí-šum* maškim *Du-bù-ĥu^d’À-da* šu-mu-“tak₄” ba-GABA *Ib-la^{ki} in A-šu^{ki} A-bu* še-SAGxĤA-mul iti sag-GĀN*Atenû*-sag “1 + 1 + 1 garments PN₁, the agent of PN₂, has brought ... of Ebla in GN (for) PN: to (his) debt. Month XI.”

{27c} TM.75.G.10019 obv. VI 5–13: [garments] *NI-a-bù-du^{ki} wa Zi-bù-uš-gu Ma-nu-wa-at^{ki} Lu-ma-NI* še-SAGxĤA-mul iti *za-lul* “[garments] (for) GN₁ and PN₁ of GN₂ (and) PN₃: as (their) debt. Month IX.”

§ 28 TM.75.G.10195 obv. V 9–VI 5: (erased) šú+ša babbar:kù níg-sa₁₀-sù ì-na-sum 1 gud 10 babbar:kù níg-sa₁₀-sù 1 IGI.NITA 10 babbar:kù níg-sa₁₀-sù 1 gud še-<SAGx>ĤA-mul ‘1’ BAR.AN še-SAGxĤA-mul IGI.NITA še-SAGxĤA-mul TIL “20 shekels its value, (that is of) 1 ox of 10 shekels (and of) 1 donkey (of) 10 shekels. 1 ox, 1 mule, 1 donkey: (his) debt.”

§ 29 TM.75.G.10077 rev. XV 12–16:] babbar:kù [] *A-su^{ki} ’À-bí lú^d’A₅-da-“bal”* še-SAGxĤA-mul “[x] of silver [PN₁] of GN and PN₂ of DN (as) debt.”

The relatively small dossier from Ebla demonstrates that in the large majority of cases še-SAGxĤA-mul indicates merely “something that is owed,” or “debt.” It is difficult to imagine that a son of the king (nos. § 19, § 20), the mother of the king (no. § 21), a minister (no. § 22), or an official with important responsibilities (no. § 26) were in such a condition as to have to ask for a loan with interest from the administration. When goods owed to the administration remained temporarily at the disposition of those who had to deliver them, the term še-SAGxĤA-mul was used. When they were accounted for on a later occasion, the formula used was *al₆* “on account of.” [104]

¹⁵ See ARES 2: 326.

Only in some documents, such as § 1 and § 2, še-SAGxĤA-mul / *hubullum* undoubtedly means “debt with interest.” In § 11 we possibly have an indication of the rate of interest applied at Ebla, at 24 percent, although this is far from certain. The Ebla archives therefore reflect a somewhat archaic stage in economic development where the majority of goods were controlled by the central administration. When, in the Old Akkadian period, private property took on greater relevance, there is then also the development of the use of loans with interest with, on the one hand, its heavy (in antiquity often unbearable) impositions and, on the other hand, contributing to the creation of more dynamic economic models.¹⁶

16 On the Old Akkadian loan documents (which usually also do not specify the rate of interest), see Steinkeller 1981a: 141–43. For some considerations on the dramatic consequences of the high interest rates in antiquity, see Hudson 1996: 46–49.

16 Rank at the Court of Ebla

ricordando Jeremy
che sapeva essere collega e amico

The administrative texts of the ancient Near East present a picture of the state organisation as a complex system of functions entrusted to numerous officials, over whom the king exercised his control. Whilst occasionally the hierarchical position occupied by such officials within the administration is known, only rarely do we learn of their rank at court.

The position of an official within the administration may generally be inferred by the quality and quantity of gifts he receives. At Ebla, the main occasions on which gifts were distributed were victory in war for the men, marriage for the women and death for both (Archi 2002b*). These were special occasions relating to single individuals and, sometimes, members of their families. There is, however, one extraordinary case which involved the entire court: the marriage between a princess and the son of the king of Kiš, that is, the son of the most prestigious man of the time.

Ebla defeated Mari about three years before suffering defeat itself and being entirely destroyed by an unknown enemy. In all probability this was Mari which thus gained its revenge. Whilst preparing its campaign, Ebla sought to form alliances with the two most powerful states neighbouring Mari, that is to say Nagar, which controlled the Ḥabur triangle, and Kiš (Archi and Biga 2003). Immediately afterwards, Ebla reinforced these alliances through inter-dynastic marriages. Princess Tagriš-damu married Ultum-ḥuḥu, the crown prince of Nagar (Biga 1998a), whilst Kešdūt married the son of the king of Kiš. This latter princess was the only one of the ‘daughters of the king’, *dumu-munus en*, who is also defined as ‘daughter of the queen’, *Kéš-du-ut dumu-munus ma-lik-tum* (TM.75.G.2426 obv. xi 11–13).

Roughly a year or two separated these two events. The document recording gifts to the minister Ibbi-zikir for having led the victorious expedition against Mari mentions “the son of the king of Nagar” and Nizi, an official who accompanied him, amongst those rewarded on the same occasion (TM.75.G.2426 rev. ii 5–13). Both were clearly in Ebla for the negotiations regarding the marriage of princess Tagriš-damu. Kešdūt was still at court, since she is mentioned in

Pp. 1–9 in *Your Praise is Sweet. A Memorial Volume for Jeremy Black from Students, Colleagues and Friends*, eds. Heather D. Baker, Eleanor Robson, and Gábor Zólyomi. London: British Institute for the Study of Iraq. 2010.

this text as the ‘daughter of the queen’. The death of Magaradu, one of the ‘women of the king’, is recorded in rev. vi 13–16: *Ma-ga-ra-du dam en si-in* Ê×PAP. TM.75.G.2327 + 4203; the document relating to the distribution of garments on the occasion of Kešdūt’s marriage, no longer mentions Magaradu.¹

This last document belongs to the numerous series of monthly accounts recording the distribution of garments (the name of the month is missing). This text probably supplemented that recording ordinary deliveries, as all of the items registered relate to the marriage of Kešdūt.

The usual delivery for the kings of friendly states and certain other notable persons was a set of clothes including a double mantle, a tunic and a multi-coloured kilt, *’â-da-um-TÚG-II aktum-TÚG íb-III-TÚG-gùn*. All of the males mentioned in Kešdūt’s document receive these garments. The most valuable piece of female clothing was a sort of cape, *zara₆-TÚG*.² Here, it is given to the women of the current minister, those of the sons of the previous minister and of the king’s sons (section 9), and the adult female dancers (sections 25–26). The women and daughters of the previous minister, the daughters of the minister and those of the king instead receive a tunic, two kilts and [2] a bracelet (section 8). The women of the king, including the queen, receive only a tunic (section 19). The sixteen sets of clothing given to the queen by the minister (section 15) served to increase the amount she had at her disposal for personal gifts.

1 TM.75.G.2327 + 4203

1. obv. i x+1–4':
[garments (?) *Ké]š-du-ut [i]n ud 'níg'-[m]u-sá bur-kak*
2. i 5'–ii 1:
1 *’â-da-um-TÚG-II 1 aktum-TÚG 1 íb-III-TÚG-sa₆-gùn*
[Îr-’â-ak-da-mu (?)]
3. ii 2²–12²
[9² ’â-da-um-TÚG-II 9² aktum-TÚG 9² íb-III-TÚG-sa₆-gùn Ik-su-ub-da-mu
Zé-da-mu Ga-du-um Zi-ib-da-mu Sag-da-mu Ib-te-damu Íl-zi-da-mu
Îr-kab-rí-zú Ne-ḥar-da-mu dumu-nita en] [(...)] x+1–5': [l]ú [x-z]i(-)[x]-KU [x
n]idba in ud níg-mu-sá bur-kak

¹ Magaradu no longer appears in the lists of the *dam en* in ARET 3.525 § 7 and 542 §§ 23–25, and ARET 9.37–44. These documents belong to the last three years of Ebla.

² For a preliminary study concerning the garments, see Archi 1999a* [311–320].

4. ii 6'–10':
 4 'à-da-um-TÚG-II 4 aktum-TÚG 4 íb-III-TÚG-sal *I-bí-zi-kir Du-bù-ḥu-d'À-da Û-ti En-na-da-mu*
5. iii 1–7:
 4 'à-da-um-TÚG-II 4 aktum-TÚG 4 íb-III-TÚG-sa₆-gùn *A-mur-da-mu Ig-na-da-ar I-rí-gú Ib-'à-ir-d'À-da dumu-nita-d[umu-nita I-b]i-[zi]-kir*
6. iii 8–iv 6:
 [19 'à-da-um-TÚG-II 19 aktum-TÚG 19 íb-III-TÚG-sa₆-gùn *Nap]-ḥa-[ì Ir]-ti [G]i-rí A-ba-ga Ba-du-LUM In-ma-lik Ru₁₂-zi-lum I-rí-ig-da-mu I-ti-d'A₅-da-“bal”(KUL) Si-mi-i-lum dumu-nita-dumu-nita Ib-rí-um Bu-ma-ì Ru₁₂-zi-ma-lik En-na-ni-il Zi-mi-da-mu I-ru₁₂-ub-da-mu [Du-bí-a]b Du-na-ù In-ma-lik A-mu-ti šeš-šeš Ib-rí-um*
7. iv 7–17:
 [3 'à-da-um-TÚG-II 3 aktum]-TÚG [3 íb-III-TÚG-[s]a₆-gùn *Iš-maḥ-da-mu A-zú-g[ú-ra] 'A'-z[ú-g]ú-ra-II [ábba]-ábba [Da]-ra-um^{ki} [20[?]] ak]tum-TÚG [20[?]] sal-TÚG [...] 'x'
 [10+]₁₀ [gú-li-lum] a-gar₅-gar₅ [kù-gi 10-I] ábba-á[bba] *Da-ra-um^{ki}**
8. iv 16–v 29:
 20 aktum-TÚG 20 sal-TÚG 40 íb-III-TÚG-gùn 20 *gú-li-lum a-gar₅-gar₅ kù-gi 10-I [PN₁ PN₂ PN₃] [Ḥa-sum Ḥa-lu-du Na-mu-ra-du Ar-ra]-“NE” dam-dam Ib-rí-um / Za-a-šè Bù-babbar:kù 2 dumu-munus I-bí-zi-kir / 'Da'-kùn-da-mu Ḥa-lu-ut 2 dam I-bí-zi-kir / Ti-iš-te-da-mu dumu-munus en / Ti-a-bar-zú Maš-za-du Da-ḥir-ma-lik Dar-am₆-ma-lik Da-na-šar Tal-du-ut [Du]-zi-[i]š-lu [A-n]u-ut dumu-munus-dumu-munus Ib-rí-um*
9. v 30–vi 19:
 20 zara₆-TÚG *Da-mur-za-mi-ù Bir₅-'à-du 2 dam [I-bí-zi]-kir [wa dam-d]am [x-(x-)m]u NP₄ NP₅ NP₆] En-âr-Ar-mi^{ki} Û-ti Ir-ti A-ba-ga Gi-rí Ba-du-LUM In-ma-lik I-rí-ig-da-mu Ru₁₂-zi-lum I-ti-d'A₅-da-“bal” Maḥ-ra-da-mu Šu-ra-da-mu Ḥa-ba Ir-NE*
10. vi 20–vii 11:
 wa 1 gu-dùl-TÚG-sa₆ 13 'à-da-um-TÚG-II 14 aktum-TÚG 1 íb+III-TÚG-sal 13 íb+III-TÚG-sa₆-gùn *A-bu Bù-ma-ù Íl-zi-BAD Na-mi Du-bí-ti In-gàr Zú-du U₉-ma-ì 'à-za-LUM 'A'-[b]ù-gú-[r]a En-na-gàr-du Wa-si-du Ír-a Puzur₄-ra-ì*
11. vii 12–13:
 1 'à-da-um-TÚG-I 1-aktum-TÚG 1 íb+III-TÚG-gùn *Na-wa-ru₁₂*
12. vii 14–viii 2:
 7 aktum-TÚG 7 íb+III-TÚG-gùn *Iš-la-BAD Ḥa-NE Lu-ma-ì Áš-da-ì A-bù-dKu-ra Ar-šè-a-ḥu Ḥa-NE-II lú é [I-b]i-[z]i-kir in ud níg-mu-sá bur-kak [Ké]š-du-ut*
13. viii 3–13:
 3 'à-da-um-TÚG-II 3 aktum-TÚG 3 íb+III-TÚG-sa₆-gùn 'À-da-ša lú *Du-bí-zi-kir 'À-da-ša lú Ib-dur-i-šar 'À-da-ša lú A-ti šeš-II-ib in ud níg-mu-sá bur-kak*

14. viii 14–16:
5 'à-da-um-TÚG-II 5 aktum-TÚG 5 íb+III-TÚG-sa₆-gùn lú-kar *Ma-rí*^{ki}
15. viii 17–ix 5:
16 'à-da-um-TÚG-II 17 dūl-TÚG *Ib-la*^{ki} 32 aktum-TÚG 9 íb+III-TÚG-sag lú mu-DU *I-bí-zi-kir ma-lik-tum* šu-ba₄-ti [3]
16. ix 6–21:
1 dūl-TÚG *Ib-la*^{ki} 1 aktum-TÚG 1 íb+III-TÚG-sa₆-gùn wa 2 *gú-li-lum* GIŠ-PA gìn:za kù-gi lú níg-ba en lú *I-bí-zi-kir* ì-na-sum in ud níg-mu-sá bur-kak *Kéš-du-ut* en Kiš^{ki} *En-na-ni-il* lú *Ša-ù-um* šu-mu-tag₄
17. ix 22–x 3:
1 'à-da-um-TÚG-I *A-mu-ru*₁₂-um dumu-nita <en> *Ma-rí*^{ki}
18. x 4–6:
1 'à-da-um-TÚG-II 1 íb+III-TÚG-sa-gùn *Ig-bù-ul-ma-lik* ne-di
19. x 7–xi 19:
27 aktum-TÚG *ma-lik-tum A-ma-ga Ra-ù-tum Téš-má-da-mu En-na* ^dUtu *Dar-ib-da-mu Ti-iš-te-da-mu I-šar-tum Da-ba-a-du Rí-ì-du I-du-NI-na Si-na-ni-ma-du / Da-dub wa En-na* ^dUtu šeš:pa₄-munus ^dKu-ra A-NI-a-ù-du *Da-dub A-ru*₁₂-ga-du^{ki} / *Ma-za-a-du Téš-má-zi-kir 'À-za-an*^{ki} / *Tal-du-du Aḥ-du-ut Lu-ub*^{ki} / *Bù-babbar:kù [Kì]r-su-ut 'Γ-bù-[d]u A-da-bí-ig*^{ki} / *Maš-gú-ut Nu-ru*₁₂-ut *Mi-kùn* ^dKu-ra *Ma-ra'*(URU)^{ki} / *Na-dab*₆-du *Da-na-NE*^{ki} / dam-dam en
20. xi 20–21:
1 'à-da-um-TÚG-II 1 aktum-TÚG 1 íb+III-TÚG-sa₆-gùn *Ìr-am*₆-ma-[lik]
21. v. i. 1–5:
1 aktum-TÚG 1 íb+III-TÚG-gùn *Ab-rí-a-ḥu Du-ub*^{ki} GIŠ-dug-DU *za-ma-da-rí*
22. i 6–ii 3:
11 'à-da-um-TÚG-II 11 aktum-TÚG 11 íb+III-TÚG-sa₆-gùn (1 case uninscribed) *Na-an-ḥa*^ḥ-[l]u *Gú-ba-LUM ḥl-e-ī-šar I-bí-zi-kir Puzur*₄-ra-ma-lik *Su-na-im 'À-da-ša Ru*₁₂-zi-ma-lik lú *Ra-i-zu 'À-da-ša Zi-ni A-bù-ma-lik* (written over erasure) šeš:pa₄ en
23. ii 4–10:
1 'à-da-um-TÚG-II 1 aktum-TÚG 1 íb+III-TÚG-gùn (1 case uninscribed) 1 sal-TÚG 1 íb+III-TÚG-gùn *ma-za-lum-sù I-bu*₁₁-bu^{ki} GIŠ-dug-DU *za-ma-da-rí sa-am*
24. ii 11–15:
1 'à-da-um-TÚG-II 1 aktum-TÚG 1 íb+III-TÚG-gùn 1 *gú-li-lum* a-gar₅-gar₅ kù-gi-I *Ni-gúm* GIŠ-dug-DU ^dBAD *Du-du-lu*^{ki}
25. ii 16–iii 9:
2 zara₆-TÚG *Ru*₁₂-zu-mu *Ra-ba*_x-tum ne-di *A-da-bí-ig*^{ki} 2 *gu-dūl-TÚG* 2 sal-TÚG 2 íb+III-TÚG-gùn ba-za^{1?}(A) *Ni-gúm Ra-NI-zu wa* 3 aktum-TÚG 3 íb+III-TÚG-gùn 3 dumu-nita-sù ne-di *A-da-bí-ig*^{ki}

26. iii 10–21:
5 zara₆-TÚG 5 gíd-TÚG *En-nu-ut Da-li-tum NI-la A-lu-ḫa-gu* ne-di dam-dam
I-bí-zi-kir wa Bù-ḫu-lu dam *Ri-ì-ma-lik*
27. iii 22–iv 2:
wa 7 sal-TÚG 7 dumu-munus tur ne-di *Bù-zu-ga*^{ki}
28. iv 3–7:
5 aktum-TÚG 5 dumu-munus maḫ 9 sal-TÚG 9 dumu-munus tur ne-di
Da-na-NE^{ki}
29. iv 8–10:
4 aktum TÚG 4 sal-TÚG ne-di *Ši-sal*^{ki}
30. iv 11–12:
1 aktum-TÚG 1 íb+III-TÚG-sal A[N[?]-x-x]
31. iv 13–v 6:
1 túg-gùṇ *Ar-mi*^{ki} lú é-ti-TÚG *Ni-zi “ur₄” Na-gàr*^{ki} *ma-lik-tum* ì-na-sum 1
’à-da-um-TÚG-II 1 aktum-TÚG 1 íb+III-TÚG-sa₆-gùṇ *Ni-zi “ur₄” Na-gàr*^{ki}
ù-lum ma-lik-tum ì-na-sum
32. v 7–13:
2 *’à-da-um*-TÚG-II 4 aktum-TÚG 4 íb+III-TÚG-sa₆-gùṇ *Û-ga-ra-nu* engar
kinda *A-bù-zu Si-ma-a A-šu*^{ki} nídba ì-giš

1.1 List of the consignees³

1. Kešdūt, daughter of the king and the queen, the bride.
2. [Ir’aq-damu, the crown prince.] [4]
3. Nine sons of the king.
4. The minister Ibbi-zikir; his son Tubuḫu-Hadda (// B viii 6’), designated as his successor; Uti, brother of Ibbi-zikir; Enna-damu, son of Ibbi-zikir (// B ix 3–4).
5. Four sons of the minister Ibbi-zikir (// B ix 10–13).
6. Ten sons of the former minister Ibrium, father of Ibbi-zikir; nine brothers of Ibrium (// B ix 1’–x 4).
7. Three elders of the town of Daraum (// B x 9–13); twenty (women of) the elders of Daraum.
8. Twenty women: [three women;] four women of Ibrium (// B x 5’–9’); 2 daughters of Ibbi-zikir; two women of Ibbi-zikir; one daughter of the king; eight daughters of Ibrium (// B x 10’–x).

³ B is TM.75.G.2426, the document concerning the gifts distributed on the occasion of Ibbi-zikir’s victory over Mari. The column number refers to the reverse.

9. Twenty women: two women of Ibbi-zikir; the women of [five] unknown people (the sons of Ibbi-zikir?); the women of nine sons of Ibrium; the women of four sons of the king (// B xi 20–38).
10. Fourteen agents of Ibbi-zikir.
11. A certain Nawaru.
12. Seven people of the house of Ibbi-zikir.
13. Three members of a religious confraternity, šeš-II-ib.
14. Five traders of the city of Mari.
15. The queen (gifts from the minister Ibbi-zikir).
16. The king (gifts from the minister Ibbi-zikir).
17. A son of (the king) of the city of Mari.
18. A dancer.
19. Twenty-seven women of the king.
20. A certain Iram-malik.
21. A man from the town of Tuba.
22. Eleven valets of the king.
23. An unnamed man from the town of Ibubu and his messenger.
24. A man who arrived for the god Dagan (“the Lord”) of Tuttul.
25. Seven dancers of the town of Adabig.
26. Five female dancers, of whom four are those of the women of Ibbi-zikir.
27. Seven female dancers of the town of Buzuga.
28. Fourteen female dancers of the town of DanaNE.
29. Four (female) dancers of the town of Šisal
30. [...].
31. Nizi, an official of the city of Nagar (gifts from the queen) (// B ii 5–13).
32. Three people who brought the oil for the marriage ceremony.

2 Commentary

Section 1, almost entirely destroyed, recorded the garments given to Kešdūt as dowry, “on the occasion of the marriage ceremony (of) the bur-kak cup”.⁴

⁴ On the vessel bur-kak(/NI) see Archi 1986b: 200; Waetzoldt MEE 12: 404–406. The animals given as dowry are listed in TM.75.G.2283: 3290 bovines, 1680 sheep, 159 mules, 1 ass, 5 pigs, 19 bisons, 14 bears (Archi 1987a: 122).

The first among the other consignees was very probably the heir to the throne, Ir'aq-damu (*section 2*: the name is not preserved). There then follow the other sons of the king. *Section 3* has enough space for the names of all the nine dumu-nita en known for this late period, which are therefore restored.⁵ A short gap precedes the notation: “offering on the occasion of the marriage ceremony (of) the bur-kak cup”.

The criterion applied thus far is that of blood ties with the princess, taking into account, however, only the male line. After these members of the royal family, we have those of the former minister Ibrium, who had served the king Išar-damu in this role for the first eighteen years of his reign. On the death of Ibrium the position of minister passed to his son, Ibbi-zikir. *Section 4* has the minister Ibbi-zikir, together with his son Tubuḫu-Hadda, who often appears in the administrative documents in the last years of the archives. This means that he was destined to succeed his father to the post of minister. There follows Uti, a son of Ibrium and thus brother of Ibbi-zikir, then Enna-damu, [5] a son of Ibbi-zikir. Uti appears in this section along with the minister, and not in that relating to the sons of Ibrium (*section 6*), because he performed some functions in the administration.⁶

Section 5 has a further four sons of the minister Ibbi-zikir. These receive the same garments (the only difference being that the kilts are multi-coloured, while those of the preceding section are ‘fine’, sal). They appear in a separate section because, if they had roles and tasks in the administration, they were inferior to those of the two brothers, Tubuḫu-Hadda and Enna-damu. The name *Ib-’ā-ir-d’Ā-da* is written *Ib-’ā-d’Ā-da* in TM.75.G.2426 rev. ix 13, and *Ib-ar/ḫar-d’Ā-da* in TM.75.G.1397 obv. v 5 and TM.75.G.10229 obv. viii 8 respectively. These four sons of Ibbi-zikir are listed also in TM.75.G.2426 rev. ix 10–13.

Another ten sons of Ibrium and nine of his brothers follow in *section 6* (the parallel section in TM.75.G.2426 rev. ix 1’–x 4 is fragmentary).

The list of male relatives of Ibrium and Ibbi-zikir concludes with the elders, ábba, of Dara’um, a location often associated with the family of these ministers from which, therefore, their family probably originally came.⁷ Tamur-Hadda,

5 For the identification of the members of the royal family and those of the family of the two ministers Ibrium and Ibbi-zikir, see Archi 1988b.

6 Uti was a son of Ibrium: see the list ARET 1.3 § 50” and TM.75.G.2465 rev. xviii 1–11: *Ib-rí-um ... I-bí-zi-kir wa Ū-ti 2 dumu-nita-sū*. He appears beside Ibbi-zikir in several texts: see the passages listed in ARES 1: 234–235, and add TM.75.G.1918 rev. iv 13–18; TM.75.G.2426 rev. xii 23–26; TM.75.G.2622 rev. xiv 22–25.

7 On this town, see ARES 2: 191–93.

one of the women, dam, of Ibbi-zikir lived there (see MEE 2.28), and was also buried there (ARET 8.532 xii 21–xiii 3: *Da₅-mur^d-Ā-da dam I-bī-zi-kir [Da-ra]-um^{ki} si-in É×PAP*). The three elders mentioned in section 7 also recur in TM.75.G.2426 rev. x 9–13. The other garments and the '20' bracelets, *gú-li-lum*, in copper and [gold] '(for) the elders of Dara'um' must have been intended for their wives, although the term dam-dam 'women' does not appear in this passage.⁸

Section 8 includes both the daughters, *dumu-munus*, and the women of Ibrium and those of his son Ibbi-zikir. The number of garments and bracelets, *gú-li-lum* (each containing 10 shekels of copper and gold), suggests that there must have been twenty consignees. It is not possible, however, to determine the identities of the first three women. There follow four women of Ibrium (their names are restored according to TM.75.G.2426 rev. x 5'–9'); two daughters and two women of Ibbi-zikir; a daughter of the king and eight daughters of Ibrium (TM.75.G.2426 rev. x 10'–x). It is possible that Tište-damu, the daughter of the king, *dumu-munus en*, appears in this section as the wife of one of Ibbi-zikir's sons. She married in the ninth year of minister Ibbi-zikir (TM.75.G.2073 rev. vii 15–17 and ARET 1.3 § 55), but the name of her husband is not given. The name *Da-na-šar* is written *Da-na-lugal* in ARET 1.3 rev. vi 12.⁹

Section 9 adds a further twenty women. The first two are women of the minister Ibbi-zikir; their names would seem to appear in only one other, parallel passage TM.75.G.2426 rev. xi 20–38: *Da-mur^r-za^r-[mi-ù] Bi[r₅-ā-du] 2 'dam^r I-bī-zi-kir wa dam-dam Ū-ti* etc. The two damaged passages can be used to restore each other. The two women of Ibbi-zikir are followed by eighteen women who are mentioned only by the names of their spouses. Of the first five names (not included in the parallel passage) only the last has been preserved: *En-ār-Ar-mi^{ki}*, a figure who cannot be identified. There is then a list of nine sons of Ibrium, beginning with Uti and concluding with Iti-Hadabal. The last four names are those of sons of the king.

The people mentioned in section 10 cannot be identified. *Îl-zi-BAD* and *Na-mi* appear together in TM.75.G.1944 obv. ix 9–14 and TM.75.G.2339 obv. v 2–5 as agents or representatives, *maškim*, of the minister Ibbi-zikir. *Bù-ma-ù* and *Na-mi* are quoted in TM.75.G.2276 rev. iii 2–4 and TM.75.G.2250 rev. ix 27'–9', a document written whilst preparations were being made for the marriage of Keš-

⁸ On the occasion of the marriage of Za'aše, the daughter of Ibbi-zikir, to the crown prince Ir'aq-damu, the 'women in Dara'um', dam-dam in *Da-ra-um^{ki}*, probably the women of the elders, received 31 + 21 and 20 + 20 garments, according to ARET 7.117 and 132 respectively.

⁹ According to the Ebla documents, *mal(i)kum* 'king' is written with the logogram *en*, while the logogram for *šarrum* 'lord' is *lugal* (Archi 1987e* [123–125]).

dut (two young girls of the city of Mari were in her service, [6] obv. v 10–13: 2 dumu-munus *Ma-ri^{ki} šeš:pa₄ Kēš-du-ut*). Nawaru is unknown, *section 11*. According to *section 12*, seven individuals ‘of the house of Ibbi-zikir’ receive 7 tunics and 7 kilts ‘on the occasion of the marriage of Kešdut’. It is, therefore, likely that also those people mentioned in the previous two sections were employed by the minister.

Section 13 mentions three šeš-II-ib, that is to say, members of a religious confraternity particularly devoted to the cult of the god Hadabal. Since these are homonyms, they are identified through the names of their fathers. Two of these, ‘Ā-da-ša(son) of A-ti and ‘Ā-da-ša(son) of Du-bi-zi-kir, also appear together in TM.75.G.2372.¹⁰

Section 14 registers 5 sets of garments for the traders, lú-kar, of the city of Mari.

The minister Ibbi-zikir in person delivers to the queen 16 + 17 + 32 + 9 garments, *section 15*. He also provides the king with a set of garments and 2 bracelets of lapis lazuli and gold brought, šu-mu-tag₄, by a certain Ennani-il, (the son) of Ša’um, *section 16*.

A son of the king of the city of Mari, Amurum, receives only a mantle, *section 17*. Igbul-malik, one of the court dancers, ne-di, most frequently mentioned, receives a mantle as well as a kilt, *section 18*.¹¹

The list of the 27 women of the king, dam-dam en, opened by the queen, ma-lik-tum, in *section 19*, is parallel to those of ARET 8.525 § 7 and 542 §§ 23–24, which belong to the latest period of the archive.¹² In all the latest lists, the servants, pa₄-šeš, of Kura, the god of the city of Ebla, were also Dadub and Enna-^dUtu. The second part of the list concerns the women of the king in the secondary residences. In the town of **Arugadu**: A-NI-a-ù-du and Da-dub; in the town of ‘**Azan**: Ma-za-a-du and Tēš-mā-zi-kir (see also the lists M4, M5, M8, M9, M10). In the town of **Lub**: Tal-du-du and Aḥ-du-ut (lists M4, M5 and M9 have Tal-du-ut and Ḥi-su-ut). In the town of **Adabig**: Bù-kù-babbar, Kir-su-ut and I-bù-du (Ibudu appears only in this list; Kirsut and Bu-kubabbar were in Adabig also according to the lists M4 and M5; Bu-kubabbar used to reside also

¹⁰ On the šeš-II-ib, see Archi 2002d. The passage from TM.75.G.2372 is quoted on p. 52.

¹¹ For the passages concerning Igbul-malik, see Catagnoli 1989: 196; Archi 1992b: 192. He also opens the list of the ne-di with a separate entry in ARET 1.1 § 39 and ARET 4.1 § 18.

¹² The last lists of the ‘women of the king’ are ordered chronologically by Tonietti 1989: 106–110, whose ordering with ‘M’ is followed here. Amaga should be the priestess, dam-dingir, of the god Hadabal of the town of Luban; she was in fact a daughter (!) of the king, see Archi 1998c*: 49–50 [706–707]. Kešdut, in list M9, could be the daughter of the king who married the son of the king of Kiš. These two daughters seem to have been included in these lists among the ‘women of the king’, dam-dam en, as a sign of distinction.

in Arugadu, see the lists M8 and M9). In the town of **Mara** (the anomalous writing *Ma-ri*^{ki}, which usually refers to the city on the Euphrates, shows that *Ma-DU*^{ki} has to be read *Ma-rá*^{ki}): *Máš-gú-ut*, *Nu-ru₁₂-ut* and *Mi-kùn*-^d*Ku-ra* (list M9 has Mašgudu, Mikun-Kura and Kirsut, who usually lived in the town of Adabig). In the town of **DanaNE**: *Na-dab₆-du* (who used to reside also in the town of Mabardu).¹³

It is not possible to identify Iram-malik in *section 20*. A person from the town of Dub (Tuba) also had this quite common name (ARES 2: 217). A tunic and a kilt is given to Abri-aḥu, an important official of the town of Dub, *section 21*. He had his own agent, maškim (ARET 1.10 § 49, ARET 4.9 §§ 22–23), and a messenger, *ma-za-lum* (ARET 8.525 § 5).¹⁴ Abri-aḥu arrived, GIŠ-dug-DU, at Ebla for *za-ma-da-ri*. An unknown persona from the city of Ibubu also arrived at Ebla together with his own agent for the same reason: *za-ma-da-ri sa-am*, *section 23*. This seems to be the same term attested also in Neo-Assyrian, meaning an oleaginous aromatic plant.¹⁵

The list of the 11 valets of the king, *pa₄-šeš en*, of *section 22* is very similar to those in ARET 1.5 § 52, ARET 4.1 § 1, 14 § 28 and TM.75.G.2270 (Archi 1996a: 62–63). [7]

A certain Nigum¹⁶ received a set of garments and a bracelet in copper and gold, when he arrived for something related to the god Dagan of Tuttul, ^dBAD *Du-du-lu*^{ki}, *section 24*.

Section 25 lists Ruzu-mu and Rabatum, together with their three male children and two dwarfs (?), all dancers in the royal residence of the town of Adabig.¹⁷ The term BA.A is obscure. Some dwarfs, *ba-za*, appear sometimes together with the *ne-di*, but the qualification *ba-za* should follow the personal names (Catagnoti 1989: 167–68). *Section 26* has 5 more women, 4 of whom were dancers of the women of the minister Ibbi-zikir. *Sections 27–29* list: a) 7 young girls, dancers of the royal residence in the town of Buzuga; b) 5 adult women and

¹³ For Nadabdu, see also ARES 1: 254.

¹⁴ The term *ma-za-LUM* has been interpreted as /maššār-um/ ‘guard, watchman’. The variant *ma-za-um* in two old documents suggests instead the interpretation /mazzāl-um/ ‘messenger’, from *mzl ‘to run’, see Archi 1998d*: 390–91 [295].

¹⁵ AHw: 1016b: *samādiru* (where this term is derived from Aramaic). For *sa-am*, cf. ARET 15.4 obv. xi 6–9: (1 garment) PN kin-ag *ša-mu*. This is an archaic text (minister Arrukum), which could explain the use of the sign ŠA.

¹⁶ Note the following writings: NE-LUM, ARET 2.110, ARET 3.293; NI-gú-um: TM.75.G.10272 obv. vi 4, cf. Archi 1992b: 193.

¹⁷ TM.75.G.10191 preserves the name of two of these boys who were *ne-di* in the town of Adabig: *l-lum-ba-šu* and *I-bù-du*: see Archi 1992b: 192.

9 young girls, dancers of the residence in the town of DanaNE; c) 4 dancers of the residence in the town of Sisal.

Section 30 does not preserve the name of the consignee. Nizi (section 31) was the official of the town of Nagar who negotiated the marriage of princess Tagriš-damu with the son of the king of the city of Nagar. The queen provided him with two gifts of garments (*ù-lum* /ullu/ ‘later’).

The people of section 32 seem to have provided the oil for the unction of the bride, *nídba ì-giš*.

3 Rank and Functions

The marriage of princess Kešdut was an extraordinarily important event. The gifts distributed by the administration on this occasion were a means of involving the highest ranking individuals. Rank derived from the nature of the relationship which the individual enjoyed with the king and queen.

The list of recipients shows that they came from only two families: that of the king and that of the minister, or were in some way connected with these. There is no differentiation between the goods, except insofar as convention foresaw that the garments for women were different to those destined for the men. Far from indicating any hierarchical order, here they have an egalitarian worth.¹⁸ The consignees are gathered into groups, the order of which reflects their respective ranks. It is merely by chance that the ‘women of the king’, including the queen, appear only in section 19. Above all else, it is blood relationship with the king himself that counts: first is the crown prince; the other nine sons of the king are separated from him and conclude the male line of the king. We then have the minister. His responsibilities put him in second place, immediately after the king, and it is for this reason that he is third in terms of rank. Together with him are his two sons and a brother, given the positions they held within the administration as relatives of the minister. As with the king’s family, the mere fact of belonging to the minister’s family endowed an individual with rank, even if he held no position within the administration. Therefore, we then have numerous men and women, divided into homogeneous groups, who can boast of being related to the minister (sections 8–9). The minister’s position of privilege was such that even the local authorities

¹⁸ The brothers of the king received a double mantle, a tunic and a multi-coloured kilt, exactly the same garments given to the valets of the king. Women got a special mantle, *zara₆-TÚG*, while the younger ones, and the ‘women of the king,’ received a tunic.

of his place of origin were accorded consideration (section 7), as well as his agents and servants (sections 10–12).

It is possible that Ibbi-zikir himself devised the means by which Kešdūt's marriage was arranged, and was consequently rewarded for his labours. It is notable that other families are entirely excluded. The presence of the dancers, *ne-di* (a category in the service of both the royal family and the minister's own, sections 18, 25–28) may be explained by the fact that the females were in the service of the 'women of the king' and thus Kešdūt was on familiar terms with them.¹⁹ Among the other people receiving garments, some could have been invited for the occasion, such [8] as the prince and the traders of Mari, or Nizi as representative of the royal house of Nagar; other perhaps played a role in the ceremony (sections 21, 23, 24, 32).

It is noteworthy that none of the numerous administration officials appear (*lugal*, *ugula*, *ábba*), not even those who, having organisational responsibilities at the palace, were in continuous contact with the royal family.²⁰ The valets of the king, on the contrary, were included among the recipients (section 22).

What emerges from this document is a markedly aristocratic order which excludes even the most faithful and essential officials of the administration as they do not belong to either of the two main families.

4 The Minister

The remarkable pre-eminence of the minister and his family in Eblaite society would seem to have been a local phenomenon, determined by specific, contingent factors and cannot be seen in other reigns of the 3rd millennium BCE. The figure of a minister who concentrates control of the administration and also command of the army around himself would appear to have developed gradually during the reigns of Igrīš-Ḫalab and Irkab-damu. The documents relating to the first twenty years enable us to trace this development. The fact that the minister is always mentioned by name, and not once indicated by a title, could suggest that his position was of local origin and not derived from a Mesopota-

¹⁹ In some lists, such as ARET 8.525 §§ 7–8; 527 § 7; 542 §§ 23–25, the female *ne-di* directly follow the 'women of the king'. Usually, the *ne-di* are listed together with the *ḫúb-KI* 'acrobats' and the *nar* 'singer' e.g., ARET 1.5 §§ 78–80.

²⁰ See ARET 9: 334–35. For the numerous 'elders who were seated by the throne' and 'the elders (who went) on military expeditions', *ábba-ábba al₆-tuš GIŠ-uštil*, *ábba-ábba níg-kas₄*, see the passages quoted by Archi 1988f*: 136 [150].

mian model. According to fifty or so documents relating to the final years of Igriš-Ḫalab and the first six years of Irkab-damu, two individuals, Darmilu (/ Darmia) and Tir, enjoyed a degree of pre-eminence within the group of roughly thirty most important officials of the administration, known as “lords”, lugal-lugal. This can be determined from the quantity of ‘deliveries’, mu-DU, they make to the central administration. During the last four years of Irkab-damu, a certain Arrukum (Ar-EN-LUM) assumed clear eminence, although Tir continued in service. Arrukum reformed the administration, creating two new categories of document: the monthly accounts of the distribution of garments and the annual accounts of the distribution of objects in precious metals. Arrukum is often mentioned in these documents (Archi 2000d).²¹

Arrukum died a few months before the king, Irkab-damu.²² The gifts from the administration for his funeral were fitting for his station: some garments, a gold plaque, a belt and dagger weighing about 1 kg in gold (ARET 9.47 obv. ix 13–x 3): 1 túg-gùn 1 *gu-zi*-TÚG 2 zara₆-TÚG 2 íb-III-sa₆-gùn 1 dib GÁ×LÁ 1 ma-na kù-gi 1 íb-lá GÁ×LÁ 1 ma-na kù-gi 1 gír mar-tu [kù-gi] *Ar-ru*₁₂-gúm Ê×PAP.²³

Ibrium already appears in some texts dating to the time of Darmia and Tir when, however, he did not hold a position of note. Irkab-damu chose him to succeed Arrukum. The two ministers were not related in any way. When Irkab-damu died a few months later, Ibrium effectively found himself governing Ebla. Alongside him was Dusigu, the favourite of Irkab-damu and mother of Išar-damu, who succeeded his father at a young age (this can be deduced from the fact that he only married fourteen years later, although he would appear to have already fathered children by secondary partners). The wife of Irkab-damu, the ‘queen’, *ma-lik-tum*, had died shortly after her wedding (presumably in childbirth) without leaving a male heir. Thus it was Dusigu who set her son on the [9] throne, and numerous documents show how she dominated the court up to her death, taking precedence in rank even over the wife of Išar-damu, that is to say, the queen.²⁴

It was, therefore, the tender age of Išar-damu, and Dusigu’s approval that enabled Ibrium to consolidate his position. The administrative texts record his

²¹ The mu-DU documents will be published by A. Archi in ARET 14. The monthly accounts of distributions of garments of Arrukum’s period are published by F. Pomponio in ARET 15. Tir is the only official mentioned in the political treaty with the city of Abarsal, ARET 8.5 §§ 33–34. For a first study on the annual accounts of distributions of metal objects, see Archi 1996c. A final list of these documents is given by Archi and Biga 2003: 7.

²² For the synchronism between the kings and the ministers of Ebla, see Archi 1996b* [112–117].

²³ The funerary gifts for the minister Ibrium are listed in TM.75.G.1923(+); the relevant section is not entirely preserved.

²⁴ Dusigu opens the lists of the women of the king, followed by the *maliktum*.

name numerous times. It is the minister who leads the army into battle, year after year, a prerogative that would be inherited by his son, Ibbi-zikir, when he succeeded his father as minister (Archi 2014). In the royal inscriptions of Sumer and Akkad, the fact that the kings ascribe all military undertakings to themselves has resulted in a warped historical perspective which can only be corrected if administrative documents such as those found at Ebla are to hand. The list of gifts distributed on the occasion of Išar-damu's marriage to Tabur-damu, his *maliktum* (an event which occurs in the fourteenth year of Ibrium's mandate), shows that the members of the minister's family held an altogether particular rank, since his women are listed together with those of the royal family. This situation is even more marked eighteen years later, on the occasion of Kešdūt's marriage to the son of the king of Kiš. The annual account of distribution of metal objects for the year of the king's marriage, TM.75.G.1730(+) (MEE 734), lists first some jewels for the king and queen, and then gifts for: Ibbi-zikir son of Ibrium; Ibrium; 5 sons of the (previous) king and a brother of Išar-damu's mother; a person from the town of Arugadu and, lastly, a group which includes the women of the king and of Ibrium: 8 women of the king, 2 daughters of the king, the mother of Ibrium, 4 women of Ibrium, a sister of the king's mother and Kisadu, the king's wet-nurse (rev. xii 8–xiv 26).

As Ibrium with his prestige had succeeded in naming his son, Ibbi-zikir, as his successor, so too did the latter in turn manage to name his son, Tubuḥu-Hadda, who would have taken his father's place had Ebla not fallen.

At Ebla, therefore, another dynasty developed alongside that of the royal family: that of the minister. All that was lacking was a marriage for the blood of Ibrium's family to flow in the veins of Ebla's king. In the twelfth year of Ibbi-zikir, shortly before the campaign against Mari, his daughter Za'aše married the heir to the throne Ir'aq-damu. ARET 8.534 § 11 records "a gold and silver bracelet (for) the agreement of Za'aše", *zu-lu-mu* (/sullumu/) *Za-a-še*.²⁵ Now Za'aše together with her husband occupied the third place in the hierarchy, overtaking Kešdūt (still present at court), TM.75.G.2270 obv. vii 6–viii 5: en ... *ma-lik-tum Za-'à-še Īr-'à-ag-da-mu ... Kéš-du-ut Dar-kab-da-mu 2 dumu-munus* en; ARET 4.1 §§ 33–34: ... *ma-lik-tum Īl-'à-ag-da-mu Za-a-še ... Kéš-du-ut Dar-kab-da-mu ...*. As wife of the future king, Za'aše had the privilege of participating in the official cults of the city, limited to the king, queen and the princes. Sacrality was the prerogative of the royal family alone. The hierarchical order in the lists concerning the monthly offerings to the gods at Ebla is identical to

²⁵ The texts ARET 7.117 and 132 concerns gifts delivered on the occasion of the marriage of Za'aše, *in níg-mu-sá 1 bur-kak*; see already n. 8 above.

that in the aforementioned lists: the king; the prince Ir'aq-damu; the queen; Za'aše; Kešdut.²⁶

The fall of Ebla put a dramatic end to the ambitions of Ibrum's family which had played such an important part in the fortunes of the city.

²⁶ See TM.75.G.1764 obv. i 1–viii 13; TM.75.G.2075 obv. i 1–v 19; TM.75.G.2238 obv. i 1–ix 12; TM.75.G.11010(+) obv. i 1–viii 27, published by Pettinato 1979a.

17 The Role of Women in the Society of Ebla

Glancing, as it were, through the thousands of administrative documents which were preserved in the Ebla archives, we frequently come across women. These, like the menfolk, received gifts of clothing and jewels in relation to their rank and function, and were often mentioned by name. Gender determined the type of goods given. The imbalance between men and women naturally derived from the fact that many more state functions and roles were the responsibility of the men.

First among these was the king (en = *mal(i)kum*) and, alongside him we find the minister, who exercised control over the state administration. The third of these dominant figures was a woman, for many years not the wife but rather “the mother of the king,” ama-gal en. This is, however, to be taken as an anomaly in the normal course of events. The queen, *maliktum*, of the penultimate king, Irkab-damu, died roughly five years before her spouse. Alongside this king, therefore, we find his favourite, Dusigu. She never received the title of *maliktum* (the sacred nature of the function of “queen” not foreseeing this kind of substitution) but did succeed in having her own son, Išar-damu, become king. He succeeded to the throne at a very early age and only married his *maliktum*, Tabur-damu, fourteen years later, although it seems that before this he had already had children by other women. The authority of the mother of this king was such that for the five years following her son’s marriage, etiquette gave her precedence over the *maliktum*. She could also dispose freely of the royal patrimony.¹

Precious gifts were also given to the other “women,” dam, of the king, those of the minister, their sons and daughters, other relatives and their wives.²

The amount of rations and loans was, instead, primarily dictated by gender. This was a discrimination justified by a physical reality which continued

Pp. 1–9 in *Sex and Gender in the Ancient Near East. Proceedings of the 47th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Helsinki, July 2–6, 2001*, I, eds. Simo Parpola, and Robert M. Whiting Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text CorpusProject. Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project. 2002.

¹ For chronological data concerning Dusigu and Tabur-damu, see Archi 1996b*: 24–25 [113–117]; Id. 1996c: 74–81.

² This holds true also for kings of other states, members of their families, and their agents. A “trader,” lû-kar, of the city-state of Manuwat, received, e.g., gifts for himself as well as for his “wife,” dam (TM.75.G.3106+ rev. V 3–8).

to be valid as long as the production of primary and secondary goods required the use of force. At Ebla (as in other places and at other times) this led, at least tendentially, to different accounting systems for male and female workers. TM.75.G.2631 lists forty or so groups of women (dam), each of about one hundred heads, whose monthly payments came to three shekels of silver (23.5 g). It is likely that this indicates the value of goods, such as wool and barley.³ In a couple of records, together with the women we find an exceptional mention of some men (guruš) who receive the same amount. Usually, instead, the guruš received between five and six shekels. In a few very rare texts, the accounts also include assignments of meat, [2] TM.75.G.2651 rev. III 3–5: “98 sheep for feeding the women,” 98 udu-udu kú dam-dam.

TM.75.G.1841 records as many groups of men as of women, all coming under the same supervisor. In this, as in other cases, the men (guruš) generally received one or two shekels more than the women in the following proportions: 6:4;5:3;4:3. The rank of the person under whom the workers came also played its role. The staff coming under the prime minister, Ibbi-zikir, consisted of 200 guruš and 206 dam, who each received six and four shekels of silver respectively. Fourteen “elders,” ábba, even received as much as fifteen shekels, whilst fourteen women received ten shekels each (obv. I 1–6).

Men and women of low rank sometimes perhaps did not even represent family groups. Even when they were not called “servants, maids,” ir₁₁ – géme, but “man, woman,” guruš – dam, they were *de facto* reduced in some cases to a servant status. One account (šid) concerning the household (é) of a certain Enna-BE (TM.75.G.1383),⁴ registers “82 women and 43 male and female children,” 82 dam 43 dumu-nita dumu-mí, after a long list of cereal products, oil, drinks and wood. Here no male workers are mentioned, while women and children are listed together as was the normal practice in lists of staff in other periods. A further document relating to the Palace staff, TM.75.G.10218, lists, on one hand, in the normal way, male workers, guruš, and, on the other, “the women (with) their male children,” dam dumu-nita (young girls were perhaps already counted among the women).

The Palace employed numerous female workers. Two monthly documents relating to rations of cereals (ARET 9.41, 42), to be dated to the very last years of Ebla, list: a) 11 “women of the king,” dam en; b) 141 women involved in various tasks, that is to say: 12 “wet-nurses,” ga-du,⁵ 19/20 “female singers,”

³ Wool distributions for women are quoted by Biga 1988c.

⁴ See Archi 1986b: 194–95.

⁵ They continued to belong to this group of women even when they could no longer assure their function as wet-nurses, see Biga 2000.

nar-mí, 4 lú-GÁ, 16 “stable-hands,” ir₁₁ gígir^{ki}, 8 “doorkeepers,” KÍD-sag, 4 “gardeners,” GIŠ-nu-kiri₆, supervisors of the groups of women: 22 ib-ib and 20 a-am-a-am, 30/33 “elder women,” dam ábba, 9 other women; c) approximately 900 “weavers,” túg-nu-tag and “grinders of grain,” dam kikken. All of these women “were residents” (al₆-tuš), that is worked in the Palace (SA.ZA_x^{ki}), while a far smaller number were active in the lower city or in its surroundings (uru-bar).

Other similar documents give even greater details of the tasks of these women: there were wardrobe mistresses (dam lú [é] ti-túg), those who prepared the clothes (dam gada-TÚG / íb+III-TÚG), who dyed clothes (dam dar), who wove baskets (dam GÁxGI-GÁxGI), prepared perfumes (dam GIŠ-šim), oil (dam [é] i-giš), beer (dam lú [é] ŠE+TIN), bread (dam lú ninda) and baked it (dam a-bi-a-tum lú ninda) and cooks (dam muḫaldim-mí). Different groups of these women came under male overseers.⁶

While some tasks, such as weaving and grinding grains, were held to be typically feminine work, others were undoubtedly entrusted to women because they had to be performed in areas reserved for women. This is the case of the gardeners, cooks, wardrobe mistresses, and possibly also those concerned with bread and oil. The queen, the mother of the king and other ladies, [3] like the goddesses, had female servants assigned to their person, the *pa₄-šeš(-mí)*.⁷ It is possible that the presence of female singers, nar-mí,⁸ and jesters, ne-di,⁹ may in part be explained, instead, by the pleasure the king presumably derived from them.

Most of these women must have been lodged in the lower city, forming family groups with some of the roughly 5,000 men, guruš, who worked for the Palace.¹⁰ It was in the interests of the administration to maintain, or better increase the demographic level of their dependants.

The accounts of rations apply at the lowest level a simple distinction between the genders. On the one hand we have “the house of the king,” é en, which includes – as well as the king himself – his sons, the elders (ábba), the male staff (guruš), occasional guests and the main god, Kura, normally

⁶ Milano, ARET 9: 179–183, lists the functions attributed to these women and individuals who acted as their overseers.

⁷ The element for the feminine, mí, is sometimes omitted. The contexts show clearly, however, that the *pa₄-šeš* was the servant of gods and men, and the *pa₄-šeš-mí* that for goddesses and women, see Archi 1996a: 37–71.

⁸ ARET 9: 398.

⁹ Catagnoti: 1989: 151–55.

¹⁰ Archi 1988f* [143–153].

worshipped at the Palace. On the other, we have the women (*dam*), a term used to indicate both “the women of the king,” *dam en*, and those involved in various jobs and tasks.¹¹

In the texts relating to the distribution of clothes, “the women of the king” were always listed by name and in strictly hierarchical order: first we have *Dusigu* (the mother of the king) until her death, then the wife of the king, the queen (*maliktum*). Among these *dam en*, in certain periods, we also find the sisters of the king (*nin-ni en*), who were still at the court such as *Tinib-dulum* and *Arzadu*, or his daughters (*dumu-mi en*), such as *Zugalum*, who was to become queen of *Ḫarran*. The number of the *dam en* living at the palace (*SA.ZA_x^{ki}*) was between fifteen and twenty.¹² A further few *dam* lived in royal residences in smaller centres. During the last years of the archives, the *dam en* numbered more than twenty, and to these were added a further twenty or so “young women,” *dam en tur*, who would pass into the other group as they reached maturity. However, already at the time of king *Irkab-damu*, there were fifty or so of these women, the most distinguished of whom belonged to his predecessor, *Igriš-Ḫalab*.¹³

The documents do not even provide us with a generic term for the women’s quarters. The lists of distributed goods – as mentioned before – deal with personnel by category, and some of these categories consisted of women. In the delivery of clothes, the topographic data is not given importance: they first mention the women of the king who resided in the palace, then those of the lesser residences, occasionally the sisters of the king’s mother are added, who did not live together with the *dam en*.

It is more than probable that the *dam en* lived in protected quarters, a gynaeceum,¹⁴ [4] and also that their movements were limited. Not all of these women, however, were secluded, although certain of their movements would have been subject to the control of a strict etiquette. The king’s mother, the queen – like those of neighbouring states – and the princesses who held religious positions, would travel to the minor centres, usually for reasons asso-

11 Milano, ARET 9: 326; see in particular, the documents ARET 9.1 and 2, with the notations: *še-ba é en ... še-ba dam*. These women were employed also at “the house of the king,” *é en*; text no. 47 distinguishes between “women who reside at the *é en*,” *dam al₆-tuš é en* (obv. VI 1–3), and “women who went outside the town,” *dam è uru-bar*, rev. V 1–3.

12 Archi 1988b: 245–259. The lists have been disposed in chronological order by Tonietti 1989a.

13 See Archi 1996d. Text no. 1 distinguishes between 26 women of first rank and others 20 + 52 women; text no. 2 has 53 women of first rank and 107 attendants.

14 This term has been used by Biga 1991: 286. When the expression *é maliktum* is used, ARET 9.44 obv. VII 4, it applies only to the rooms where the queen lived.

ciated with the cult.¹⁵ A queen of Emar of Eblaite origin, Tiša-lim, often visited the court, once participating in the marriage ceremony of the king, Išar-damu, and his *maliktum*. Zugalum, the Eblaite princess who had married the king of Ḫarran, returned to Ebla for the birth of the queen's first child. It does not seem, however, as though any of these women played any direct political role.

To label these women as the harem of the king is a permissible simplification: a specific term which defines a phenomenon entirely alien to our culture may be applied, in an approximate sense, to another phenomenon equally strange to us but similar in some ways to the first. In the same way, we have called the women's quarters the gynaecium. We do not wish thus to suggest similarity between diverse historical realities as these cannot be reproduced in the same terms.

Some dislike the use of the term harem as this evokes a general meaning of oppression and, more specifically, sexual submission.¹⁶ The "Orientalist" painters and certain writers of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, stressed the more spicier aspects which derive also from the contrast between the unbounded lasciviousness of some of their paintings and the severely oppressive aspects of oriental and north African societies. We are dealing with a cultural atmosphere which was very widespread at the time, torn between moralism (even "respectability") on the one hand, and libidinous urges on the other. This tension found its sublime representation in the medieval world of *Tannhäuser*, with the contrast between the dissolute Venusberg and the spiritual (and repressive) Wartburg. The young bucks of the Jockey Club in Paris opposed the opera as they felt deprived of their potential harem: *les jeunes filles de la danse*.

If, therefore, the harem (dam en) of Ebla also included women in whom the king was not interested from a sexual point of view, it is also true that only the king, the minister and, to a far lesser degree, the odd high official enjoyed the privilege of having a number of women at their sexual disposal. Even the king, however, had only one wife: the *maliktum*, for whom alone the marriage ceremony níg-mu-sá is attested, together with the rite of the bur-kak cup. The other women were concubines, a term which is also etymologically suitable here and which must not be taken as having any derogatory meaning. The case of Dusigu, who succeeded in making her mark as the most powerful woman in all of Ebla's history, speaks volumes.

¹⁵ It seems that only Dusigu, mother of king Išar-damu, the queen, and a few priestesses, such as Amaga (TM.75. G.1860 rev. VIII 31–32), had chariots at their disposal.

¹⁶ See Van De Mieroop 1999: 146–52.

A group of women resident at Ebla and who received food rations on a fairly regular basis, were “the women of the elders,” *dam ábba*, which indicates the wives of notables who “sit (near) the throne (of the king),” *ábba(-ábbá) al₆-tuš GIŠ-šudun* (42/50 in number), and who went in military expeditions.¹⁷ These women, [5] between 29 and 35 in number,¹⁸ had their own specific residence, “the house of the elders,” *dam lú é ábba*.

Gender determined access to political and administrative posts: political power was limited to the king, the minister and a very few others, whilst the administration was the responsibility of officials. Rank gave access to wealth. These two criteria intersected insofar as power bestowed rank. This obviously favoured the men.

A clear picture of the social hierarchy at Ebla is given by documents which established access to the lands administered by the palace. A list of beneficiaries of land cultivated with olive trees and distributed among a number of villages, (TM.75.G. 12448+, dated to the king Irkab-damu), starts with the king, followed by the queen, the minister Arrukum, then other “lords,” *lugal-lugal* and, lastly, the superintendent of the smiths, *ugula simug*. As long as the king Išar-damu was a minor, he was accompanied by his mother Dusigu, *ama-gal en*, in his possession of units of labour, *é ir₁₁* (TM.75.G.2634). Another of the few women of rank high enough to use Palace lands for their own support, *kú*, was the priestess, *dam dingir*, of the god Hadabal, whose two principal sanctuaries (Larugadu and Luban) lay outside the city (TM.75.G.1827, 2646, 10217). The dowry given to Tiša-lim, sister (?) of Irkab-damu, on her marriage to the king of Emar, also included land near two villages probably found near the kingdom to which she would go as queen.¹⁹

Privilege lays in the fact that those lands belonged to the Palace. Possession of land by women was in any case recognised, even though such a right in effect could only be enjoyed by the wealthier families. This may be seen clearly from two cases relating to descendants of the minister Ibrium. In a decree in which the king Irkab-damu confirms a donation of land (*é GN*) by Ibrium to his own sons, we read:

17 Archi 1988f*: 136 [150], where passages are quoted which also concern “elders of the military expeditions,” *ábba níg-kas₄*. According to ARET 9.27 § 29, these elders stayed together with the king eighteen days in NÉnaš, where there was a royal mausoleum.

18 The names of these women (texts nos. 43 and 44) are listed in ARET 9: 144. Note that in no. 51 § 1 the *dam en* are made up of 14 *dam ábba* (in this case “the older ones”) and the *dam tur* (“the younger ones”); the women of the elders are mentioned, instead, in the following section.

19 Archi 1990a*: 25–29 [368–375].

“Which goods Tilutu, the (female) owner of the lands, has given to her sons?” Thus said Ibrium to the king: “Hear Tia-damu, Kirsut, TaḪAR-damu, Ḫalut (and) Ḫašum the words of Tilutu: ... If she wishes, she will reside with her two sons, otherside she will live in the house of the king.”

wa mi-nu-ma nin ki Ti-lu-du GiŠ-éren dumu-nita-dumu-nita-sù en-ma Ib-rí-um si-in en giš-ba-tuku du₁₁-ga Ti-lu-du Ti-a-da-mu Kir-su-ut Da-ḪAR-da-mu Ḫa-lu-ut Ḫa-sum ... si-a-ma mí-du₁₁-ga áš-da 2 dumu-nita-dumu-nita-sù al₆-tuš (TM.75.G.1444 X 3–XII 7 = ARET 16.27).²⁰

The passage is obscure; Tilutu is, however, the “owner of the land,” *nin ki*. She, together with the other five women mentioned, form the group of the “women of Ibrium,” *dam Ib-rí-um*.²¹ However, no interpretative problems are offered by the verdict relating to lands (*ki GN*) assigned in the form of share-cropping (*níg-á-gá-2*) to Taḫir-lim, a priestess and daughter of Irik-damu (TM.75.G.1452 = ARET 16.28 obv. IV 2–5: *Da-ḫír-li-im dumu-mí I-rí-ig-da-mu dam-dingir*). The king declares that those goods do not pass on to the two male sons of Irik-damu (and, therefore, to the brothers of the priestess), but go instead to Uti, who was one of Ibrium’s sons, like Irik-damu.²² The goods thus stay in the second generation [6] of the minister’s family, the minister himself perhaps already having died.

Deriving their rank from membership of a certain family, the women received gifts such as clothes and objects in the same quantity as the men (excepting the king himself). Generally, however, these were received on different occasions, linked to the three fundamental events in life: marriage, the birth of a child and death. For the men, on the other hand, such occasions were mainly related to their political-administrative responsibilities, apart from the inevitable event of their own death with the burial rites, ÉxPAP, and the purification ceremony for the survivors (*î-giš-sag*).

The women, also, could bestow rank. The brothers of the queen mother (TM.75.G.2465 rev. XV 2–5), as well as the sisters of the queen (TM.75.G.1860 rev. VI 1–7), received gifts on the basis of this family relationship.

In inter-dynastic marriages, the less important royal families saw a link with the Eblaite dynasty as an improvement in their rank, while the latter aimed instead at consolidating its own influence.²³ King Irkab-damu had succeeded in extracting Emar from Mari’s control and, to seal the alliance, had given Tiša-lim (possibly his sister) in marriage to Ruzi-damu, king of Emar.

²⁰ Edzard 1981a: 36–46.

²¹ Archi 1988b: 260–61.

²² Fronzaroli 1980b: 34–35.

²³ Biga 1991: 298–99.

During this same period, Dati-^dTU married the king of Lumnan, a city whose location has not yet been determined. Išar-damu promoted this marriage policy at Ebla. The princesses Zimini-KUBABBAR and Zugalum married, respectively, the king of Burman, a city in the area of the Euphrates (tenth year of the minister Ibrium), and the king of Ḫarran, which controlled the northern part of the plain of the Baliḫ (first year of the minister Ibbi-zikir).

Later, a daughter of Išar-damu was given in marriage to the prince heir to the throne of Nagar, a regional state which dominated the area of the Ḫabur.²⁴ The alliance had the aim of isolating Mari, an intention followed up by giving another daughter, Kešdūt, to the king of Kiš, and thus to the most prestigious court of that period.²⁵ This diplomatic encircling of Mari did not have the desired effect, as Ebla was to be destroyed only a few years later.

There was a kind of class solidarity. When the minister Ibrium died, the administration gave gifts for the purification rites (i-giš-sag) firstly to Ibbi-zikir, his son and successor, then to the mother of the king and to Tinib-dululum, sister of the king and priestess (dam dingir). There was also a form of solidarity between women. On the death of Dusigu, the account for that year first lists her funerary attire and goods and then, immediately afterwards, the personal gifts made to her by the queen, at last also the *de facto* first lady at court, following the demise of her cumbersome mother-in-law (TM.75.G.10088 rev. XVIII 12–23). When Dati-^dTU, the queen of Lumnan, visited a sanctuary close to Ebla, Dusigu arranged for a gift to be made; on the death of this queen, it was the priestess Tirin-damu (perhaps her sister) who performed the purification ceremony at Ebla.

The link between Eblaite society and the gods was represented by the royal family, and not only the king himself. The official cult reflects the established hierarchy in its management of power, but also expresses the profound needs of the human psyche, where the duality of male-female acts in and upon the unconscious. The monthly offering lists open with the sacrifices made by the king (Išar-damu) to the major gods. [7]

There follow those of the son designated heir to the throne (Ir'aq-damu), then – and more or less to the same gods – those performed by three women: the queen; the princess Kešdūt (sometimes defined as “daughter of the queen,” *dumu-mí ma-lik-tum*, to distinguish her from her half-sisters); Za'aše, daughter of the minister Ibbi-zikir, who had married the crown prince Ir'aq-damu. None of these two young women had any recognised priestly status. Kešdūt appears here as the counterpart to her brother Ir'aq-damu; later she married the king

²⁴ Biga 1998a.

²⁵ Archi 1987c: 126 and 138, text no. 10.

of Kiš; Za'aše as future queen. A further few sacrifices were made by other sons of the king.²⁶ The main role was that of the king, but those of the three ladies were also important, and they acted independently of the two male figures.

The only priestly role reserved exclusively to people of rank was that of the “woman of the god,” *dam dingir*; that is to say, the priestess of Hadabal. There were two main sanctuaries to this god and, therefore, two priestesses chosen from among the sisters or daughters of the king.²⁷ The annual accounts of precious metals open with the delivery of a mina of silver for Kura, the god of the city, and ten or so mina of silver for the two priestesses of Hadabal, whose cult extended over the region west of Ebla. By dedicating two of their women to this god, the royal family created a kind of alliance with the deity. No further element exists for analysis, and the interpretation as a sacred marriage should perhaps be excluded if we consider the fact that the daughter of the king of a friendly city became the *dam dingir* of a goddess: Adamma, the consort of Rašap.²⁸ Hadabal had in any case a divine consort, known only by the epithet “the lady,” ^d*Ba-al₆-tum* / ^d*SAL.LUGAL*.

Apart from these priestesses, the Eblaite cult included only persons of lower rank who received gifts of modest quality. The position of “a man of the gods,” *lú dingir-dingir*, held time after time by a single individual, was given first to Amazau (until the first years of the minister Ibrium), then to his son Enna-II. Each god had his or her own “servant,” *pa₄-šeš*, of the same gender. Adulu was *pāšišu* of Kura when Arrukum and Ibrium were minister; he was followed by his son Enna-II. The goddess Barama, wife of Kura, had a “servant woman,” *pa₄-šeš(-mí)* by the name of Enna-^dUTU.²⁹ Only for particular actions relating to the cult were nobles chosen on each occasion, such as those who formed the confraternity of the *šeš-II-ib*.³⁰

In the cult, where answers were sought for the most profound needs, the social structures had less impact and the woman found herself on the same plane as the man. This is more than clear from the marriage ceremony of the royal couple, which was seen as a renewal ritual.

At stake was the continuity of the dynasty and of the society which it led. The royal couple was perceived as an earthly projection of the divine couple,

²⁶ See the monthly offering lists published by Pettinato 1979a.

²⁷ Archi 1998c* [699–710].

²⁸ Two daughters of the minister were also *dam-dingir*, but of which god we do not know; see Archi 1998c*: 51 [707–708].

²⁹ Archi 1996a: 37–60.

³⁰ Archi 2002d.

Kura and Barama. During the ritual, the Mother Goddess guaranteed there would be “a new Kura, a new Barama, a new king, a new queen”.³¹

Amongst these elements there are some [8] that support a generalising theory which holds that the queen enjoyed a special status in Syria and Anatolia (perhaps an indication of more favourable conditions of life for women). On this point, however, the usual reserve is necessary: since the documentation is not homogenous, there is the risk of comparing elements which are not at all comparable unless such considerations are circumscribed to very limited, and thus not very significant sectors of society.

The fact that the queen (and, in her absence, at Ebla also the mother of the king) received gifts and owned lands according to their position in the state hierarchy, is well known. In the Assur of Sargon II the queen also came second to the king in the distribution of tributes and audience gifts, in this order: the Palace, the queen, the crown prince, the grand vizier, other high officials (ABL 568 = SAA 1.35).

As regards property wealth, high-ranking women of Sumer were undoubtedly among the most privileged. For the Early Dynastic Period we need only recall that the queens of Lagaš: Dimtur, Baragamtara and Sasag, controlled the administration of the temple of the goddess BaU.³² Similar responsibilities were also attributed to the queens of the Ur III period,³³ while certain princesses were amply provided with land and workers. That queens and princesses were great landowners and could be involved in economic activities may also be seen in later periods and different areas.

According to the picture drawn by E. Cassin,³⁴ the queen of a small centre such as Nuzi was in no way inferior to that of Ugarit in this respect. Yet, the brief note in which W. H. van Soldt suggests that “the king’s spouse only became queen of Ugarit after the death of the previous queen mother or grandmother,” like the Hittite queens, has become the manifesto of those who believe that the queen enjoyed a particular status in the western regions.³⁵

In Hittite Anatolia, the privileges enjoyed of continuing to be queen after the death of her husband, and even in the presence of the wife of the new

31 ARET 11.1 § 65; 2 § 68.

32 See, in general, Bauer 1998: 473–75, 533–55 (with previous literature).

33 For the queens of Ur III, see Sallaberger 1999: 181–85 (with previous literature); the animal administration by queen Šulgi-simti is treated at pp. 253–60.

34 Cassin, 1974: 378–81.

35 van Soldt 1985–86: 68–73. On the most powerful queen of Ugarit, Sarelli, whose activity extended until the reigns of her son Niqmaddu III and her grandson(?) ‘Ammurapi, see Singer 1999: 696–700. It has been suggested that the queen mother of the period of ‘Ammištamru II owned the ‘Palais Nord’ of Ras Ibn Hani, see Bounni, Lagarce 1998: 92.

king,³⁶ had religious origins: both the king (Tabarna) and the queen (Tawananna) were consecrated as priests of the god. This did not, however, result in the Tawananna having a legitimate political role to play, other than within the confines of the Palace.³⁷ Only Puduḥepa assumed the right to intervene in relations between Ḫatti and Egypt, using the tactic of the political marriage; that is to say, by exploiting the rights which a mother had over the destiny of her own daughter.³⁸ It is likely that Ramses II was astounded to hear himself called [9] “brother” by this queen of Ḫatti. The Egyptian chancery must, however, have adapted itself to a “doppelspurige Korrespondenz” with Ḫattusili III and Puduḥepa. All other political questions were dealt with in the letters of Ḫattusili.

At Ebla, the sacred nature of the role of queen discouraged second marriages by the king (as mentioned above). The success of the concubine Dusigu is part of Palace politics, common to all courts. The fact that she maintained her privileges even in the presence of a new queen is indicative of the degree of authority attained by certain women within the sphere of the court.

The “correspondance feminine” of Mari provides us with an extraordinary view of the daily life of women at court. These show us the internal affairs of the Palace: from problems of the hierarchy among the women, to control of the warehouses in the absence of the king.³⁹ The language of Mari recognises the abstract concept of “queen-ship,” *šarratūtum*, which later appears also in Ugarit and Ḫatti. It would not, however, appear that the queens of the Amorite states of the period had greater responsibilities than those of Akkad.

The status of the queen in the Ancient Near East needs to be studied society by society if we wish to avoid generalisations that can only lead to falsifying the entire picture.

³⁶ Tensions with the new king, who sometimes was not the queen mother’s son, were almost unavoidable. The last queen of Suppiluliuma I, a Kassite princess called at court just Tawananna, was removed from her status of queen mother; Danuḥepa, the last queen of Mursili II, was involved in a political affair during the reigns of Mursili III and Ḫattusili III, see Klengel 1999: 173 and 201, 219 and 227–28.

³⁷ On the Tawananna, see Bin-Nun 1975, who presents, however, some extreme theses.

³⁸ Otten 1975.

³⁹ See the lively synthesis by Durand 2000: 259–66.

18 Men at War in the Ebla Period

On the Unevenness of the written Documentation

War was endemic in the Ancient Near East even before the foundation of the Akkadian empire, when numerous military campaigns were required to establish control over vast areas. As Moses Finley remarked, commenting on a passage by Plato, war has been a natural condition of ancient societies, and not necessarily only a product of civilization.¹ In this respect, sources from southern Mesopotamia differ from those from Ebla. While Mesopotamian royal inscriptions limit themselves to simply mentioning the principal warlike undertakings of the kings, without providing any chronological framework, thanks to the administrative documents from Ebla we now know of each of the successive military expeditions carried out year after year over a period of forty years. These expeditions were all concluded within a year by an exchange of messengers, oaths of peace, and other agreements² often broken after a few years. The sole exception was the confrontation with Ibal in the tenth to twelfth years of the minister Ibbi-zikir (war activity begun already in the 8th year, see below, 7.2). This was because the state of Ibal – consisting of different centers, each under the control of a chief (ugula), who was sometimes also given the title of king (en) – lay far off in the sub-desert strip east of Qatna.³

This was not a situation of widespread bellicosity, since wars carried out at different times affected different areas. The balance of power, however, demanded that any hegemonic state give an annual demonstration of its force. The speed with which military encounters were concluded meant that communication routes could generally remain open. The marriage of Kešdūt, daughter of king Išar-damu and his spouse, the queen Tabur-damu, to a son of the king of Kiš took place in the 16th year of the minister Ibbi-zikir, two years after Ebla's expedition against Mari, which concluded with the Eblaite victory at Terqa and

Pp. 15–35 in *Why Should Someone Who Knows Something Conceal It? Cuneiform Studies in Honor of David I. Owen on His 70th Birthday*, eds. Alexandra Kleinerman, and Jack M. Sasson. Bethesda, Maryland: CDL Press. 2000.

1 Finley 1985: 67, refers to Plato, Laws 626 A: “For ‘peace’, as the term is commonly employed, is nothing more than a name, the truth being that every State is, by a law of nature, engaged perpetually in an informal war with every other State.”

2 For a list of oaths at Ebla, see Catagnoti 1997b.

3 See further ARES 2: 291–99.

a peace treaty.⁴ The princess would have had to pass Mari on her way. She was also provided with a large number of animals, so it was clearly believed that these would arrive at their destination without incurring too many losses: 972 bulls, 935 cows with calves, 768 fattened-oxen, 338 draught-oxen, 241 mature calves, 36 draught-calves, 1,680 sheep, 159 mules, 1 ass, 5 pigs, 15 bison, and 14 bears.⁵ A little over one year later, Mari destroyed Ebla.

The royal inscriptions were selective: they dealt with events that were considered, or were intended to seem, the most important. In the administrative documents, instead, events were recorded not on the basis of their importance, but simply because they were occasions on which goods were delivered. These gifts were for messengers who brought news of a victory, for the minister who led the army into battle,⁶ and the [16] official who temporarily resided in the defeated city. For the redistributive system of the palatial administration, just as for those who commissioned a commemorative inscription, there was, however, no reason to take into consideration the men entering into battle and putting their lives at risk. At Ebla, these men were recruited from among those directly employed by the palace and, most probably, also from the village communities. The administrative documents occasionally mention them when weapons were provided but the need was rarely felt to record their loss.

1 The Terminology of War

a) At Ebla, *nîġ-kas₄* means “military expedition, campaign,” whereas *kaskal* means “travel, commercial expedition,” and *nîġ-kaskal* “travel provisions.”⁷ Some contexts with *nîġ-kas₄* are:

NP (*in ud*) *î-tîl (mi-nu) nîġ-kas₄* GN “(gifts to) PN when he presented himself (i.e. returned) from the military expedition (against) GN”: ARET 1.16 § 4; 3.309 III; 3.657 II; 8.539 § 6.

in ud î-tîl mi-nu nîġ-kas₄ *al-kur₆* *še* GN “when he presented himself from the military expedition (for having) ravaged the barley of GN”: ARET 3.259 III; 3.862 I.

⁴ Archi and Biga 2003: 26–29.

⁵ Archi 1987a: 122. These animals were a “delivery (for) the marriage of Kešdut, the king’s daughter,” *mu-du nîġ-mu-sá Kēš-du-ut dumu-munus en*.

⁶ Archi 2014.

⁷ For *kaskal*, see ARET 1: 289; 4: 306; 7: 218. For *nîġ-kaskal* see ARET 1: 299; 4: 316; 7: 229–30; 9: 399. All occurrences of *nîġ-kas₄* listed in ARET 13: 289 require the translation “military expedition.”

in ud niĝ-kas₄ si-in Kiš^{ki} “on the occasion of the military expedition against Kiš”: TM.75.G.10143 rev. VI 15–18.

b) A town could be “conquered,” *šu-ba₄-ti*. TM.75.G.2417 obv. I 3–6: PN níĝ-mul GN *šu-ba₄-ti*, “PN (who) brought the news that GN was conquered”; TM.75.G.2433+2509 rev. VI 20–VII 5: *in ud i-til I-bí-zi-kir mi-nu* *šu-ba₄-ti Ba-ga-ra*^{ki} “when Ibbi-zikir presented himself from the conquest of Bagara” (cf. obv. V 13–20: *I-bí-zi-kir ... in ud i-til mi-nu níĝ-kas₄ Ba-ga-ra*^{ki}).

c) A town could be “defeated, (its army) destroyed,” *til*. ARET 1.34 rev. I 2–4: DIŠ *mu til Ma-rí*^{ki} “year (in which) Mari was defeated”; ARET 8.523 XIII 18–22: PN *Ma-rí*^{ki} níĝ-mul *Ma-nu-wa-at*^{ki} *til* “PN of Mari, who brought the news (that) Manuwat was defeated”; ARET 8.524 VI 12: PN *Ī-mar*^{ki} níĝ-mul en *Ī-mar*^{ki} *Martu*^{ki} *til in Kur*^{ki} “PN of Emar, who brought the news (that) the king of Emar had defeated Martu in the mountain”; ARET 12.332 rev. II 1–3: níĝ-mul *til Ma-rí*^{ki} *Na-gàr*^{ki} “who brought the news of the defeat of Mari (by ?) Nagar.”

d) *àga-‘kár*’(ŠÈ) “(1) to defeat; (2) to raid (e.g. sheep).”⁸ The first meaning is attested in the letter of Enna-Dagan of Mari and in an Eblaite document (ARET 13.4, and 13; ARET 13: 241); further, ARET 7.115 rev. II 1–6: *in mu Ma-rí*^{ki} *àga-kár áš-ti ‘À-ti-ni*^{ki}; MEE 12.25 § 4, § 22d. For the second meaning, see ARET 2.29 § 13; ARET 12.1035 III 2; ARET 13.19 § 26: *ba še-sù al-kur₆ ba gud udu-sù àga-kár ba na-se₁₁-sù úš* “Now, (Ebla) has uprooted its grain, has raided its cattle (and) sheep, has killed its people.”

e) TUM×SAL “to conquer; conquest,” attested in the Letter of Enna-Dagan (ARET 13.4), in the Treaty of Abarsal (ARET 13.5), ARET 13: 302. See, further: ARET 7.156 rev. VII 6 (TUM.SAL); 6 obv. IV 3 (TUM.SAL!). The Sumerian lexical list MEE 3.44 obv. IV 3–5 has the sequence: *àga-‘kár*’(ŠÈ) – TUM×SAL – *nam-ra-ak* “plunder.”

f) *mè* “battle.” ARET 1.16 §§ 3–4: *i-til mi-nu mè Dar-ḥa-ti*^{ki} ... *i-til mi-nu níĝ-kas₄ Dar-ḥa-ti*^{ki} “present from the battle of D. ... present from the campaign of D.” ARET 3.737 obv. IV and V: *i-til mi-nu mè Ar-mi*^{ki}; ARET 12.18 § 5: *šu-du₈ máš-gú-nu mè si-in DU.DU Na-gàr*^{ki} *uru*^{ki} [*šu-ba₄-ti*] “to take an omen for you (concerning) the battle in going (to) Nagar (and) [the conquest?] of the city.”

⁸ ARET 13: 40.

g) al-kur₆ “to uproot (the crop).”⁹ ARET 3.259 III: *in* ud ì-tìl *mi-nu* níġ-kas₄ al-kur₆ še *Kak-mi-um*^{ki} “on the occasion of (his) presence from the campaign and uprooting the grain of Kakmium”; ARET 13.19 §§ 25–26: DU.DU-*ma* *Ib-la*^{ki} al-kur₆ še *Il-la*^{ki} ... še-sù al-kur₆ “Ebla came to uproot the grain of Illa ... (Ebla) uprooted its grain.”

h) A town could “surrender,” è. TM.75.G.1839 obv. V 9–15: PN níġ-mul *Īl-wu-um*^{ki} ì-ġiš-sù nídba *wa* è “PN brought the news that Ilwum offered its oil and surrendered”; [17] TM.75.G.1411 obv. III 11–IV 4: PN šu-i *Ib-rí-um* níġ-mul *A-du-NE-ù*^{ki} ì-ġiš-sù nídba *wa* *Ti-ig-na-LUM*^{ki} *wa* *Za-gal*^{ki} è “PN, barber of Ibrium, who brought the news that AduNEu offered its oil, while TignaLUM and Zagal surrendered”; XIV 1–4, XV 4–7, rev. II 3–6, IV 4–7 and 11–14: níġ-mul GN è.¹⁰

i) When a town was conquered, an “(official acting as) occupier,” tuš-LÚ×TIL, took possession of it (even though the local king remained usually in power). The Lexical Lists have: LÚ×TIL-tuš = *a-ḥa-sum* /*aḥḥādum*/, VE 1284.¹¹ ARET 4.18 § 2 and § 4: *in* ud níġ-mul *Na-bù*^{ki} šu-ba₄-ti *wa* *I-bí-zi-kir* tuš:LÚ×TIL ... tuš:LÚ×TIL lú šu-ba₄-ti *Na-bù*^{ki} “(gifts of the queen to PN) when he brought the news that Nabu was conquered and Ibbi-zikir took possession (of it) ... (gifts of the queen to minister Ibbi-zikir), the occupier in relation with the conquest of Nabu.” TM.75. G.2418 rev. X 2–7: (PN) tuš-LÚ×TIL *in* níġ-kas₄ GN “(PN), (who) was the occupying official in the military expedition (against) GN.” In general, the minister, who was at the head of the army, left a man he trusted in the conquered town. Ibrium left his son Ibbi-zikir in Ḫalsum, TM.75.G.1328 obv. I 1–9: (objects) lú mu-DU *Ib-rí-um* *in-na-sum* *I-bí-zi-kir* *in* ud tuš:LÚ×TIL *Ḫal-sum*^{ki} “(gifts) that (are) the delivery Ibrium gave (to) Ibbi-zikir when he took possession of Ḫalsum”; TM.75.G.2487 rev. IV 3–12: (garments) PN lú PN níġ-mul *I-bí-zi-kir* *dumu-nita* *Ib-rí-um* tuš-LÚ×TIL *in* *Ḫal-sum*^{ki} “(garments to) PN of PN, (who) brought the news (that) Ibbi-zikir, the son of Ibrium, (was) the occupier in Ḫalsum.” The preposition *in* is rarely expressed between tuš:LÚ×TIL and the GN. In some documents of Arrukum, the earlier minister, *mi* (an anomalous form for *mi-in* “in,” ARET 11: 22, 160) is used instead of *in*. ARET 15.43 rev. VI 5–9: níġ-mul *Kam₄-da-mu* tuš-LÚ×TIL *mi* GN; ARET 15.24 rev. III 9–IV 21: (objects) *Du-si* *Kak-mi-um*^{ki} *in* ud kas₄-kas₄ *áš-ti* *Ib-la*^{ki} *a₅-na* *Mu-ur*^{ki} *til* *A-bar-*

⁹ ARET 13: 87. The lexeme has been read in the earlier editions as DILMUN.PAD.

¹⁰ The verb è “to go out” is also connected with níġ-kas₄, TM.75.G.1381 obv. X 1–5: *in* ud è *si-in* níġ-kas₄ *Na-bù*^{ki} “when he went out in campaign (against) Nabu.”

¹¹ The sign SUM is used for the phonem *ḏ (Fronzaroli 1979b: 79). This LÚ×TIL has to be kept distinct from LÚ×BAD: ad₆, studied for the Ur III period by Veldhuis 2008: 224.

*sal*₄^{ki} (objects) *Za-bù-ru*₁₂ *Kak-mi-um*^{ki} in ud tuš:LÚ×TIL *mi Ma-ri*^{ki} *áš-ti Mu-ur*^{ki} “(objects to) PN of Kakmium when the messengers (went) from Ibla to Mur (for) the defeat of Abarsal; (objects to) PN of Kakmium when he resided in Mari (coming) from Mur.” In this passage tuš:LÚ×TIL seems to mean just “to reside; resident.” This is the meaning required also in the following passages, which show that Dusigu, the king’s mother, resided together with the queen in Ilwum, a town that was defeated in the third year of minister Ibbi-zikir. TM.75.G.2499 obv. IV 12–V 11: (2+2+2 garments, 4 gold earrings) *I-bí-zi-kir ama-gal en ma-lik-tum in-na-sum* (1+1 garments) *sag en in ud tuš:LÚ×TIL in Îl-wu-um*^{ki} “(2+2+2 garments, 4 gold earrings) Ibbi-zikir gave (to) the king’s mother (and) the queen. (1+1 garments for) the head of the king when they resided in Ilwum”; obv. VI 16–VII 17: (2+2+2 garments 4 gold earrings) *In-gâr lú A-da-mu níĝ-mul ama-gal en wa ma-lik-tum en tuš:LÚ×TIL in Îl-wu-um*^{ki} “(2+2+2 garments 4 gold earrings to) Ingar of Adamu who brought the news that the king’s mother (and) queen (together with) the king resided in Ilwum”; rev. V 8–13: (garments) *Îr-ba_x-zé ugula Ga-ra-ma-nu*^{ki} tuš:LÚ×TIL in *Îl-wu-um*^{ki} “(garments to) Irba-ze, the overseer of Garamanu (who) resided in Ilwum.” As far as it concerns the king, see further TM.75.G.1395 rev. VII 4–9: PN níĝ-mul en tuš:LÚ×TIL in *A-ga-da-ra*^{ki} “PN brought the news that the king resided in Agadara” (no war against Agadara seems to be attested). TM.75.G.2335 obv. X 23–XI 7: “6+6+6 cloths (to) 6 PN’s who were resident in Mari (after the defeat of the Mari at Terqa).” In some passages tuš:LÚ×TIL is not followed by a GN, e. g. ARET 1.17 § 1.

2 The Weapons¹²

a) ĠİŠ-GU-KAK-ġíd “spearhead.” H. Waetzoldt (1990a: 2–6) suggested this meaning in reference to *ġú-ġiš-ġíd-da urudu* [18] of the Mesopotamian sources. The terms *gu* and *ġú*, however, are unrelated. A more likely solution (as Piotr Steinkeller kindly suggested to me) is a conflation of two different words: *gu-kak* and *ĠİŠ-ġíd(-da)*, which in turn correspond to *šukur* = (URUDU.) IGL.KAK (*MSL* 15: 192), and *ĠİŠ-ġíd-da* (also *ĠİŠ-níĝ-ġíd-da* in lexical texts), Akk. *arīktu* “spear, lance,” respectively (Archi 2008c: 2 [306]). The Bilingual Lexical Lists (VE 479) translate *ĠİŠ-GU-KAK-ġíd* by *hi-tum*, of unknown meaning.

Each spearhead, *ĠİŠ-GU-KAK-ġíd*, usually weighed about 80 to 90 g; some pieces could reach 158 g (Archi 1993f: 622). *ĠİŠ-gu* has to be considered an

12 For the weapons of the army of Lagaš, see Bauer 1998: 528–31.

abbreviation, since it has the same weights, see e.g. TM.75.G.2145 obv. I 2–II 2: 5;05 ma-na an-na 45 ma-na a-gar₅ 300 ĠİŠ-GU UD(.KA.BAR) 10 (gín) | 50 ma-na a-gar₅ 300 ĠİŠ-gu “5;05 minas of lead (and) 45 minas of copper: 300 ĠİŠ-gu of bronze of 10 (shekels). 50 minas of copper: 300 ĠİŠ-gu of copper of 10 (shekels)” (50 minas = 3,000 shekels; each spearhead 10 shekels, i.e. 78.3 g; in the case of the heads of bronze, 5 shekels of lead have not been considered). TM.75.G.1642 (MEE 7.13) presents both writings: ĠİŠ-GU-KAK-gíd and ĠİŠ-gu.

b) ĠİŠ-ti “arrow, arrowhead”; ĠİŠ-pan “bow.” The Early Dynastic Practical Vocabulary A 289–291 has the sequence: ĠİŠ-pan – mar-uru₅ “quiver” – ĠİŠ-ti. MEE 12.35 (TM.75.G.2428) obv. V 17–29 has: 38 gín an-na + 7; 42 minas a-gar₅-gar₅ = 2,000 ĠİŠ-ti; 1 ĠİŠ-ti = 1/4 gín; i.e. 38 + 462 shekels = 500 shekels × 7.83 = 3,915 g : 2,000 arrow = 1.95 g each (quoted already in Waetzoldt 1990a: 6). TM.75.G.1674 rev. II 3–III 2 lists 13,550 arrows and 20 + 130 bows (20 ĠİŠ-pan 130 Ú[?] ĠİŠ-pan).

About 60 workers were employed at the palace (SA.ZA_x^{ki}) for making arrows. TM.75.G.1731 rev. XII 22–23: 3 é-duru₅^{ki} 5 na-se₁₁ lú ĠİŠ-ti-ĠİŠ-ti “3 squads (of 20 people each and) 5 people (i.e. 65 men, for) making arrows.” TM.75.G.1770 rev. VIII 13–15: 3 é-duru₅^{ki} lú ĠİŠ-ti lú Ġr-am₆-da-mu “3 squads (of 20 people each) of the arrows of (i.e. dependent on) Iram-damu.”¹³ Smaller groups of workers had the task of preparing bows. ARET 1.4 § 74: “25 + 25 + 25 cloth (for 25 workers for) making bows: of Aĥu-nase; ” § 89 “2 + 2 + 2 cloth (for) 2 (people) of Armi (for) making bows.”¹⁴

c) ġir “dagger.” There are many kinds of daggers, ARET 3: 350–351; 7: 212–213; 12: 536–537 (discussed in Waetzoldt 1990: 8–21). In most cases they were decorated with silver and gold, and distributed to members of the palace organization. Although, according to visual sources, soldiers were provided with daggers, the Eblaite texts do not attest to a large distribution of simple daggers of bronze.

¹³ Arrows could be brought also from other towns, ARET 1.6 § 52: “1 cloth (for) arrows of Ibal”; 13 § 15: 2 + 2 + 2 cloths (for) arrows of Dau”; see also ARET 4.20 § 14 and § 32, ARET 3: 354. ARET 3.787 I 1: 80 ġar-su ĠİŠ-ti, suggest for ġar-su the meaning “bag,” in this case “quiver,” cf. Archi 2003c: 34.

For ĠİŠ-ti-ĤAR “side(?) of a wagon or chariot,” see Civil 2008: 109, with previous literature. ĠİŠ-pan, when related to a chariot, could be “handrail,” see Archi 2000c.

¹⁴ Similarly, ARET 1.6 § 47: “expert workers in making bows,” dub-zu-zu; 4.8 § 25: “two people of Armi for making the bows of the king and minister Ibbi-zikir,” § 26: 20 young men (dumu-nita) of Ebla, expert (dub-zu-zu) in making bows.” According to ARET 3.350 I 4–6: the value of one bow was one shekel of silver.

d) “mace,” “ax.”¹⁵ ŠITA+ĠİŠ = *ḥa-pù* is the mace of Hadda and other gods.¹⁶ The Early Dynastic Practical Vocabulary lists a “mace of lapis lazuli” and a “mace of stone” (Civil 2008: nos. 30 and 66). This ceremonial weapon is connected to gods, with the presumable exception of TM.75.G.1174, a list of objects, which, in obv. I 3, registers “seventeen maces of silver,” 17 *ḥa-bù kù-babbar*.

za-ḥa-da “battle-ax.” Usually the documents register single *za-ḥa-da*, decorated with silver: prestigious axes for the king and the minister (MEE 7.34 rev. II 8–9: for the king; TM.75.G.1771 obv. VII 6–7: for minister Ibrium). In TM.75.G.2464 obv. VII 2–4, 1 *za-ḥa-da* of the value of 2 minas gold (940 g) is dedicated to the god Hadda. A large number of these axes is registered only in MEE 12.35 rev. 36: 70 (used) *za-ḥa-da* to be melted together with other weapons.

ḥa-zi “ax” (Civil 2008: 91–92). One *ḥa-zi* in bronze weighed usually 1½ mina (705 g), TM. 75.G.10201 rev. XII 4: 4 *ḥa-zi* 1 ma-na 30 (gín); TM.75.G.10088 rev. VI 15–19: 30 ma-na 20 *ḥa-zi* 1 ma-na 30 (gín). The 40 *ḥa-zi* of bronze in ARET 2.55 weighed 580 g each. There were in general less of these axes than the gín gal axes, TM.75.G.2507 obv. XIX 3: 20 gín gal 10 *ḥa-zi*; TM.75.G.2508 rev. VI 21: 60 gín gal 30 *ḥa-zi*. There were also “big” exemplars, MEE 12 rev. VII 34–36: 4 *ḥa-zi* maḥ wa 3 gín gal maḥ. [19]

gín (VE no. 759: gín-urudu = *ba-šum*, Akk. *pāšum*) “ax.” It may be “large” gal and “small” tur. The large one could weigh 1 mina (470 g), TM.75.G.10074 obv. XXVII 1: 12 gín gal zabar 1 ma-na; or 40 shekels (313 g), TM.75.G.10074 rev. VII 22: 30 gín gal ša-pi. The small one was usually of 20 shekels (157 g), TM.75.G.1860 obv. XIII 29, but sometimes also of 40 shekels, TM.75.G.2465 obv. III 9–10: 3 gín tur ša+pi-ša-pi.¹⁷ This kind of ax is usually listed among work tools. It could also be a war instrument, however, because the king himself is attributed with a gín gal in bronze, TM.75.G.1464 rev. II 19–20: “ten shekels of tin and one mina of copper (548 g) for a mace (*ma-ḥa-ni-gúm*) and a gín gal of the king.”

For ĠİŠ-silig “war ax” see note 19.

The texts do not document large distributions of axes: axes (especially *za-ḥa-da*) had to have been weapons of the elite.

e) níġ-saġšu “helmet.”¹⁸ Some large numbers of this object were recorded in TM.75.G.2637(+) (here below: f). Further, MEE 7.13 rev. II 6: 156 níġ-saġšu zabar.

¹⁵ For the ax *ne-a-tum*, Akk. *nītum*, see Archi 2005b.

¹⁶ MEE 12: 356–357; Archi 2010b*: 6–12 [575–580].

¹⁷ In ARET 2.54 I 1, read 4 ma-na (not 40)!

¹⁸ Waetzoldt 1990a: 29–30.

Each helmet needed a padding of wool, MEE 2.25 rev. X 6–8: “one stone-weight (na_4) of wool for the helmet of minister Ibrium.” According to ARET 3.826 II 2–4, 40 helmets needed 22 “KIN” of wool, whereas in III 691 rev. VI 2–3, one helmet needed two “KIN” of wool.

According to TM.75.G.1705 obv. VI 5–6, the value of one helmet could be about one tenth of a shekel silver: 13 gín kù-babbar níġ-sa₁₀ 134 níġ-saġšu. ARET 2.41 § 2, however, gives a value of 267 shekels silver for each of three helmets, understandable if the helmets were decorated with gold.

There were also ceremonial helmets. ARET 2.4 § 7 lists the gift to Iplul-il of Mari for the purification ceremony (î-ġiš-saġ, VI 4) because of his wife’s death (*Pa₄-ba* É×PAP, XVII 8): “1 pectoral (a kind of cuirass: gaba) of gold of 1,109 g; 1 helmet (níġ-saġšu) of gold of 705 g; 1 (kind of) shield (ġiš-šu₄) of 1,410 g of gold; 1 belt, 1 sheath, 1 frog (îb-lá si-ti-tum ġír-kun) of 470 g of gold, [...] 1 war ax(?) (silig)¹⁹ of 2,898 g of silver.” ARET 7.3 § 5 and 7 § 1: “1880 g of gold for (1) helmet ... gift for the king of Mari.” ARET 7.6 § 11: “1801 g of gold for (1) helmet ... for the king of Mari.” MEE 7.31 obv. IV 4: 1 níġ-saġšu of 2 mina gold (940 g). Such helmets could be decorated with an eagle,²⁰ ARET 4.9 § 31: 2 ma-na 50 kù-sig₁₇ ĠÁ×LÁ 1 níġ-saġšu 1 ti₈-MUŠEN “1801 g of gold, weight of one helmet (with) one eagle (which the king has given to the god Hadda)”; MEE 2.12 rev. VI 1–3: 20 (gín) kù-sig₁₇ nu₁₁-za ti₈-MUŠEN 1 níġ-saġšu “157 g of gold, sheet (for decorating) the eagle of 1 helmet”; TM.75.G.10077 rev. XV 10–14: 40 gín kù-babbar 1 ti₈-MUŠEN níġ-saġšu “313 g of silver (for) one eagle of a helmet.”

The ceremonial arms for King Išar-damu are similar to those sent about forty years earlier to Iplul-il, TM.75.G.2008(+) obv. I 5–13: [kù-sig₁₇] 1 ġír 2;30 ma-na kù-sig₁₇-4 1 îb-lá 1 si-ti-tum 1 ġír-kun 2;30 kù-sig₁₇-4 1 gaba 1;43 ma-na kù-sig₁₇-2 1/2 1 níġ-saġšu 55 (gín) kù-sig₁₇-4 1 ti₈-MUŠEN-sù “[x gold] (for) 1 dagger; 1,175 g of gold (for) 1 belt 1 sheath 1 frog; 1,175 g of gold (for) 1 cuirass; 807 g of gold (for) 1 helmet; 431 g of gold (for its decoration of) 1 eagle.” (4 and 2 1/2 is the value of gold in relation to silver; in previous years, their ratio was always 5:1.) The arms for the crown prince Ir’aq-damu had the same value (III 18–IV 5).

¹⁹ The meaning is uncertain. The only passage where ġiš-silig has to mean “war ax” is TM.75.G.2102 rev. I 1–3: 50 kù-sal 50 buru₄-MUŠEN 5 ġiš-silig 3 šīTA+ġiš kù-babbar “50 buckles, 50 shields, 5 war axes, 3 maces of silver.” In the other cases, it seems that the scribes did an indiscriminate use of the signs ĠİSGAL×IGI, ĠİSGAL×URUDU, ĠİSGAL. In the passages considered in Waetzoldt 1990a: 23–24, one should translate “table, tray.” See, e.g. TM.75.G.1985(+) obv. I 2–5: 11;07 ma-na kù-sig₁₇ nu₁₁-za 3 ĠİSGAL 48 (gín) kù-babbar nu₁₁-za pad-sù “5225 g of gold, sheets (for decorating) 3 trays, 376 g of silver, sheets (for covering) their covers.” For Ġiš-silig “war ax,” see Civil 2003: 51–52.

²⁰ Archi 1988h.

The helmet could have a protective visor, IGI.DUB.²¹ ARET 2.11: 59 ma-na 30 (gín) [20] a-gar₅-gar₅ 7 ma-na 30 (gín) an-na “kin₅”-ag IGI.DUB 100 níġ-saġ-šu | 35 gín a-gar₅-gar₅ 4 ½ gín an-na “kin₅”-ag IGI.DUB 1 níġ-saġ-šu. Since there was a total of 3,570 shekels of copper and 450 shekels of tin, each visor for the 100 helmets must have required 35 shekels (274 g) of copper and 4.5 shekels (317 g) of tin. TM.75.G.10143 obv. X 4–9: 3 ma-na an-na 24 ma-na a-gar₅-gar₅ “kin₅”-ag IGI.DUB 40 níġ-saġ-šu; in this case each visor weighed 40;5 shekels (317 g). IGI.DUB = *ba-nu-ù* “face” (Archi 1988g). The phonetic writing is attested in TM.75.G.2359 obv. XI 10–14: 7 (gín) an-na šub *si-in* <x> *ba-na-a* 1 níġ-saġ-šu “7 (shekels) of tin to be melted in <x copper> (for) the visor of 1 helmet.”

f) *buru₄-MUŠEN* “shield,” used primarily in association with *kù-sal* “buckle, boss” (ARET 7: 208; MEE 12: 623), has been interpreted as a pendant representing a bird (Archi 2002b: 192–193). Civil explained the semantic extension from bird to leather shield, *KUŠ-buru₄-MUŠEN* (Civil 2008: 15–16).²² Although the Eblaite scribes do not write *KUŠ*,²³ the meaning shield is required in only a few contexts, as in the following inventory with the sequence helmets – nooses – shields: TM.75.G.2637(+) obv. III 9–IV 5: [x] níġ-[saġ-šu] 80 šu-kešda 140 *buru₄-MUŠEN* 41 ma-na a-gar₅-gar₅ 245 la-ḥa geštin 28 ir₁₁; VII 3–7: 50 níġ-saġ-šu 550 *buru₄-MUŠEN* 2 gud niga 1 udu niga; rev. I 1–2: 180 níġ-saġ-šu 300 šu-kešda 680 *buru₄-MUŠEN*.

The only two passages in which *ġiš-šu₄* has to mean “shield” (not “cup,” as usual) are ARET 2.4 § 7, where it occurs among the funerary armor for Iplulil of Mari (above: e), and TM.75.G.2637(+) (quoted here above) rev. I 7: 10 *ġiš-šu₄* kuš-kuš “shields of leather.” The mention of leather shields is unusual here, as they are generally not recorded.

g) *buru₄-TIL-MUŠEN* “sling.” The Lexical Lists, no. 1369, have *buru₄-TIL MUŠEN* = *wa-zi-bù-um*, VE 1369, Akk. (*w*)*ašpum* “sling.”²⁴ The contexts in TM.75.G.12451 (6)–(9), (12) (see § 3 below) confirm this interpretation.

h) *gud-si(-AŠ)* “battering ram.”²⁵

²¹ Waetzoldt 1990a: 29 already interpreted correctly the passage in ARET 2.11.

²² On *KUŠ-buru₄-MUŠEN* see further Civil 2003: 52; Schrakamp 2009a: 176.

²³ Scribal error may be observed in TM.75.G.12561 rev. II 1–2: 1 ⅓ gín *kù-sig₁₇* 2 *buru₄-TIL-MUŠEN* 2 *kù-sal* and TM.75.G.10201 rev. XII 25–28: 1 gín *kù-sig₁₇* 1 *buru₄-TIL-MUŠEN* 1 *ġir mar-tu* (for the god Hadda), where a jewel is expected, not a sling.

²⁴ Schrakamp 2009b: 222; contra Civil 2008: 127 “battering ram.”

²⁵ See Steinkeller 1987a.

3 Men for Work and Men for War

Although Ebla went to war every year, only one document specifies the number of men who could be recruited in such cases, apparently without reference to a specific military campaign. The recruits were stationed in a number of different centers.

Text 1

TM.75.G.12451

(99 × 118 × 27 mm)

OBV.

I		[(not preserved)]	
II	1	[]	
		[] ^r x ^r	
	3	[]	
(1')			
III	1	[š <u>u-nîgin</u> x li-im x mi-at nîg-k]as ₄	
		5 li ġuruš kin ₅ -ag	5,000
	3	A-da-âs ^{ki}	
(2')			
	4	mi Ġiš-gu-kak-gíd [za]bar-sù	400
	5	[x m]i-at [Ġiš-g]u-[kak-gíd] urudu	[x]
		[(about 5 cases missing)]	[...]
IV	1	š <u>u-nîgin</u> 1 li-im 5 mi-at nîg-kas ₄	1,500
		1 li-im 6 mi-at <ġuruš> kin ₅ -ag	1,600
	3	Ig-du-lu ^{ki}	
(3')			
	2	mi-at Ġiš-gu-kak-gíd ^r zabar ^r 8- ^r 8 ^r	200
	5	1 mi-at Ġiš-gu-kak-gíd urudu-sù	100
		^r 4 ^r mi-at Ġiš-gu-[kak-]gíd [za]bar	400
	7	[x li]-im []	[x]
		[lú en]	—
	9	[an-šè-gú x li x mi ġuruš]	[x]
		[]	
	11	[](?)	
V	1	š <u>u-nîgin</u> 2 li 2 mi 80 ġuruš nîg- ^r kas ₄ ^r	2,280
		2 li-i[m] 4 mi-a[t] ^r kin ₅ - ^r ag	2,400
	3	Nu-[g]a-mu ^{ki} [21]	

(4')

	4	<i>mi-at</i> ĠIŠ-gu-kak-gíd zabar-sù 8–8	400
	5	6 <i>mi</i> ĠIŠ-gu-kak- ^r gíd ^r zab[ar]	600
		2 l[i-]im [x <i>mi-at</i> [ĠIŠ]-gu-[kak-gíd] urudu	2x00
	7	[l]ú en	
		[an-šè-g]ú[?] [x <i>li x mi</i> ġuruš]	[x]
	9	[šu-níġin]	
VI	1	3 <i>li</i> 8 <i>mi</i> ^r 20 ^r ġuruš níġ-kas ₄	3,820
		4 <i>li-im</i> 2 <i>mi</i> ^r 10 ^r kin ₅ -ag	4,210
	3	Dag-ba-al ₆ ^{ki}	

(5')

	3	<i>mi</i> ĠIŠ-gu-kak-gíd-sù urudu	300
	5	1 <i>li-im</i> [ĠIŠ-g]u-[kak-gíd] zabar	1,000
		8 <i>mi-at</i> ĠIŠ-gu-kak-gíd urudu	800
	7	lú en	
		an-šè-gú 2 <i>li</i> 1 <i>mi</i> ġuruš	2,100
	9	lú ĠIŠ-gu-kak-gíd	
		3 <i>mi-at</i> 20 ġuruš	320
	11	l[ú x] ^r x ^r []	
		[šu-níġin 2 <i>li</i> 4 <i>mi</i>]	[24]20
VII	1	20 níġ-kas ₄	
		3 ²⁶ <i>li</i> “kin ₅ ”-ag	3,000
	3	I-rí-gú	

(6')

	2	<i>mi</i> ĠIŠ-ti 2 <i>mi</i> buru ₄ -[TIL-M]UŠEN	400
	5	5 <i>li</i> ġuruš níġ-kas ₄	5,000
		6 <i>li</i> 3 ^r mi ^r 80 ^r “kin ₅ ”-ag ^r	6,380
	7	2 <i>li</i> 9 <i>mi</i> 50 [ĠIŠ]-gu[-kak-g]íd	2,950
		3 l[i] 6 <i>mi</i> 80 ĠIŠ-[gu-]kak[-gíd]	3680 = 6630
	9	Ĥa-ra[-i]	

(7')

		^r 2 ^{r?} <i>mi-a</i> [t]	
REV.			
I	1	[]	
		[]	
	3	[] ^r x ^r []	
		80 Ġ[IŠ-ti] 1 <i>mi-a</i> [t] buru ₄ -TIL-MUŠE[N]	180

26 Possibly: 2.

	5	šu-níġin 1 'lī' 4 'mī' <u>níġ-kas₄</u>	1,400
		2 lī 4 mī 50 ġuruš " <u>kin₅</u> "-ag	2,450
	7	A-ba-zu^{ki}	
(8')			
		4 mī-at Ġiš-gu-kak-gíd-sù urudu	400
	9	4 mī Ġiš-gu-kak-gíd zabar	400
II	1	[Ġiš-gu-kak-gíd urudu] [lú en]	[x]
	3	1 m[i] 80 ġuruš lú Ġiš-gu-kak-gíd	180
	5	60 Ġiš-ti	60
		60 buru ₄ -TIL-MUŠEN	60
	7	šu-níġin 1 lī 6 mī <u>níġ-kas₄</u>	1,600
		1 lī 7 mī " <u>kin₅</u> "-ag	1,700
	9	Īl-gú-uš-ti	
(9')			
		3 mī Ġiš-gu-kak-gíd-sù urudu	300
	11	4 mī Ġiš-gu-kak-gíd zabar	400
III	1	[x lī-im x mī-at Ġiš-gu-kak-gíd urudu] [lú en]	[x]
	3	[(x)] 2 mī g[uruš] [?] lú Ġiš-gu-kak-gíd	200
	5	60 Ġiš-ti	60
		40 buru ₄ -TIL-MUŠEN	40
	7	šu-níġin 2 lī <u>níġ-kas₄</u>	2,000
		2 lī 1 mī " <u>kin₅</u> "-ag	2,100
	9	Bù-su-gi	
(10')			
		2 mī-at Ġiš-gu-kak-gíd zabar-sù	200
	11	4 mī Ġiš-gu-kak-gíd urudu	400
		3 mī Ġiš-gu-ṛkak ^ṛ -gíd zabar	300
	13	1 mī Ġiš-gu-kak-gíd urudu	100
IV	1	[lú en] []	
	3	[] [šu-níġ]in [x lī] [x mī <u>níġ-kas₄</u>]	[x]
	5	[x lī x mī " <u>kin₅</u> "-ag] [PN]	[x]
(11')			
	7	4 mī Ġiš-gu-kak-gíd zabar-sù	400

		4 <i>mi</i> 50 Ġiṣ-gu-kak-gíd urudu-sù	450
		9 2 <i>mi-at</i> Ġiṣ-gu-kak-gíd zabar	200
V	1	[]	
		[]	
	3?	[šu-niġin x <i>li</i> x <i>mi</i> <u>níġ-kas₄</u>]	[x]
		[x <i>li</i> x <i>mi</i> " <u>kin₅</u> "-ag]	[x]
	5	^r NI-ra-ar ^{ki}	
(12')			
		1 <i>mi</i> 40 Ġiṣ-ti 1 <i>mi</i> 40 buru ₄ -TIL<-MUṢEN>	280
	7	2 <i>li</i> <u>níġ-kas₄</u>	2,000
		2 <i>li</i> 3 <i>mi</i> " <u>kin₅</u> "-ag	2,300
	9	8 <i>mi</i> [Ġi]ṣ-g[u]<-kak-gíd> [zab]ar 4 <i>mi</i> ^r Ġiṣ ¹ -gu- [kak-]gíd-sù urudu	1,200
		Ki-ti-ir [22]	
(13')			
VI		[(about 5 cases missing)]	
(14')			
	6?	[x Ġiṣ-gu-kak-gíd urudu](?)	
	7	[x <i>mi</i>] 50 Ġiṣ-gu-kak-gíd zabar	[x]
		2 <i>li</i> 2 <i>mi</i> Ġiṣ-gu-kak-gíd urudu	2,200
	9	lú en	—
		an-šè-gú 3 <i>li</i> 2 <i>mi</i> ġuruš	3,200
	11	lú Ġiṣ-gu- ^r kak ¹ -gíd	
		4 <i>mi</i> [x+]10 ġuruš	4x0
VII	1	[]	
(15')			
x+	1	[x <i>li</i> x <i>mi</i> Ġiṣ-gu-kak-gíd uru]du	
		[lú] en	—
	3'	[an-šè-g]ú ^r 2' <i>li</i> 2 <i>mi</i> ġuruš	2,200
		lú Ġiṣ-gu-kak-gíd	
	5'	[x] <i>mi</i> [(x) ġu]ruš	
VIII–IX		[(not preserved)]	

3.1 Translation

- (1') [... Grand total: x (men for) military ex]peditions, 5,000 men (for) working. Town of Adašù.
- (2') 400 spearheads of bronze, [x.]100 spearheads of copper, [...]. Grand total: 1,500 (men for) military expeditions, 1,600 (men for) working. Town of Igdulu.
- (3') 200 spearheads of bronze of 8 (shekels), 100 spearheads of copper, 400 spearheads of bronze, [x.]1000[+x spearheads ... of the king. Total: x men ...]. Grand total: 2,280 men (for) the military expeditions, 2,400 (men for) working. Town of Nugamu.
- (4') 400 spearheads of bronze of 8 (shekels), 600 spearheads of bronze, 2,000[+x] spearheads of copper of the king. [Total: x men. Grand total:] 3,820 men (for) military expeditions, 4,210 men (for) working. Town of Dagbal.
- (5') 300 spearheads of copper, 1,000 spearheads of bronze, 800 spearheads of copper of the king. Total: 2,100 men of the spearheads. 320 men of [... Grand total: 24]20 (men for) military expeditions, 3,000 men (for) working. Irigu.
- (6') 200 arrowheads, 200 slings, 5,000 men (for) military expeditions, 6,380 (men for) working, 2,950 spearheads, 3,680 spearheads [of bronze]. Ĥara-i(l).
- (7') 200 [...], 80 arrowheads, 100 slings. Grand total: 1,400 (men for) military expeditions, 2,450 men (for) working. Town of Abazu.
- (8') 400 spearheads of copper, 400 spearheads of bronze, [x spearheads of bronze of the king,] 180 men of the spearheads, 60 arrowheads, 60 slings. Grand total: 1,600 (men for) military expeditions, 1,700 (men for) working. Ilgušti.
- (9') 300 spearheads of copper, 400 spearheads of bronze, [x spearheads of copper of the king,] 200[(+x)] m[en]² of the spearheads, 60 arrow-heads, 40 slings. Grand total: 2,000 (men for) military expeditions, 2,100 (men for) working. Busugi.
- (10') 200 spearheads of bronze, 400 spearheads of copper, 300 spearheads of bronze, 100 spearheads of copper [of the king. ... Grand] total: [x (men for) military expeditions, x (men for) working. PN].
- (11') 400 spearheads of bronze, 450 spearheads of copper, 200 spearheads of bronze, [... Grand total: x (men for) military expeditions, x (men for) working]. The town of NĪrar.
- (12') 140 arrowheads, 140 slings, 2,000 (men for) military expeditions, 2,300 (men for) working. 800 spearheads [of br]onze, 400 spearheads of copper. Kitir.

(13') [...]

(14') [x spearheads of copper, x+]50 spearheads of bronze, 2,200 spearheads of copper of the king. Total: 3,200 men of the spearheads, 410[+x] men [of ...]

(15') [x spearheads of cop]per [of] the king. [Total]: 2,200 men of the spearheads, [x] men [...]

3.2 Textual Remarks

The document is fragmentary, the colophon is missing, and the sections do not follow a regular pattern, all of which hinder textual comprehension. Each section ends with *šu-niĝin* “grand total” followed by two numerals and a GN or PN. Those numerals refer to *ĝuruš* “men” (omitted in [5'], [8']–[12']) who could be employed for either *nîĝ-kas₄* “military campaign” or “kin₅”-ag “work activity.”²⁷ Each section opens with a large number of spearheads, some of bronze and some of copper. [23] This is followed by a number of other spearheads belonging to the king (*lú en*), as well as other weapons. Only in section (5') does there appear to be a correspondence between the number of weapons and that of men: 300 spearheads of copper, 1,000 of bronze, and another 800 of copper provided by the king, that is, 2,100 spearheads in total. There were an additional 320 men, who probably were supplied with other weapons. The number of the “men (for) working” is always larger than that of the men to be recruited. Sections (14') and (15') confirm that each man who was recruited had to be equipped with a spearhead: “Total: 3,200/2,200 men of the spearheads” (the numbers of the spearheads are however lost in these sections).

Section (6') is more problematic: the spearheads (listed anomalously at the end) are $2,950 + 3,680 = 6,630$, while the *ĝuruš nîĝ-kas₄* are 5,000.

However, the number of spearheads is close to that of the men sent to war. The basic weapon of a soldier of the Early Bronze period (and beyond) was the thrusting spear of the soldiers depicted in the “Standard of Ur.” Spearheads appear frequently in the documents. TM.75.G.1642 (MEE 7.13) is an inventory of the *é-am* (a storeroom), dated to the year of the campaign against the town of Zaburum (minister *Ibbi-zikir*), rev. V 1–9: *šid é-am iti i-ri-sá DIŠ mu Ib-la^{ki} ma-ni-lum al₆-tuš in Za-bù-lum^{ki}*. The first section concerns the spearheads of bronze stored in the *é-am*: 14,615 in number (obv. II 5). An additional 650 spearheads of bronze were: “tag₄”-“tag₄” *nîĝ-kas₄ al₆ SA.ZA_x^{ki} lú En-na-ì lú é-am àga-*

27 For “kin₅”-ag, see TM.75.G.10041 obv. VIII 7–9: 10 *la-ḥa i-ĝiš* “kin₅”-ag “10 jars of oil for the work activity.” TM.75.G.10250 obv. XVII 25–27: 3 *é* “kin₅”-ak *Ĝiš-ti* “3 houses (for) making arrows.”

ús “rest of the military expedition debited to the account of the palace, of Enna-i(l) of the é-am, the gendarme” (obv. II 7–III 8). Moreover, 843 spearheads were “tag₄”-“tag₄” *al*₆ ugula ká ugula ká PN₁-PN₃ àga-ús *al*₆ ugula ká “rest debited to the account of the overseers of the districts, (to) PN₁-PN₃, the gendarmes, to the account of the overseer(s) of the district(s)” (obv. III 9–IV 9). Another document, TM.07.G.201, registers the distribution of 5,930 spearheads to important cities (Nagar, Kiš, Ursa’um) and to Eblaite officials, probably for the expeditions against Mari three years before the destruction of Ebla (Archi 2008c). The spear was the weapon par excellence also in Amorrite-period Mari; indeed, spear (ĜiŠ-šukur) could mean “military service.”²⁸

8–8, in sections (4’)-(5’), should refer to the weight of the spearheads: 8 shekels, that is 63 g (8 × 7.83). They were generally heavier; see, however, TM.75.G.2507 rev. XVII 18–19: 4 *mi-at* ma-na a-gar₅-gar₅ 4 *li-im* ĜiŠ-gu-kak-gíd 6 “400 minas copper (for) 4,000 spearheads of 6 (shekels each)” (400 minas × 60 = 24,000 shekels : 4,000 heads = 6 shekel, 1 head. 7.83 g × 6 = 47 g). MEE 12.35 rev. XX 27–XXI 3: 2;04 minas of bronze are added to 131 minas of bronze obtained from melting old weapons: spearheads, bows, arrowheads, and battle-axes (*za-ḥa-da*); 1,000 arrowheads of 8 shekels each are made from this bronze (MEE 12: 335, 402).

SUD is the writing for the 3rd sg. poss. pronoun: -sù, used as “Semitic logogram” also for the plural forms. It appears in a few passages (obv. III 4, IV 5, V 4, VI 4, rev. III 10, IV 7, 8) and it seems to stand in contrast with lú en. ĜiŠ-gu-kak-gíd is usually marked by MAŠ.MAŠ, or šub (ARET 7: 213).

ĜiŠ-ti occurs in several sections, (6’): 200; (7’): 80; (8’): 60; (9’): 60; (12’): 140. If ĜiŠ-ti were “arrow-head,” such low numbers would make little sense. Instead, the term has to mean here “archer.” ĜiŠ-ti is followed by buru₄-TIL-MUŠEN, with more or less the same numbers, (6’): 200; (7’): 100; (8’): 60; (9’): 40; (12’): 140. This suggests the meaning “sling,” and, in these contexts, “slingers.”

The document originally had at least 18 sections: the first two, in cols. I–II of the obverse, are missing. Sixteen sections are partially preserved, eleven of which preserve proper names. The last two columns of the reverse could have had one or two more sections. The number of men documented is as follows: [26]

²⁸ ARMT XXVI, 2: 303, 31’: “the spear of Zimri-Lim and the Haneans”; 386 8’: “the spear of the wicked and of the enemy has been broken.” On the equivalence of spear and military service, see Durand 2002: 91, 111–113, ll. 3 and 20.

section GN/PN	(ġuruš) niġ-kas ₄	(ġuruš) “kin ₅ ”-ag
(1') <i>A-da-āš</i> ^{ki}	[x]	[x]
(2') <i>Ig-du-lu</i> ^{ki}	1,500	1,600
(3') <i>Nu-ga-mu</i> ^{ki}	2,280	2,400
(4') <i>Dag-ba-al</i> ₆ ^{ki}	3,820	4,210
(5') <i>I-rí-gú</i>	[2,4]20	3,000
(6') <i>Ĥa-ra-[i]</i>	5,000	6,380
(7') <i>A-ba-zu</i> ^{ki}	1,400	2,450
(8') <i>Íl-gú-uš-ti</i>	1,600	1,700
(9') <i>Bū-su-gi</i>	2,000	2,100
(10') [x]	[x]	[x]
(11') <i>ni-ra-ar</i> ^{ki}	[x]	[x]
(12') <i>Ki-ti-ir</i>	2,000	2,300
(13') [x]	[x]	[x]
(14') [x]	[x]	[x]
	22,020	26,140



4 Data on Manpower

A document of around the period of minister Arrukum (35 to 40 years before the destruction of Ebla), MEE 7.16 lists a total of 11,700 men or workers (ġuruš-

ġuruš). Of these, 4,700 belonged to the palace (SA.ZA_x^{ki}), while the other 7,000 were under 14 lords (lugal-lugal). Several documents concerning distributions of clothing and wool confirm that there were 4,300 to 7,000 men attributed directly to the palace, organized into 7 to 10 squads (*ir-a-núm*) under an overseer (ugula). Some of these squads were located in the surrounding area (eribar). The total in TM.75.G.1899 rev. X 3–6 is: “5215 men of the palace (SA.ZA_x^{ki}) (and) of the residence of the king (é en).” These lists sometimes begin with “the elders (roughly 40) residing by the throne of the king.” The personnel organized in *ir’ānum* were followed by groups of specialized workers: smiths, carpenters, attendants, cooks, singer, and so on (Archi 1988f).

Attempts to investigate the organization of manpower beyond these palace-based groups still face insurmountable problems. Indeed, this remains one of the most vexing issues in the entire study of the written documentation from Ebla. The documents are not drawn up according to any consistent organizing principle and thus give the names of places and officials according to inconsistent lists. They provide no information that can be used to date the texts and, consequently, diachronic or synchronic investigation. Some documents would appear to be concerned with manpower solely employed by the central organization; others list numerous villages, possibly organized as peasant communities. It is unclear as to what extent the distinction between central and rural communities can be discerned and, moreover, how the two sectors interrelated.

At Ebla, *ká* “gate” does not necessarily mean “city quarter” (Akk. *babtu*). Usually, it means a group of workers, under an overseer, *ugula*,²⁹ or qualified by a GN. Moreover, these groups can be organized into “houses, work units,” *é*. The term, therefore, refers to a kind of district, located outside the city of Ebla (in TM.75.G.1642, quoted above in § 3, the gates, *ká*, are in opposition to the palace, SA.ZA_x^{ki}). In some cases the number of these houses (*é*) is extraordinarily high for rural centers. TM.75.G.10250, a kind of cadaster of Arulu (a center of no political interest), registers “a total of 4,580 houses. Document of the gate of Arulu,” *šu-nîġin 4,580 é dub ká A-ru₁₂-lu^{ki}*. This means that Arulu could have had a population of approximately 20,000 people. That these houses were distributed over minor villages explains this otherwise unexpected number. Arulu, together with the other centers of those lists, was, therefore, at the head of a complex structure called *ká*, which included work units located in several village communities. As an example, TM.75.G.1410 obv. V 15–VIII 3 has: 30 ú-šim 700 gána-ki GN₁ 40 ú-šim 1,700 gána-ki GN₂ 1 PA še 1 a-ur₄ GN₃ ... an-

²⁹ A similar kind of personnel organization was attested also in the Habur region, see Ismail et al. 1996: 180–181.

šè-gú 182 ú-šim 6,000 gána-ki *Dag-ba-al₆*^{ki} “... total: 182 meadows, 6,000 field units: (gate: ká) of Dagbal.”

The number of documents relating to these districts is extremely poor, considering their importance for the economy of Ebla. TM.75.G.1877 concerns the deliveries of sheep (for a total of 335 animals) by ten districts to be offered to Kura, the god of the city of Ebla, rev. IV 1–4: lú ká-ká nídba ^d*Ku-ra*. The names of these ká-ká are listed in the first column given below. The second column concerns the 18 ká according to a document of minister Ibrium. The document of the third column is dated to minister Ibbi-zikir, and could be 15 years more recent than the previous one. The fourth column lists the GNs and PN of the document discussed above (§ 3). [27]

	TM.75.G.1877 (sheep for Kura)	TM.75.G.2634 (minister Ibrium)	TM.75.G.10244 (minister Ibbi-zikir)	TM.75.G.12451 (ġuruš)
(1)	ká <i>Bar-za-ma-ù</i>	ká <i>Bar-za-ma-ù</i>	[]	
(2)	ká <i>Kul-ba-an</i> ^{ki}	ká <i>Kul-b[a-an]</i> ^{ki}	[]	[]
(3)	ká <i>A-da-áš</i> ^{ki}	[<i>A-da-áš</i> ^{ki}]	<i>A-da-áš</i> ^{ki}	<i>A-da-áš</i> ^{ki}
(4)	ká <i>Nu-ga-mu</i> ^{ki}	<i>Ig-du-ra</i> ^{ki}	<i>Ig-du-ra</i> ^{ki}	<i>Ig-du-lu</i> ^{ki}
(5)	ká <i>A-ba-zu</i> ^{ki}	<i>Nu-ga-mu</i> ^{ki}	[<i>Nu-ga-mu</i> ^{ki}]	<i>Nu-ga-mu</i> ^{ki}
(6)	ká <i>A-ru₁₂-lu</i> ^{ki} an-ki	<i>Dag-ba-al₆</i> ^{ki}	ká <i>Dag-ba-al₆</i> ^{ki}	<i>Dag-ba-al₆</i> ^{ki}
(7)	ká <i>Dag-ba-al₆</i> ^{ki}	[<i>A-ru₁₂-lu</i> ^{ki} an-ki]	<i>A-ru₁₂-lu</i> ^{ki} an-ki	
(8)	ká <i>Ig-du-lu</i> ^{ki}	[ká 'Á-da-ra-tum ^{ki} (?)]	<i>A-ba-zu</i> ^{ki}	<i>A-ba-zu</i> ^{ki}
(9)	ká NI-NE ^{ki}	<i>A-ba-zu</i> ^{ki}	ká <i>Îr-ba_x</i> ^{ki}	
(10)	ká <i>A-da-ra-tum</i> ^{ki}	<i>Îr-ba_x</i> ^{ki}	ká <i>Bù-su-gi</i>	<i>Bù-su-gi</i>
(11)	ká NI-ra-ar ^{ki}	ká <i>Bù-su-gi</i>	ká 'Á-da-ra-tum ^{ki}	
(12)	NI-ra-ar ^{ki}	NI-ra-ar ^{ki}	NI-ra-ar ^{ki}	
(13)	<i>Ki-ti-ir</i>	ká <i>Ki-ti-ir</i>	<i>Ki-ti-ir</i>	
(14)		<i>Iš₁₁-gi-bar-zú</i>	ká <i>Iš₁₁-gi-bar-zú</i>	[]
(15)	[<i>Sa-mu-du</i> ^{ki}]	<i>Sa-mu-du</i> ^{ki}	[]	
(16)	[]	[]	[]	
(17)	ká <i>In-ti</i>	ká <i>In-ti</i>		
(18)	GABA-TÚG			

The document from the period of minister Ibrium (TM.75.G.2634) has a “total of 46,240 houses (dependent on) Ebla (é-é *Ib-la*^{ki}),” which means at least the same number of adult men (the total in Ibbi-zikir’s document is missing). It would appear that in these documents only people (mostly *na-se₁₁*, but also *ir₁₁* “serfs”) employed in agricultural activity were registered. The total of the men (ġuruš) in the eight preserved sections of TM.75.G.12451 is 48,160.

5 Terminology: *na-se₁₁* / *ġuruš*; *àga-ús*

The term *ġuruš*, alternating with *na-se₁₁* (/naši/, lit. “people”) (Archi 1988f: 132–133) means “man, adult worker,” while *dam* is used for female personnel. “Serfs,” *ir₁₁*(-ir₁₁), were also employed at the palace (ARET 9: 391) and in the fields, often organized into “work units,” *é* (ARET 2: 130; 3: 361; 12: 552); the female counterpart is *géme*, ARET 3: 349; 12: 534.³⁰

àga-ús refers to a specialized activity of a *ġuruš* / *na-se₁₁*. TM.75.G.1231 lists bracelets and plates of gold “to the account of the men who are *àga-ús*,” *al₆ na-se₁₁na-se₁₁ lú àga-ús* (rev. VI 1–3). These luxurious gifts are explained by the fact that those people were probably in service at the palace. Similarly, TM.75.G.2301 concerns bracelets of gold, with the final notation in rev. III 1: *lú àga-ús ġuruš-ġuruš*.³¹ This term, rarely attested at Ebla, has to mean something like “gendarme, soldier”³² as opposed to recruited men according to TM.75.G.2013 (MEE 10.39) rev. IV 5–V 4. Here a minor group of men was qualified as *àga-ús*, in contrast to a larger one, qualified as “people,” that had to stay in Alaga: *an-šè-gú 240 na-se₁₁ lú àga-ús AN.ŠÈ.GÚ 1,050 na-se₁₁na-se₁₁ šu-du₈ al₆-TUŠ A-la-ga^{ki}*. [28]

Alaga was a small center where people were concentrated before a military expedition. TM.75. G.1688 obv. IV 7–V 2 has: (clothes) *Ba-lu-zú A-la-ga^{ki} šu-mu-“tag₄” igi-du₈ ġuruš-ġuruš in níġ-kas₄ Ĥal-sum^{ki}* “(clothes that) Baluzu of Alaga handed out (for) the review of the men for the military expedition (against) Ĥalsum.” This expedition against Ĥalsum is probably that of the thirteenth year of minister Ibrium, documented in TM.75.G.2365.

Several documents concern men in connection with Alaga. TM.75.G.2012 (MEE 10.38) rev. IX 1–VIII 2 has a total of 1,070 people (*na-se₁₁na-se₁₁*) of Ebla, of the palace (*sa.za_x^{ki}*) and of Emar, who “did not go (*n[u-DU.D]u*) to Alaga.” TM.75.G.1973 has instead a total of 1,507 “persons (in) Alaga.” Smaller groups of people at Alaga are registered in TM.75.G.2045 rev. I 1–5: “Total: 12 people (*na-se₁₁*) of the palace who went to Alaga”; TM.75.G.2170 rev. IX 1–9: “Grand total: 197 people ... who went to Alaga; 19 people present.”³³

30 The interpretations of the terminology used for the people employed in productive labor in third-millennium documents from Mesopotamia are discussed by Steinkeller 1987b: 73–75.

31 For *àga-ús*, see ARET 2.5 § 46: 24 *udu-nita àga-ús in ‘Ā-da-ni-du^{ki}*, and also the two passages of TM.75.G.1642 quoted above, § 3: *textual remarks*. ARET 12.1224 rev. I 1–4 is obscure: 10 *gín kù-babbar 2 Ma-rī^{ki} àga-ús nar-nar* “10 shekels silver (5 each, to) 2 (people from) Mari, who are guardians (of ?) the musicians.”

32 This meaning has not been accepted in PSD A, III: 51. In favor of the meaning “soldier” in the pre-Sargonic texts, see, e. g., Schrakamp 2014: n. 31.

33 During the campaign against Mari (Ibbi-zikir XIV) men were first concentrated at Tuttul, and then at Ĥalabitu (85 km downstream from Tuttul) (Archi and Biga 2003: 15). TM.75.G.2335

6 Recruitment of Men: The Campaign of Agagališ

Agagališ was a center of no particular importance, whose highest authority was a king (en), ARET 12.209 rev. II 2–3 (this fragment is not datable). According to ARET 1.1 § 29 (period of minister Ibbi-zikir), it seems that the chief of Agagališ had the rank of an “overseer,” ugula. The annual document TM.75.G.2462, to be dated to the second year of minister Ibbi-zikir, mentions the name of this overseer: *Iš₁₁-gi-bar-zú* ugula *A-ga-ga-li-iš^{ki}*, who was in charge after the conquest of the town. The campaign against this town occurred in the first year of Ibbi-zikir, whose annual document TM.75.G.1860 (MEE 10.20) rev. XI 24–XII 3 has: *I-bí-zi-kir in ud šu-ba₄-ti A-ga-ga-li-iš^{ki} wa Ba-ḥu-nu^{ki}* “Ibbi-zikir, when he conquered Agagališ and Baḥunu”; XV 1–6: 1 dib *Du-bí-zi-kir lú Bar-za-ma-ù Gur-mi-du^{ki} tuš-LÚ×TIL A-ga-ga-li-iš^{ki}* “1 plate (of 10 shekels gold to) Dubi-zikir (son) of Barzama of the town of Gurmidu, (who) took possession of Agagališ.” TM.75.G.10044 is a monthly document of distributions of clothing from the same year; obv. 3–10: *I-bí-zi-kir in ud i-til in níḡ-kas₄ A-ga-ga-li-iš^{ki} wa Ba-ḥu-na-tum^{ki}* “(clothing for) Ibbi-zikir when he was present for the campaign of Agagališ and Baḥunatum.”

Agagališ has to be identified with Ikakali of the Annals of Hattusili I and Igi(n)kale/iš of the Hurrian-Hittite “Epic of Freeing” (ARES 2: 100). It should, therefore, be placed southeast of one of the passes of the Anti-Taurus, toward Gaziantep. This geographic position is confirmed by TM.75.G.2560+6032 rev. V 5–11, where the town is listed before Karkamiš: 700 la-ḥa geštin sá-du₁₁-ga *A-ga-ga-li-iš^{ki}* 160 la-ḥa geštin gaba-ru é *Gar-ga-mi-su^{ki} kur₆-sù*.

The Ebla archives kept only three large tablets registering long lists of personnel by name. Two of them are devoted mostly to “people who went to Agagališ,” *na-se₁₁ DU.DU si-in A-ga-ga-li-iš^{ki}*. There are 344 such people in TM.75.G.2491(+); 216 in TM.75.G.2527+2528. They received only clothes.

There was, therefore, a campaign against Agagališ in the first year of Ibbi-zikir, to which the documents do not give much prominence. Only three tablets list personnel by name; two of them (with no elements available for dating) concern in large part “people who went to Agagališ.” These people are not qualified by a technical term; they did not receive weapons, but clothes. Notwithstanding the absence of any military reference, the easiest explanation is that those people were soldiers who took part in the military expedition against Agagališ in the first year of minister Ibbi-zikir.

rev. XII 1–9 registers the delivery of 900 measures of wool for those men: 900 “KIN” siki mu₄^{mu} *na-se₁₁-na-se₁₁ al₆-TUŠ Ḥa-a-bí-du^{ki} wa al₆-TUŠ Du-du-lu^{ki} šu-ba₄-ti*.

The documents collected in the central archive at Ebla underwent a selection. For this reason we are deprived of most of the data concerning the employment of personnel in military expeditions. The archive kept in L. 2712 concerns only the assignments of alimentary goods to the palace. It is this kind of documentation that enables us to reconstruct the use of groups of persons of the Ba'U temple for military service in pre-Sargonic Lagaš.³⁴ [29]

7 The Gloomy Fate of Men at War

7.1 Losses of the Victorious Army

Although the campaign against Agagališ does not receive any particular emphasis in the annual documentation of that year, there is a text that is dramatic, however it may be interpreted.

Text 2

TM.75.G.1698

(69 × 75 × 21 mm)

OBV.

- | | |
|-----|--|
| I | 1 6 <i>li-im</i> 3 <i>mi-at</i> 60 úš
[GN]
3 [x] ú[š]
lú <i>A-da-áš</i> ^{ki}
5 [] ^r x ^l [] |
| II | 1 1 <i>li-im</i> 1 <i>mi-at</i> 62 úš
lú úš
3 ká
<i>Ig-na-da-ar</i>
5 1 <i>li-im</i> 30 lá-1 úš
lú úš
7 <i>Gi-ra^r-m[a-lik]</i>
[x <i>li-im</i>] |
| III | 1 2 <i>mi-at</i> 13 úš
lú úš
3 <i>I-rí-ig-da-mu</i> |

³⁴ For this topic, see Schrakamp 2014.

- 2 *li-im* 3 *mi-at* 15 úš
 5 lú úš
GIBIL-ma-lik
 7 1 *mi-at* 87 úš
 [lú úš]
 IV 1 [PN]
 1 [*li-im*] 2 *mi-at* 23 úš
 3 lú úš
Ti-g[i]-ba-a[l₆^{ki}]
 5 7 *m[i-at]* 13 úš
 lú úš
 7 *Nu-ga-mu^{ki}*
 4 *mi-at*
 V 1 [x úš]
 l[ú úš]
 3 [PN]
 []
 5 [lú úš]
 l[ú] *Iš₁₁-da-mu*
 REV.
 I 1 9 *mi-at* 56 úš
 lú úš
 3 *Īr-NI[-ba]*
 1 *li* 4 *mi[-at]* 62 úš
 5 lú úš
A-^rx^r[-]
 7 []
 II 1 [x *m*]i-[a]t [x+]2 úš
 lú úš
 3 *Īl-gú-uš-ti*
 2 *li-im* 94 úš
 5 lú úš
Û-ti
 7 30 úš
 III 1 [GN(?)]
 []
 3 lú úš
Kak-mi-um^{ki}
 5 12 úš
 lú úš

- 7 *Ur-sá-um*^{ki}
 50 úš
 9 lú úš
 NI-r[a-]a[r^{ki}](?)
 11 20 lá-2 úš
- IV 1 [lú úš]
 [GN]
 3 [x+]¹³ úš
Lum-na-an^{ki}
 5 80 úš
Gâr-mu^{ki}
 7 43 úš
Ĥa-ra-an^{ki}
- V 1 AN[.šĚ.GÚ] 2 rí-pap 3 mi-at 10 lá-1 úš
Ba-ĥu-na-tum^{ki}
 3 wa
A-ga-ga-li-iš^{ki}



The colophon explains that this is the register of a total of “20,309 dead (people; TIL = úš) (for to) Baḥunatum and Agagališ.”³⁵ Baḥunu (a variant writing for Baḥunatum) was conquered together with Agagališ by minister Ibbi-zikir in the first year of his mandate, [30] TM.75.G.1860 rev. XI 24–XII 3: *I-bí-zi-kir in ud šu-ba₄-ti A-ga-ga-li-iš^{ki} wa Ba-ḥu-nu^{ki}* (above, § 6).³⁶ That the datum attest to the existence of an army of 20,309 men for a campaign against two modest towns north of the Amuq is astonishing, not only for the twenty-fourth century BC. It is almost unbelievable if this number refers to the dead soldiers of the victorious army! Most of the soldiers belonged to the Eblaite “districts” (ká, in obv. II 3), the same ones as those listed in the documents presented above (§ 4). The overseers of the districts are different, however, probably because this text belongs to another period. Uti, to whom belonged about one tenth of the lost people (2094 men: rev. II 4–6), was brother of minister Ibbi-zikir, and one of the most important officials. A considerably smaller number of men was sent by some allied city-states: Kakmium, Ursa’um, Nirar(?), Lumnan, Garmu, and Ḫarran (rev. II 7–IV 8).

7.2 Losses of Ebla and Losses of the Enemy [31]

Two other texts offer similarly impressive data. In both cases, TIL / úš comes immediately after *na-se₁₁*, which can refer only to soldiers dead in battle.

Text 3

TM.75.G.2383 (MEE 12.34)

OBV.

I 1 3 *li-im* 6 *mi-at* 20 *na-se₁₁*

II 1 úš

Da-ra-šum^{ki}

3 *iti ga-sum*

(reverse uninscribed)

³⁵ The sign TIL may: a) refer to dead people and animals, ARET 13.4 XV 7–10: *Ip-lul-il lugal (Ma-r^{ki})* DIŠ mu úš, MEE 7.12 rev. IV 2: 9440 udu úš; b) refer to a defeated town or army, see above, § 1c; c) mean “lost,” ARET 2.5 XIII 1, Archi 1993b: 38, TM.75.G.2574 obv. IV 6–7: 6000 *gú-bar* še TIL.TIL; d) mean “expended completely,” Milano 2003: 423–26.

³⁶ See, further, rev. XIV 14–20: 1 dib *I-bí-zi-kir Gal-tum^{ki}* maškim GIBIL-*ma-lik* tuš-LÚ×TIL *Ba-ḥu-nu^{ki}*.

Darašum was conquered in the fourth year of minister Ibbi-zikir, according to the annual document of that year, TM.75.G.10201 obv. VI 18–22: *Gi-rí lú Ħa-ra-ì tuš-LÚ×TIL in Da-la-šum^{ki}*, VIII 22–26: *A-ma-lik maškim Rí-ti tuš-LÚ×TIL Da-la-šum^{ki}*, (Giri and Amalik were the occupying officials); X 22–24: *in níġ-kas₄ Da-ra-šum^{ki}*, and XXV 6–9: *ġuruš-ġuruš in níġ-kas₄ Da-ra-šum^{ki}* “(men for) the campaign of Darašum.” ARET 1.35 is dated also to that year, rev. II 1–3: *Diš mu šu-ba₄-ti Da-ra-šum^{ki}*, “Year of the conquest of Darašum.”

Text 4

TM.75.G.2037 (MEE 10.43)

OBV.

- I 1 3 *li-im* 2 *mi-at na-se₁₁* úš
 Ba-da-nu^{ki}
- II 1 *wa*
 Ma-sa-nu^{ki}
 3 *lú Ib-al₆^{ki}*
 iti iġ-za

(reverse uninscribed)

Badanu and Masanu belonged to the confederation of Ibal, located in the dry area east of Qatna (ARET 2: 297–299). The war against Ibal broke out on the eighth year of Ibbi-zikir, according to the annual document TM.75.G.2428, which mentions at length a war against Ašdarlum and Sidalu, belonging to the same confederation of states. This war lasted five years, and the defeat of Badanu and Masanu has to fall in this period, although the annual accounts do not mention these two towns. Instead, only a monthly account notes that Ibbi-zikir defeated Bu/adanu of Ibal and raided its flocks, TM.75.G.2372 obv. VI 5–15: (clothes) *Ib-te-Da-mu lú A-mur-da-mu níġ-mul Bù-da-an^{ki} lú Ib-al₆^{ki} I-bí-zi-kir til wa udu-udu-sù àga-kár*; rev. V 15–VI 4: (clothes) *I-bí-zi-kir in ud til Bù-da-an^{ki} wa udu-udu-sù àga-kár*. A subsequent monthly account registers gifts for the victorious minister returned from the expedition against Badanu and Masanu, TM.75.G.10187 obv. I 6–10: *I-bí-zi-kir lú è si-in níġ-kas₄ Ba-da-nu^{ki}* “(gifts for) Ibbi-zikir, who returned from the campaign of Badanu”; II 14–III 5: ... *I-bí-zi-kir in ud tuš-LÚ×TIL in Ba-da-nu^{ki} wa šu-ba₄-ti Ma-sa-nu^{ki} wa IGI.NITA^{ki} lú Ib-al₆^{ki}* “(gifts for) Ibbi-zikir on the occasion in which he was the occupier in Badanu, and conquered Masanu and IGI.NITA³⁷ of (the confederation of) Ibal”;

37 IGI.NITA^{ki} /imār(um)/. There is also an IGI^{ki} in ARET 13.15 obv. II 17, interpreted in ARET 13: 172–173 as /‘ayn/ “source.” This town could be the same as IGI^{ki} in ARET 13.5 obv. V 11 and ARET 8.523 §§ 16 and 33; see ARES 2: 304. There is also an IGI.SAL (see Bonechi 1993: 197),

III 8–16: *A-ba-ga lú Ib-rí-um níĝ-mul Ba-da-nu^{ki} Ma-sa-nu^{ki} šu-ba₄-ti wa I-bí-zí-kir tuš-LÚ×TIL* “(gifts for) Abaga of Ibrium, who brought the news that Badanu (and) Masanu had been conquered, and Ibbi-zikir occupied (them).”

These losses must belong to the Eblaite army, by analogy with text 2. The administrative documents give only accidental data concerning the defeated enemy, because their object was the registration of the received or expended goods.³⁸ In the case of the enemy’s losses, the numbers of the dead are much more reasonable (paradoxically for a historical reconstruction). ARET 15.43 (minister Arrukum) obv. III 3–10: *Si-ga-ma-al₆ maškim A-mu-ra in ud níĝ-mul 140 ĝuruš-ĝuruš úš-úš 1,800 udu-udu àga-kár* “(clothes for) Sigamal, the representative of Amura when he brought the news that 140 men died and 1,800 sheep were raided.” [32] ARET 8.522 XIII 15–XIV 14: *Mi-ga-ì lú Da-zi-ma-ad níĝ-mul en šeš Ba-^dAš-dar šu-du₈ wa 120 na-se₁₁ Ar-mi^{ki} wa 180 na-se₁₁ A-ba-tum^{ki} úš in uru^{ki}-uru^{ki} Gú-da-da-núm^{ki}* “(clothes for) Miga-i(l) of Dazimad, who brought the news that the king (of Gudadanum) took prisoner the brother of Ba-Aštar and (that) 120 men of Armi and 180 men of Abatum died in the villages of Gudadanum.”

7.3 Beheading of the Beaten Enemy

The kings of ŠUNedu and Zamarum, two small towns, were beheaded and their heads sent to king Irkab-damu, when Arrukum was minister (Archi 1998d: 388–391). The head of a certain Ilba-išar was fixed “at the gate of the king,” at Ebla (TM.75.G.2429 obv. XXVIII 6–14; Archi 1993: 391). Also the head of Iram-damu, a man of Dubadu, was fixed on the gate of Današ, TM.75.G.2451 rev. V 15–VI 2: *saĝ Īr-am₆-da-mu Du-ba-du^{ki} a-lu ká Da-na-ás^{ki}* (period of minister Ibrium). This man (perhaps also Ilba-išar) had to be, however, a local criminal, because Današ was a center belonging to Ebla and Dubadu a small village.

Beheading of fallen enemies and even prisoners was not unusual. The Standard of Ebla depicts warriors conducting prisoners, captured soldiers tortured or killed, and victorious soldiers carrying severed heads of defeated ene-

interpreted as *Ši-sal^{ki}* in ARES 2: 442, because of the writing IGI.SAL₄^{ki} in ARET 3.776 rev. VI 6 (reading confirmed by collation), XII 934 obv. V 1.

38 These kinds of accounts only occasionally mention Eblaite men killed in war. TM.75.G.2335 obv. rev. I 12–22 registers: 10 sal-TÚG 7 dumu-nita *Sá-mu-ù* 2 dumu-nita *En-na-ì* 1 dumu-nita *En-šid a-mu-a-mu-sù in Ma-rí^{ki} úš* “10 cloths (for) 7 sons of PN₁, 2 sons of PN₂, 1 son of PN₃; their fathers, (who) died in Mari.” These men probably fell at Terqa, in the campaign against Mari.

mies.³⁹ TM.75.G.1741 (minister Ibrium) gives the textual evidence of this practice, obv. X 9–XI 10: *Iš-má-da-mu lú Ub-da-mu ħi-mu-DU saġ-saġ ... Is₁₁-gi-bar-zú wa Ib-dur-i-šar 2 maškim I-bí-zi-kir wa Ū-ti šu-mu-tag₄ saġ-saġ LÚ×GÁNAtenû-sù* “(clothes for) Išmadamu of Ubdamu, who has brought heads; (clothes for) Išgi-barzu and Ibdur-išar, 2 representatives of Ibbi-zikir and Uti (sons of the minister, who) consigned heads of prisoners.”

7.4 Prisoners

The term LÚ×GÁNAtenû (Akk. *kamûm*) “prisoner” is rarely attested, and is never qualified by a number. TM.75.G.10077 (minister Ibrium, year II) rev. XII 15–22: 20 gín kù-babbar [níġ-kaskal] *A-’â-lu wa Ū-da-a-ħa Ma-ri^{ki} LÚ×GÁNAtenû DU.DU* “20 shekels silver [as travel provision] (for) A’alu and Udaħa of Mari, prisoners (who) went (to Mari).” TM.75.G.2464 (minister Ibrium, year III) obv. XIII 1–10: *’Â-du^{ki} àga-kár 10 gín kù-babbar níġ-kaskal A-’â-lu wa Ū-da-a-ħ LÚ×GÁNAtenû DU.DU Ma-ri^{ki}* “Haddu was defeated. Ten shekels silver as travel provision (for) A’alu and Udaħ, prisoners (who) went to Mari.” These two men of Mari seem responsible for redemption of prisoners taken to Mari after a war against Haddu.⁴⁰

8 Losses of Men and Problems of Demography

Only three documents in the Ebla archives are devoted to the registration of human losses of the Eblaite army:

20,309 men: campaign against Baħunatum and Agagališ, Ibbi-zikir, year I (text 2)

3,620 men: campaign against Darašum, Ibbi-zikir, year IV (text 3)

3,200 men: campaign against Ba/udanu and Masanu of Ibal, Ibbi-zikir, years VIII / IX / X / XI / XII (text 4)

The campaign against Ibal, the only one that lasted five years, may have been particularly difficult. The other two campaigns were against minor towns. Projecting these data over the 35 years of the ministers Ibrium and Ibbi-zikir, during which Ebla probably went to war every year, even with a conservative esti-

³⁹ For a partial reconstruction of this standard, see Dolce 2004: 125.

⁴⁰ For passages concerning the ransom of men, women, and children, see Archi 2003d.

mate of 4,000 men lost per year, the total is 140,000 dead individuals, a heavy burden for the population of a state of that period that extended from Alalah and Karkamiš in the north to Hama in the south (Emar on the Euphrates was independent, as were the towns of the Mediterranean coast).⁴¹ Four thousand dead men from a total population of 400,000 people (a purely arbitrary number)⁴² mean one dead man for every 100 persons each year.

A point of comparison on the impact of military service in ancient societies is given by Moses Finley, who suggested (based on a rough calculation) [33] that, during the fifty years of the Annibalic and Macedonian wars, at least ten percent of the adult men of the Italian region served each year.⁴³

Considering that according to nine sections of TM.75.G.12451 (3) 22,000 men could be recruited and that the other nine sections are missing, it can be estimated that the men available for the Eblaite army numbered at least 44,000. The very high number of men lost in war, 20,309 in text 2, is, therefore, hardly explicable.

Estimates of the armies of the ancient Near East (regardless of period) are deduced from rather uncertain data. The army of pre-Sargonic Lagaš consisted at least of 2,000 to 4,000 men.⁴⁴ Sargon of Akkad had “5,400 men who eat their daily bread before him.”⁴⁵ The army of Zimri-Lim of Mari is assessed at around 4,000.⁴⁶ The Elamites could add 20,000 men of Ešnunna to their own army of 10,000 men.⁴⁷ Hammurabi had 20,000 soldiers at his disposal, a number that the nomads of the kingdom of Mari could match.⁴⁸

The Old Akkadian inscriptions, having to exalt the victories of the king, register the death toll of the enemy and the number of prisoners but not, of course, that of the Akkadian army. In the campaign that Rimuš led against Baraḥšum, Zaḥara, and Elam in his third year,⁴⁹ the enemy's death toll was 16,210, and 15,016 were taken prisoner, in total 31,226 enemy soldiers killed or

⁴¹ Already Pettinato (1986: 255), commenting on text no. 4, qualified as “dreadful” the losses in the war against Ibal. Waetzoldt agreed that text no. 3 had to concern the losses of men in a military campaign, MEE 12: 258.

⁴² According to al-Dbiyat (1995: 208), the urban population of the mohafazas of Homs and Hama in 1980 was 476,066 and 324,460 residents respectively.

⁴³ Finley 1985: 68, who used the calculation for the Roman army of Brunt 1971: 417–26.

⁴⁴ This is the estimate given by Bauer 1998: 486, a too low number according to Schrakamp 2014: § 13.

⁴⁵ Frayne 1993: 29–37 (E2.1.1.11).

⁴⁶ Durand 1998: 337–338.

⁴⁷ Charpin 2004: 283.

⁴⁸ Stol 2004: 778.

⁴⁹ Frayne 1993: 52–54 (E2.1.2.6).

captured.⁵⁰ In the war against Kazallu and Sumer,⁵¹ Kazallu suffered 12,651 men dead and 5,862 taken prisoner. Sumer had 28,062 casualties, 24,176 soldiers taken prisoner, and 13,805 “expelled men”; 84,556 in total.⁵² The grand total of enemy casualties and prisoners in the war with which Naram-Sin tamed the “Great Revolt” was 95,340 individuals.⁵³

The data from Ebla, documented by administrative texts, not by triumphalist commemorative inscriptions, show that these large figures cannot be considered mere fantasies. An indirect confirmation is supplied by some Old Babylonian letters, a kind of source whose data may be incorrect and exaggerated, but believable, whereas the administrative documents of Ebla have to be closer to the truth. During the tenth year of Zimrilim of Mari, an army led by Atamrum, king of Allaḥad (and later of Andarig), consisting of soldiers of Ešnunna and Elam, besieged the city of Razama, incurring a large number of casualties. At first, according to some informers (“I heard from those around me”), the troops of the city made a sortie and “killed 300 Ešnunakeans” (ARM 27, 133 5–8). Another report (ARM 6, 65: 10–12) mentions 500 casualties (a more exact or a magnified datum?). The governor of Saggaratum, in his later report on the siege, wrote that the defenders making sorties “killed 700 Elamites and 600 Ešnunakeans” (ARM 14, 104+: 10; Heimpel 2003: 65–69; Vidal 2009).

⁵⁰ Sommerfeld 2008: 226–227.

⁵¹ Frayne 1993: 47–50 (E2.1.2.4).

⁵² Sommerfeld 2008: 227–231.

⁵³ Sommerfeld 2008: 232; cf. Wilcke 1997: 24 and 20: VII 4–13.

19 Two Heads for the King of Ebla

1 The Assyrian kings used various forms of punishments to intimidate their enemies and terrorize rebels. After conquering Bit-Halupe, near River Habur, Aššurnāṣirpal II chose the following punishment:

I erected a pile in front of his gate; I flayed as many nobles as had rebelled against me (and) draped their skins over the pile; some I spread out within the pile, some I erected on stakes upon the pile, (and) some I placed on stakes around about the pile. I flayed many right through my land (and) draped their skins over the walls. I *slashed the flesh* of the eunuchs (and) of the royal eunuchs who were guilty. I brought Ahi-yababa to Niniveh, flayed him, (and) draped his skin over the wall of Nineveh. (Thus) have I constantly established my victory and strength over the land Laqu.¹

However, when attacking the mountain populations in the vicinity of the Upper Zab, “which none of the kings my fathers had ever approached”, Aššurnāṣirpal II imposed a different punishment: “I felled 260 of their combat troops with the sword. I cut off their heads and formed (therewith) a pile.”²

Severed heads were left in those places where there had been betrayal. Since Ameka, king of Zamua, had refused to pay his tribute, Aššurnāṣirpal II moved against him: “I killed 50 of the combat troops of Ameka in the plain. I cut off their heads (and) hung (them) out on trees of the courtyard of his palace”.³ This public display of severed heads is such an eloquent warning that, for certain crimes, it has continued into relatively recent times. Revolutions which have opened [387] the door to our modern society have often used beheading and the display of severed heads.

Punishment for the guilty, a warning to his fellows, triumph to the victor: this is what decapitation of the enemy meant in the Assyrian period. The most significant is the case of Teumman, king of Elam. Aššurnāṣirpal says that:

Teumman, whom Ishtar deprived of his reason, has spoken as follows ... The head of Teumman, king of Elam, at the command of Assur and Marduk, the great gods, my lords, [I cut off] in the presence of [his] armies ... In my eighth campaign I marched against Dunanu ... in Gambulu, who had put his trust in the king of Elam, had not submitted to

Pp. 386–396 in *Boundaries of the Ancient Near Eastern World. A Tribute to C. H. Gordon*, eds. Meir Lubetski, Claire Gottlieb, and Sharon Keller. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press. 1998.

1 Grayson 1976: 124–25.

2 Grayson 1976: 123.

3 Grayson 1976: 132.

my yoke... The head of Teumman, king of Elam, I hung on the neck of Dunanu. With the Elamite captives, the booty of Gambulu, which at the command of Assur my hands had captured, with singers and music I entered Nineveh amidst rejoicing.⁴

Esarhaddon had already hung the heads of enemy kings from the shoulders of their followers:

Abdi-milkutti, its king [that is, of Sidon], who had fled before my arms into the midst of the sea, I pulled out of the sea, like a fish. I cut off his head ... As for Sanduarri, king of the cities of Kundi and Sizu ... I snared him like a bird from out of the mountain and I cut off his head. That the might of Assur, my lord, might be manifested to (all) peoples, I hung the heads of Sanduarri and Abdi-milkutti on the shoulders of their nobles and with singing and music I paraded through the public square of Nineveh.⁵ [388]

The Neo-Assyrian inscriptions, particularly the later ones, willfully insisted in describing acts of cruelty in a sadistic way, since terror was one of the means those kings applied in order to keep conquered lands subdued. The reliefs and inscriptions in their palaces were there to warn everybody who was received at court. If, for earlier periods, there is little mention of such punishments, this is not because some of them were not used. Those inscriptions had another message to convey.

Some tablets from the Mari archives of the eighteenth century report the decapitation of Išme-Addu, king of Ašnakkum, a city in the upper basin of River Ḥabur. He had instigated troubles among the Ida-Maraş tribes to the detriment of Mari. Some of his colleagues, so as to be seen in a good light by Zimri-lim, king of Mari, sent the head of unfortunate Išme-Addu to Mari, together with his weapons:

4 Luckenbill 1968: 331–34. Other passages are: “[After... I had celebrated the feast] of the *bīt-akīt*, [had laid hold of the reins] of Ishtar, [surrounded by Dunanu], Samgunu and Apia [and the decapitated head of Teumman,] king of Elam, [whom Ishtar had given into my hand], I made the entrance into Arbela amid rejoicing”; “I, Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, displayed publicly the head of Teumman, king of Elam, in front of the gate inside the city, where from of old it had been said by the oracle: ‘The head of thy foes thou shalt cut off’”, Luckenbill 1968: 395 § 1041, 396 § 1047. Further, cf. Luckenbill 1968: 393 § 1031: “Urtaku, the son-in-law of Teumman, king of Elam, who was wounded by an arrow, but did not die, called an Assyrian for his own beheading, saying: ‘Come, cut off my head, take it before the king, your lord and let them have mercy.’” See in general also: CAD, N 1, p. 175: *nakāsu* 2a, p. 178: *nakāsu* 6a.

5 Luckenbill 1968: 211–12 §§ 527–528. These two events are recorded also in a Neo-Babylonian chronicle; see Grayson 1975: 83, Chronicle 1, IV 6–8: “(The fifth year ...) In the month Tishri the head of the king of Sidon was cut off and conveyed to Assyria. In the month Adar the head of the king of Kundi and Sisu was cut off and conveyed to Assyria.”

a servant of Šadum-labua, brother of Sammetar, king of Ašnakkum, a servant of Terru, king of Urkiš and a servant of Ḥammi-kun, king of Šuduḥum, have caused to arrive at the city of Saggaratum the head of Išme-Addu, king of Ašnakkum... [These have said:] ‘... Terru and [Ḥammi-kun(?)]... [have gone] to Ašnakkum and have killed Išme-Addu’ (M.7411, 4–23); ‘1 wooden bow of ..., 5 bronze arrows belonging to Išme-Addu, king of Ašnakkum, which Abum-El has brought to Ašnakkum’ (ARMT XXV 447, 1–7).⁶

2 A similar case is seen at Ebla: a zealous ruler, so as to ingratiate himself with his overlord, sent him the severed heads of two small rulers who were his enemies. The Ebla tablets are mainly administrative, so events are registered in the accounts of goods, mostly delivered as ceremonial gifts. A monthly list of deliveries of dresses, to be dated to Arrukum, vizier of Irkab-damu, the penultimate king, opens with this passage: [389]

TM.75.G.10219 obv. I 1–13: [1 ‘à-da-um-TÚG 1 aktum-TÚG] 1 ib-III-sa₆-dar 1 dib GÁxLÁ tar k[ù-gi] níg-ba Kù[n]-ti-du 1 sal-TÚG 1 ib-III-dar ma-za-um Ar-mi-um^{ki} in ud SAG en Su-NE-du^{ki} ù SAG en Za-ma-rúm^{ki} šu-mu-tag₄

“[1 cloak, 1 tunic] 1 multicoloured kilt of good quality, a gold plate of the weight of 30 (shekels): gift for Kuntidu; 1 dress S., 1 multicoloured kilt, for the courier of Armium, when the head of the king of ŠuNEdu and the head of the king of Zamarum were delivered.”

Starting with the vizier Arrukum, the Eblaite administration kept from one side monthly accounts of deliveries of dresses (where we also occasionally find silver and gold gifts related to consignments of dresses) and from the other side annual accounts of consignments of objects in precious metals. The following quotation is from TM.75.G.1902(+), the annual account concerning the deliveries of metals for the year to which the monthly document cited above belongs.

TM.75.G.1902 (= MEE 10.27) (+) rev. III 6–IV 4: 1 dib GÁxLÁ tar kù-gi níg-ba Kù[n]-ti-ì(NI) Ar-mi-um^{ki} in ud 1 sag en Ši-NE-ì(NI)^{ki} ù 1 sag en Za-ma-rum^{ki} níg-gu-du

“A gold plate of the weight of 30 (shekels): gift for Kunti(d) of Azmium when they took in consignment the head of the king of ŠiNEi(d) and the head of the king of Zamarum.”⁷

⁶ In another letter, ARM II 33, 5’–6’, Šadum-labua states: “Since I have cut off the head of Išme-Addu, the enemy of my lord (i.e. Zimri-lim), and I have sent it to my lord ...” All the events have been studied by Charpin 1993; the texts M.7411 and ARM XXV 447 are at pp. 189–90.

⁷ The meaning “take in consignment” is suggested by a parallelism with šu-mu-‘tag₄’ “con-sign” from the preceding passage. This can be applied well to passages such as ARET 4.7 § 18; 14 § 21.

ŠuNEdu/ŠiNEi(d) and Zamarum would appear to be mentioned only in these documents.⁸ They were, therefore, two entities of minor importance, on the margins of the Eblaite political system, possibly destroyed by this victory by Armium. Their leaders, in the exaltation of that military success, are called ‘kings’, en, a Sumerian title which at Ebla is to be equated with *mal(i)kum*, *Ar-mi-um*^{ki} (*Ar-mi*^{ki} is another writing attested also in TM.75.G.1902(+) and constantly used in the later documents)⁹ was a city-state which became increasingly integrated with Ebla,¹⁰ and can be identified as Armān(um) of the Mesopotamian cuneiform sources of the third millennium BCE.¹¹ [390]

In geographical names sibilants are sometimes written with different series of signs,¹² as in the case of *Su-NE-du*^{ki} / *Ši-NE-du*^{ki}. The shifting of a dental stop in final position (-/iD/) to /’/ (-/i’/; NI = ì) is also well attested.¹³ In TM.75.G.1902(+) it is to be found also in the writing *Kùn-ti-NI* for the personal name *Kùn-ti-du*.

The term *ma-za-um* (TM.75.G.10219 obv. I 3) occurs also in TM.75.G.1878 (= MEE 10.24) obv. IV 16, another archaic text to be dated to the time of vizier Arrukum: 1 T[ÚG-NI.NI 1 íb-III-dar-TÚG ...]il *ma-za-um* *Ar-mi-um*^{ki} (obv. IV 14–17), which shows that the name of that official from Armium ended with the element -II. There is no doubt that *ma-za-um* is an uncommon writing for *ma-za-lum*. According to the scribal uses of Ebla /l+V/ can be expressed simply by V.¹⁴ This form seems to exclude the interpretation /maššār-um/ “guard, watchman”.¹⁵ The l- series can stay for etymological /r/;¹⁶ [391] but the writing *ma-za-um* is in favour of etymological /l/. Therefore, the correct interpretation is /mazzāl-um/ ‘messenger’, from **mzl* “to run”.¹⁷ In the hierarchical order of the

8 ARES 2: 442, 479.

9 Cf. Bonechi 1990a.

10 See ARES 2: 168.

11 Naram-Sin C 5: *Ar-ma-nam*^{ki} ù *Eb-la*^{ki}, cf. Gelb, Kienast 1990: 257. On Armi, see Archi 2011* [435–477].

12 See ARES 2: 18.

13 Cf. GNs like *Ḫa-la-bí-du*/^{ki}, *Mug-rí-du*/^{ki}, *Za-ra-mi-du*/^{ki}, see Krecher 1988: 174–175; ARES 2: 18. It does not appear necessary to suggest a value NI = *id*_x, suggested by Krebernik 1992: 123; and Bonechi 1993: XXVII–XXVIII, nt. 9. The sign NI at Ebla has already the following values: *ni*, *ì*, *’a*₅, *bu*₁₆.

14 Archi 1994a: 250* [593], with previous bibliography.

15 For this interpretation, see Fronzaroli 1979b: 84; Id. 1984b: 170–71; Pettinato MEE 2: 30, ad. II. VIII 6–7.

16 Krebernik 1982: 210–11. One has, however, to consider *i-sa-i*, which is an anomalous writing for *i-sa-rí*; the meaning of this term is explained by the equivalence: *si-sá* = *i-sa-lum* /*yišar-um*/ “regular, normal”, see Fronzaroli 1984b: 187, and Bonechi 1989: 131–47.

17 See Pettinato MEE 3: 183, ad 1. 13; Fales 1984a: 24–25.

Syrian states of that period, the *mazzālum* followed the king (en), the Elders (ābba) and the “agents” (maškim).¹⁸ Therefore, Kuntidu could be the name of the king of Armium.

Caesar, at the sight of Pompey’s head, “wept and lamented bitterly and did not reward the murders” (Cass. Dio 42.8). Irkab-damu, instead, sent Kuntidu dresses, as well as a gold ingot weighing 235 gr, and, in accordance with the ceremonial tradition of that time, rewarded the messenger who carried them.

3 A record of an annual account of outgoing metals, dated to the last vizier, Ibbi-zikir (ninth year, according to a provisional ordering),¹⁹ concerns “6 shekels of tin to be melted in 54 shekels of copper: decoration for the head of Ilba-išar which (is) on the gate of the king”, 6 gín DILMUN an-na šub *si-in* 54 gín DILMUN a-gar₅-gar₅ nu₁₁-za 1 sag *Īl-ba-i-šar* lú al₆ ká en, TM.75.G.2429 obv. XVIII 6–14.

This head “on the gate of the king” is not that of a statue representing a royal ancestor.²⁰ It can only be a severed head placed at the entrance to the Palace or the city. The careful Eblaite administration did not fail to record the bronze support to which the head was affixed (6 shekels of tin and 54 shekels of copper: 1 mina, that is, 470 gr of bronze). The name of Ilba-išar is known only as that of an official charged with a mission to the king of *Ša/Šè-ti-LUM*^{ki}, a place which is mentioned extremely rarely; it did not belong, therefore, to the area under the political influence of Ebla.²¹ ARET 4.4 §§ 26–27 records three pieces [391] of clothing which Ilba-išar must give as a gift to the king of ŠatiLUM; Ilba-išar himself receives as “provisions for the journey”, níg-kaskal, three pieces of clothing of lesser worth, 6 shekels of silver and 5 minas of copper. The annual account of precious metals TM.75.G.1918 (MEE 10.29) obv. XVI 19–23, in turn, records “6 shekels of silver as provisions for the journey for Ilba-išar who went to ŠatiLUM”.²² Since TM.75.G.1918 dates from the fifth year of the mandate of Ibbi-zikir and, therefore, precedes TM.75.G.2429, it is likely that the severed head which hung before the king’s residence was that of the same official who had gone to ŠatiLUM, and who had been guilty of some offence.

¹⁸ See ARET 1: 224–25, 294.

¹⁹ This classification has been given by Archi 1996c.

²⁰ For a list of the ancestors of the kings of Ebla, see Archi 1996b: 13–15 [97–99]; 2013a: 78–79 [16–17].

²¹ It occurs only in ARET 8.532 § 32, beside the two texts quoted here; cf. ARES 2: 440–41. Astour 1987: 12, proposes the identification of this city with *Ša-ti-lu*, in the Transtigridian, attested in an inscription of Šu-Sin of Ur.

²² The similarity between these passages of the two documents has been noted by Biga and Pomponio 1993: 119.

4 A difficult passage, TM.75.G.1358 (MEE 2.37) rev. VII 10–VIII 19, has:²³

1 + 1 + 1 dresses to Dubi of Iti-Kamiš who consigned the head of the king of Kakmium (šu-mu-“tag₄” sag en *Kak-mi-um*^{ki}), 1 + 1 dresses to Inti, the overseer of Batine, when he gave his assistance (on the occasion) of the death of the king (nig-mul(DINGIR.DINGIR.DINGIR.DINGIR) ug₇ en) of Kakmium. 1 dress and 1 bracelet of copper and silver for the delivery of the king of Kakmium himself (šu-mu-“tag₄” me:te²⁴ en *K.*). 1 cloth for the king of Kakmium on the occasion of his death (*in ud ug₇-[s]û?*).

From the text, no clear elements emerge to show that, at that time, there was enmity between Ebla and Kakmium: a barber takes in possession gifts for the king Kakmium (šu-i šu-du₈ en *K.*), obv. I 14–11 6; an official takes in possession (šu-du₈) gifts for the son of the king of Kakmium, obv. IV 2–8, rev. I 8–11; dresses are taken in possession (šu-du₈) from another official for Maḥra-damu and Durdulum [393] of Kakmium, obv. III 1–8. Kakmium, mentioned very frequently in Eblaite documents, was a city-state located in the region to the north of Karkamiš. We cannot exclude a rebellion at the time of Irkab-damu. Ilba-damu²⁵ succeeded the king whose death is mentioned in this text.

5 Although the administrative documents are silent on this point, the decapitation of the rulers of ŠuNEdu and Zamarum, like that of Ilba-išar, could have been provoked only by a guilt for which they were held responsible. However, it would seem that many enemies killed in battle were beheaded also. The proof of this is not epigraphic but figurative.

In 1988, several limestone inlays came to light in the northern sector of the west unit of the Royal Palace G.²⁶ The carved side was found always turned towards the ground. Originally, the inlays were fixed to wooden planks (which have disappeared entirely) that were used, in part, as thresholds of a room. The panel, which originally decorated a room of the palace, was probably slightly higher than 3 m, and had 12 registers which followed each other alternating one register with scenes of battle and another with lion-headed eagles, each grasping in its claws two man-headed bulls (the two last registers were both decorated with military scenes). The panel was probably dismantled because it was damaged. This celebrated a victory of Irkab-damu (the father of

²³ The document is dated to the year of the death of the vizier Arrukum, see rev. VI 13–VII 1: “(gifts) for anointing the head (i.e. the purification ceremony on the occasion of a death) of the wife of Arrukum”, i-giś-sag dam A. Ibrium, who succeeded to Arrukum as vizier, is mentioned in obv. I 10

²⁴ The Lexical Lists have: te-me = *ramānum*, cf. Krebern timer 1983: 37.

²⁵ See ARES 2: 326.

²⁶ See Matthiae 1989a: 32–42, and plates I–VI.

the last king) or, more probably, of his predecessor, Igrīš-Ḫalab, if it was not a war booty. However, the panel is only a few decades later than the Stele of the Vultures with which Eannatum of Lagaš celebrated his victory over Umma. On the obverse of the stele the emblem of the war-god Ningirsu, the lion-headed eagle Imdugud/Anzu, appears frequently: a) as the handle of the net (over two lions); b) on the head-dress of the female figure behind the large male figure; c) behind that female figure; d) as the handle of the reins of the god on the chariot in the lower register.²⁷

The iconography of the panel from Ebla, although heavily influenced [394] by Mesopotamian models, is the result of a local interpretation: the Anzu-bird grasps a pair of man-headed bulls and not of lions, goats, deers or oxen.²⁸ In Mesopotamia it is the ‘hero’ who tames a pair of man-headed bulls.²⁹ As far as concerns some details of the Eblaite inlays,

the helmets, the armours, the knapsacks are identical, and, as concerns the compositional aspects, the position of the prisoners pushed and grasped by the nape of the neck, is closely similar to inlays with a military theme from the Prae-Sargonic Palace I at Mari. However, other compositional elements, like the killing of the enemies and the presentation of the cut off heads ... are typical of the Ebla production.³⁰

These are cruel scenes: the defeated enemies are thrown on their backs and slaughtered with daggers; their severed heads are gathered in panniers or hang, grasped by the hair, from the hands of the victors (see figs. 1 and 2). It is a known fact that in many cultures warriors used to prove the number of enemies killed by taking their heads from the battlefield. For the ancient Near East, however, the inlays of Ebla represent the only testimony to such a custom.

Eannatum and Entemena of Lagaš (about 2450–2400), and later, the kings of Akkad, claim to have killed thousands of enemies and to have left heaps of corpses on the battlefields: KI.GAL = sur₆ = *birūtu*.³¹ [395]

²⁷ Cf. Winter 1985: 13–16.

²⁸ Cf. Führ-Jaepelt 1972. For the diffusion of Anzu outside Sumer, see also the lapis lazuli Anzu figure with gold mask found at Tell Brak, Matthews, Matthews and McDonald 1994: 185.

²⁹ Cf. the votive plaque from Mari, where scenes with Anzu, who grasps two goats, alternate with those of the ‘hero’ who tames a pair of lions, goats and man-headed bulls, Boese 1971, tables XXVI–XXVII.

³⁰ Matthiae 1989a: 41.

³¹ See Westenholz 1970: 29–31, who, however, interprets this term as “burial mounds”. CAD B: 267: *birūtu* “a rare and poetic synonym for destruction”. Gelb 1973: 73 writes: “Although our information for the early periods is rather sketchy, still it is interesting to note that Eannatum and Entemena, rulers of Lagash around 2500 BC, write not of taking prisoners, but of piling up thousands of enemy corpses in large heaps (Thureau-Dangin, SAKI: 20, 24, 26 and 38)”. For Rimuš and Naram-Sin of Akkad, see Gelb and Kienast 1990: 207, and 93.



Fig. 1: Ebla, Royal Palace G, inlay TM.88.G.300.



Fig. 2: Ebla, Royal Palace G, inlay TM.88.G.165.

The Stele of the Vultures shows, on the reverse face, Eannatum at the head of his phalanx of armed spearmen marching over naked bodies of the fallen enemies. In the upper register vultures are shown devouring the dismembered corpses (heads, but also arms) of the enemy. This same motif is found once again on the rather badly damaged base of a monument of Sargon

of Akkad, where the bodies of those killed are devoured by vultures and dogs.³² It would appear that in Mesopotamia the bodies of the enemies killed were left on the battlefield, the prey of animals, thus denying them burial which was essential were they to enjoy some happy form of existence in the afterlife. For this belief, I cite a passage from Assurbanipal, although from several centuries later:

Nabu-bel-šumate, grandson of Merodach-Baladan (who had committed suicide) ... I did not give his body to be buried. I made him more dead than he was before. I cut off his head and hung it on the back of Nabu-kata-sabat.³³

³² Amiet 1976: 8–9, 73 (1 d); cf. Börker-Klähn 1982: 127–228 (no. 18).

³³ Luckenbill 1968: 312.

20 Lists of Tools

In the annual accounts of the expenditure of metals in the Ebla archives frequent mention is made of the standard use of work tools for nagar(-nagar) “carpenter(s)” and also for a-zu₅ “physician(s)”.

1) TM.75.G.2462 obv. XI 32–XIII 6

XI	32	šú+ša 7 an-na	XII	17	šú+ša 7 an-na
XII	1	š[ub si-in]			šub si-in
		[2] ma-na ša-pi 3 a-gar ₅ -gar ₅	19	2 ma-na ša-pi 3 a-gar ₅ -gar ₅	
	3	kin _x -ak			kin _x -ak
		2 tūn tur tar	21	2 tūn tur tar	
	5	1 dub-nagar šu-mu-nigin			1 dub-nagar šu-mu-nigin
		šú+ša			šú+ša
		1 dub-nagar šú+ša SAL	23	1 dub-nagar SAL šú+ša	
	7	1 ma-ga-za-u ₉ šú+ša			1 ma-ga-za-u ₉ šú+ša
		1 dub-nagar 15 SAL	25	1 dub-nagar 15 SAL	
	9	2 dub-nagar 10 10			2 dub-nagar 10 10
		1 ma-za-ḥa-lum 10	XIII	1	[1 m]a-za-ḥa-lum 10
	11	1 zú 10			1 zú 10
		1 ḥa-ra-nu 5	3	1 ḥa-ra-nu 5	
	13	1 dub-nagar tur 4			1 dub-nagar tur 4
		1 UŠxKÍD	5	1 UŠxKÍD	
	15	Mi-ga-ì			Zu-za-um
		lú In-ma-lik			

[8] The two passages have the same objects of the same weight (indicated after each object: šú+ša = šušana : 2/3 of a mina; ša-pi = šanabi : 4/5 of a mina). 27 shekels of tin are in fusion (šub) with 163 shekels of copper; the total of the weights gives us 190 shekels: 2×30; 20; 20; 20; 15; 2×10; 10; 10; 5; 4; 6. The bronze contains 14.21% of tin. Those for whom the metal is destined are not specified by any name relating to their craft, but a few lines further on, XIII 12, “carpenters”, nagar-nagar, are mentioned. A similar delivery of 11 examples of

Pp. 7–10 in *Vom Alten Orient zum Alten Testament. Festschrift für Wolfram Freiherr von Soden zum 85. Geburtstag am 19 Juni 1993*, eds. Manfred Dietrich, and Oswald Loretz. Alter Orient und Altes Testament 240. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag. 1995.

each tool (but without *ma-ga-za-ù*, *zú* and *ḥa-ra-nu*) for “11 new carpenters”, 11 nagar gibil, is to be found below, obv. XV 29–XVI 7 (18.73 % of tin).

Similar lists are: TM.75.G.2359 rev. XI 7–XII 6: “(6 examples of each tool) for 6 new carpenters of carriages”, 6 nagar-nagar gibil lú GIŠ-gígir-II; XII 7–XIII 4: “(5 examples of each tool) for 5 new carpenters (to work) boxwood”, 5 nagar-nagar gibil lú GIŠ-taškarin; TM.75.G.2508 rev. XII 33–XIII 11: “(20 examples of each tool) of the new carpenters”, lú gibil nagar-nagar *Wa-ba-rúm* šu-ba₄-ti;¹ TM.75.G.10074 rev. XXIII 14–26: for *En-na-ni-il* lú [...]; TM.75.G.10210 rev. I 8–22: lú kaskal en. The list in TM.75.G.10074 rev. VII 19–VIII 6 is somewhat different: ... 30 tùn gal of 40 shekels (each), 100 tùn tur of 25 shekels, 60 tùn tur of 20 shekels, 60 dub-nagar SAL of 5 shekels, 50 šum of 20 shekels “for (people of) Armi to be settled at Gizan (a place in the immediate vicinity of Ebla where groups of workers were concentrated)”, *Ar-mi*^{ki} a₁₆-tuš *Gi-za-an*^{ki}. The supply of only saws for the carpenters is to be found in TM.75.G.2429 obv. XXX 27–XXX 1: 4 šum of 40 shekels and 20 šum of 30 shekels of bronze.

Practically the same list of tools, which in the administrative documents is determined by practical needs, is to be found again in a section of the bilingual lexical lists²: tùn-gal; tùn-tur; tùn^{urudu} = *ba-šum* (Akk. *pāšu*); tùn-bar = *ma-ḥu-zu-um* (cfr. Akk. *maḥāšu*)³; tùn-ir = *ma-gu* (cfr. Akk. *magû*); nagar-ḥar^{urudu} = *ḥa-ra-nu/núm*; dub-nagar-SAL; dub-nagar^{urudu} = *ma-ga-bu*₁₆(NI) (Ugar. *mqb*, Akk. Ugar. *maqqabu*); dub-nagar-nigin; šum^{urudu} = *sar-sa-rúm* (Akk. *šaššaru*).

The normal work tools of a carpenter of the 3rd millennium BC are, therefore:

- “large axes”, tùn gal, of a standard weight of 40 shekels (313.2 gr; 1 shekel = 7.83 gr), and “small axes”, tùn tur, of 30 shekels, more rarely of 25 shekels (respectively 234.9 and 195.7 gr);
- “hammers”, dub-nagar, West Semitic *maqqabu*,⁴ of various forms. The lexical lists give dub-nagar-LAGAB, a writing which could suggest the reading -gur₄, Akk. *kabru* “thick, large”; but in the administrative texts we have dub-nagar šu-mu-LAGAB. This last term is glossed in the lexical lists with *da-hum*, Akk. *târu* “to turn around, to turn”;⁵ that is in favour of the

¹ Wabarum was overseer of the carpenters, ugula nagar, when Ibbi-zikir was minister, TM.75.G.2507 rev. XIII 16.

² Cfr. MEE 4: 285–286.

³ Cfr. Saporetti 1984.

⁴ Pomponio, – Kella 1984: 25.

⁵ ARET 1: 304. This interpretation would appear to be borne out by certain passages in the administrative texts, see ARET 9: 104. Cfr. TM.75.G.2377 rev. II 1–2 = 2379 rev. III 6–7 (Archil 1979a: 108): šu-mu-nigin ^dNI-*da-KUL* “journey, procession (return) of the god Hadabal.”.

reading -nigin; cfr. á-nigin = *du-lum*, *da-wu-lum*. This probably refers to a hammer with a square head, possibly with two, opposing faces: a mallet [9] weighing 20 shekels (156.6 gr). In TM.75.G.1674, instead of *dub-nagar šu-mu-nigin*, we find *dub-nagar-maḥ* “large hammer”, obv. II 1–6: 6 *ma-na a-gar₅-gar₅* 2 *dub-nagar-maḥ* 70 *tùn tur* 50 *šum* 40 *zú* 37 *dub-nagar SAL*. The *dub-nagar SAL* could have weighed 20, 16 or 5 shekels (156.6, 117.45, 39.15 gr); we must be dealing with a “thin hammer”. In ARET 7.41 II 1–2, *SAL* defines two gold sheets, *dib*, of respectively 37 and 20 shekels, whilst the weight of a *dib* is generally greater (ARET 3: 343; ARET 7: 208). For *dib SAL* of 20 shekels, see also TM.75.G.2305 obv. I 1–3: 20 *ma-na kù-gi kin_x-ak* 60 *dib šú+ša SAL*. *SAL* defines moreover a javelin head of standard weight (12 shekels): ARET 7.139 obv. I 4; and also clothes, TM.75.G.1463 obv. III 7: 2 *aktum-TÚG SAL* (cfr. also ARET 3: 382). Other hammers, *dub-nagar*, weigh 10 shekels (78.3 gr) and the “small” ones, *tur*, 5 or 4 shekels (39.15, 31.32 gr);

- “rasp” *ma-ga-za-ù/u₉*; dual: 2 *ma-ga-za-’à*, TM.75.G.2359 obv. X 13. The verb *gazāzu* “to shave” (AHw: 284a) is attested in the following passage (line 13), TM.75.G.1690 obv. IX 9–16: 1 + 1 + 1 ...-túg *A-bù-^dKu-ra* lú *NI-ba-NI ga-za-zú sag Ga-du-um* *dumu-nita* en “1 + 1 + 1 clothes for A., the man of N., to shave the head of G., the son of the king”. See also: 1 *gír ma-ga-zu /magazz-u(m)/* “blade for shaving”, ARET 7.102 obv. I 2.⁶ The term */magza’-u(m)/*, for which we suggest the meaning of “rasp”, could come from the root *gz’*, see Aram., Heb. *gzī* “to cut” (HAL: 178b). The weight of this tool is generally 20 shekels (156.6 gr), but in TM.75.G.10210 rev. I 16, it is 10 shekels (78.3 gr);
- *ḥa-ra-nu/núm* “saw (with semi-circular handle)”, a loan-word from Sumerian (see the quotation from the lexical lists, above). This meaning is suggested by the Sumerian *ḥar* “ring”. The weight of this tool could be of 10 (TM.75.G.2359 rev. XII 2), 7 (TM.75.G.2508 rev. XIII 5) or 5 shekels (78.3, 54.81, 39.15 gr);
- *ma-za-ḥa-ru₁₂* (TM.75.G.2359 rev. XII 1), *ma-za-ḥa-lu* (TM.75.G.2508 rev. XIII 4), *ma-za-ḥa-rúm* (TM.75.G. 10210 rev. I 17), *ma-za-ḥa-lum* (TM.75.G.2462 obv. XII 10, XIII 1). This term could mean “pliers”, a tool missing from those identified here. Its weight is 10 shekels (78.3 gr);
- *zú* “awl”.⁷ Its weight is 10 shekels (78.3 gr);
- *UŠxKÍD* “blade (for a plane)”. The identification of this tool is suggested by the cuneiform sign. This term occurs also in the unilingual Sumerian

⁶ For *gír ma-ga-zu*, see Fronzaroli 1984b: 169.

⁷ The lexical lists give *zú^{urudu}* = *si-nu-um*, *si-na-tum*, see Krebernik 1983: 6–7.

list TM.75.G.2260 obv. III 4 (MEE 3.53; an Eblaite redaction without Mesopotamian parallel): dub-nagar^{urudu}; UŠxKÍD^{urudu} (ll. 3–4). [10]

2) TM.75.G.2508 obv. XIX 4–17

TM.75.G.10074 obv. XVII 31–41

XIX 4	8 gín DILMUN ½ an-na	XVII 31	2 ½ an-na
5	šub si-in		šub si-in
	52 gín DILMUN ½ a-gar ₅ -gar ₅	33	17 ½ a-gar ₅ -gar ₅
7	1 ma-ša-wa		1 ma-ša-wa 3
	3 gú-za-mi-lu	35	1 zàḥ 2 ½
9	3 šum		2 UŠxKÍD 2 ½
	3 dub-nagar SAL	37	da-bù-um 3
11	3 ma-da-gu		2 ma-ša-wa 2
	6 UŠxKÍD	39	1 šu-i 2
13	4 UŠxKÍD tur		I-šar
	EN-zi-iš-ar	41	zu ₅ :a
15	zu ₅ :a		
17	maškim-sù		

The hardness of the bronze of these surgical tools is notable, insofar as, in the first list, the percentage of tin is 13.93 %, and in the second of 13.15 %.⁸ Certain terms recur also in the list of carpenters' tools: "hammer", dub-nagar SAL; "saw", šum; "blade" UŠxKÍD. Obviously, here we are dealing with small instruments, as can be deduced from the weight of each of them (indicated only in the second list), which varies from 3, 2.5, to 2 shekels (23.49, 19.57, 15.66 gr).

The ending *-a* of *ma-ša-wa* should indicate the dual; thus it is probable that it refers to "pincers", *ma-da-gu* "pestle", cfr. Akk. *madakku*. For *zàḥ* the lexical lists give the translation: *dam-ri-gu*, cfr. Ar. *maraqa* "to pass from one side to the other";⁹ one could suggest "needle, probe", *šu-i* is an abbreviation of *gír šu-i*, Akk. *naglabu(m)* "razor". For the ending *-mi-lu* of *gú-za-mi-lu*, see *ù-NAM-mi-lu*, TM.75.G.2365 rev. XIII 14 (1 ù. of gold of the weight of 8 shekels).¹⁰

⁸ On the quantities of tin used at Ebla in the making of bronze, see Archi 1993 f.

⁹ See Conti 1990: 169.

¹⁰ The terminology for surgical instruments known from Egyptian documents is also poor, notwithstanding the development which medicine underwent in that culture: three kinds of knives, forceps, cautery, fire-drill, see *LdÄ* III: 166.

21 Considerations on a Delivery of Spearheads from Ebla

The discovery of a single small tablet, TM.07.G.201 (8.0 × 8.6 × 2.5 cm), in a room north of the Audience Hall of the Royal Palace at Ebla provides us with the opportunity to reconsider the limitations of the textual information often provided by cuneiform documents.¹



Fig. 1: TM.07.G.201, obv.

Obverse (reverse uninscribed)

I	1	2 li-im giš-gu urudu
		Na-gàr ^{ki}
	3	7 mi-at giš-gu urudu
		Kiš ^{ki}

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1 For a seminal discussion of this topic see Civil 1980.

- 5 1 *mi-at* giš-gu urudu
Da-a-šum^{<ki>} [2]
- II 1 4 *mi-at* giš-gu urudu
Gār-mu^{ki}
- 3 2 *mi-at* 80 giš-gu urudu
*I-bí-bu*₁₆^{ki}
- 5 2 *mi-at* giš-gu urudu
Ur-sá-um^{ki}
- III 1 7 *mi-at* giš-gu urudu
A-da-áš^{ki}
- 3 5 *mi-at* 30 giš-gu urudu
*al*₆
- 5 *Bù-ma-lik*
2 *mi-at* giš-gu urudu
- 7 *En-âr-Ar-mi*
- IV 1 7 *mi-at* giš-gu urudu
Nu-ga-mu^{ki}
- 3 1 *mi-at* 20 giš-gu urudu
*al*₆
- 5 *Û-ti*
(uninscribed)

This document registers the delivery of 5930 giš-gu, an abbreviation for giš-gu-kak-gíd, of copper. The overseer of Adaš (the town that appears here in III 2) received on another occasion 306 giš-gu-KAK-gíd urudu, according to the annual account of expenditures of metals concerning the eleventh year of minister Ibbi-zikir (TM.75.G.2507 rev. XVII 23–24). The meaning “spearhead” has been suggested by H. Waetzoldt (Waetzoldt and Bachmann 1984: 2 with n. 7), referring to the term gú-giš-gíd-da urudu known from Mesopotamian sources (Limet 1972: 11; Westenholz 1975: 76 no. 151 line 1). The terms gu and gú are unrelated, however. A much more likely solution (as Piotr Steinkeller kindly suggests to me) is a conflation of two different words: gu-KAK and giš-gíd-(da), which in turn correspond to šukur = (URUDU).IGI.KAK (*MSL* 15 192), and giš-gíd-da (also giš-níg-gíd-da in lexical texts), Akk. *arīktu* “spear, lance,” respectively. Both items appear individually in the Early Dynastic lexical sources attested at Ebla. MEE 3.44 II 5–6 (NAGAR): gu-KAK-gíd zabar, gu-šub-KAK zabar. VE 407: giš-gíd = *ma-za/zi-rí-gú/gúm*, possibly OA *mazlagu* (a fork or hook according to Steinkeller; see also Conti 1990: 129; on gu-KAK urudu, see recently Civil 2008: 88).

The Bilingual Lexical Lists (VE 479) translate giš-gu-KAK-gíd with *hi-tum*, of unknown meaning.

Each spearhead usually weighed about 80 to 90 grams; some pieces could reach 158 grams (Archi 1993f: 622). The giš-gu may have the same weight. See, for example, TM.75.G.2145 obv. I 2–II 2:

5;05 ma-na an-na 45 ma-na a-gar₅ 300 giš-gu UD.(KA.BAR) 10 (gín) 50 ma-na a-gar₅
300 giš-gu

“5;05 minas of lead (and) 45 minas of copper: 300 giš-gu of bronze of 10 (shekels); 50 minas of copper: 300 giš-gu of copper of 10 (shekels)” (50 minas = 3,000 shekels; each spearhead = 10 shekels, i.e., 78.3 grams).

TM.75.G.1642 (MEE 7.13) offers both writings: giš-gu-KAK-gíd and giš-gu.

The text can be reduced to the following format:

Spearheads	Recipient
2,000	<i>Na-gâr^{ki}</i>
700	<i>Kiš^{ki}</i>
100	<i>Da-a-šum^{<ki>}</i>
400	<i>Gâr-mu^{ki}</i>
280	<i>I-bí-bu₁₆^{ki}</i>
200	<i>Ur-sá-um^{ki}</i>
700	<i>A-da-áš^{ki}</i>
530	<i>Bû-ma-lik</i>
200	<i>En-âr-Ar-mi</i>
700	<i>Nu-ga-mu^{ki}</i>
120	<i>Û-ti</i>
5,930	

[3] As is usually the case with the administrative documents from Ebla, there is no mention of a full date – although sometimes there is a month name – nor is the reason for the transaction specified.

At first sight it is not even clear whether the spearheads are entering or leaving the palace. The Annual Accounts of Deliveries of Metals (AAMs), however, often record deliveries of copper of bronze spearheads by the central administration, and therefore one can be certain that in this case we are also dealing with objects manufactured at Ebla. Numerous data clearly show that Ebla was an important metalworking center.² In two cases the text has *al₆* PN;

² Lists of the workers depending from the Palace mention 460–500 simug (“metalworkers”); Archi (1988f*: 136 [149]).

that is to say, these spearheads were “debited to the account of PN,” that is, they represented a quota of what was due to this particular official.³

The spearheads are assigned to both cities and people. Among the former, two were the capitals of regional states: Nagar (Tell Brak) in the Habur triangle (Archi 1998b), and Kiš. The large area stretching from the Mediterranean coast to Babylonia included, apart from the kingdom of Ebla, a fourth regional state, namely, Mari. Its absence from this list, if we consider the fact that Kiš dominated the region to the east of Mari, is important for dating and interpreting the document. The delivery of weapons to Nagar and Kiš, but not Mari, must relate to the year or months preceding the war that Ebla successfully conducted against Mari, as it is only in documents from this period that Nagar and Kiš are mentioned together. There is ample evidence that Ebla prepared for war using diplomatic means. There were various meetings with emissaries of the king of Kiš, and ties of loyalty were strengthened anew with a number of city-states, including Ibu/ibu, Garmu, and Ursa’um (mentioned in the text under consideration here). Representatives of Kiš and Nagar (a certain Sa’um) accompanied the Eblaite army on its march on Mari (TM.75.G.2277; Archi and Biga 2003: 14–16).

Unfortunately, the AAMs relating to these last years are incomplete (Archi and Biga 2003: 13–14) and there is no mention in the surviving fragments of the delivery of the spearheads referred to in TM.07.G.201.

A late date for the document is indicated also by the presence of Uti among the recipients of the spearheads. Son of the minister Ibrium (Archi 1988b: 234–35), he played an important role in the administration (see ARET 1.257; 4.264; 7.191; 12.458) alongside his brother Ibbi-zikir when the latter inherited the position of minister from his father. Uti was still active when the princess Kešdut married a prince from Kiš (Archi and Biga 2003: 27–28; Archi 2010a*: 4–5 [236–237]), that is in the year following the campaign against Mari. The identities of Enar-Armi and Bu-malik, are uncertain, as these names are more common in the Ebla archives. *Da-a-šum* poses a few problems since it is a female name, attributed to a woman of the palace in the time of King Irkab-damu (thirty-five to forty years before the destruction of Ebla; Archi 1996d: 121). A *Da’ašum* appears amongst the “women of the king,” *dam en*, also during the last years of Ebla (ARET 8.527 § 7). This difficulty can only be resolved by emending the text to read *Da-a-šum*^{<ki>}.⁴ This is not uncommon in the Ebla texts, where geographical names are sometimes identical with personal names (ARES 2: 26–

³ See ARET 7.136: “3;40 minas of copper on account of PN, overseer of the metalworkers.” See further Archi (2002c*: 2–3 [52–53]).

⁴ Compare *Da’-ā-su/zu/zū*^{ki}.

29), generating some confusion: occasionally the former do not have the place name determinative; at times this determinative is erroneously placed after personal names.

Ibibu (a variant of Ibubu),⁵ Garmu, and Ursa'um were city-states that took part in Ebla's expedition against Mari (as noted above) and Adaš and Nugamu were two agricultural centers controlled by an "overseer," ugula (ARES 2: 92–93 and 412). The ugula of Adaš (*Ri-ì-ma-lik* during the period of minister Ibrium; *Ig-na-da-ar* in the time of Ibbi-zikir), however, played a fairly important role in the administration (for the ugula of Adaš in the mu-túm documents, see the Indices of ARET 14). According to the AAM TM.75.G.2507 rev. XVII 23–24, the overseer of Adaš received 306 spearheads, (*giš-gu-kak-gíd urudu*) in the eleventh year of Ibbi-zikir. The head official of this small center [4] must have also had some kind of role in the military organization, as well as providing the administration with agricultural products. The document, therefore, brings together three city-states that were traditionally linked to Ebla, and the capitals of two large states that, in a certain period, shared common interests with Ebla. The hypothesis that Ebla, with its well-established metallurgical industry, wanted to provide certain friendly kings with weapons so as to persuade them to participate in the expedition against Mari, thus appears to be quite well founded.

The fact that only Uti (together with another two people) and two centers of the Eblaite realm were provided with new weapons means that this was not a general conscription. While the ugula of Adaš was an official with a role of some importance in the central administration, the center of Nugamu is recorded only in deliveries of agricultural produce and cattle.

The context in which the tablet was found does not provide us with any useful information. It was discovered in L. 9583, one of the rooms of the north-western section of Royal Palace G, built on the slope of the acropolis north of M.2614, the northern wall of the "Audience Hall," and M.2557, the wall delimiting the "Ceremonial Staircase" towards the north. The locus L. 2586 (immediately north of M.2557) belongs to the room, where thirty-two tablets were found scattered on the floor in 1974, near the base of a jar. On the floor of L. 9583, together with tablet TM.07.G.201, were found two female statuettes, made using different techniques. One shows a seated figure (h. 7 cm), covered in a kaunakes mantle of gold from which only the forearms and feet, in white limestone, emerge, along with the face and the hair, which are sculpted in steatite. In the right hand, the figure is holding a small jasper cup. The other is a stand-

⁵ This writing is attested also in the documents of ARET 9, to be dated to the last three years of Ebla (ARET 9: 374–375, *I-bi^{bu}bu^{ki}*).

ing figure (h. 15 cm), with a long black steatite gown from which a breast and the arms emerge. These are of silver, like the face. The left arm is bent at the elbow, the hand turned towards the left cheek.⁶ This unusual pose could represent a gesture of condolence made during funeral rites (the mourning women on three sides of the Ahiṣam sarcophagus, with unlaced corsets, injure their breasts and tear their hair).⁷ Apart from the statuettes, different kinds of bronze and stone objects were also found on the floor. The room may have been used as a workshop, although this does not explain the presence there of a written document.

⁶ See Matthiae 2009.

⁷ On the wailing rite, see Archi (2002b: 184–186 [784–786]).

22 Clothes in Ebla

Among the activities of transformation of primary goods, textile production had a very important role in the economy of Ebla. The task of identifying the large number of articles of clothing is extremely difficult; therefore we will try here to define only the functions of the most common articles of clothing and their value.¹

The administration of Ebla was in the habit of valuing the goods belonging to the Palace in silver. Often the value given is cumulative, as in [1] TM.75.G.2362+ obv. I 1–8, where 14 mines and 27 shekels of silver are the “price” of several dozen articles of clothing and several daggers: 14 ma-na šú+ša 7 gín DILMUN babbar:kù níg-sa₁₀ 27 ’à-da-um-TÚG-I 34 gada- TÚG 1 aktum-TÚG 1 túg-NI.NI 1 íb-lá sag 1 gu-dùl-TÚG [x íb-III-TÚG]-sa₆-dar 2 mi-at 10 íb-III-TÚG-gùn 4 gír mar-tu KA-ak ... When the edition of the annual accounts of metals disbursed from the Palace and that of the agricultural texts will be available, then it will be possible to dedicate an overall study to the goods and prices of Ebla, parallel to that which Michael Heltzer has given us for Ugarit (Heltzer 1978).

1 Three items of clothing formed full dress: the ’à-da-um-TÚG, the aktum-TÚG, and the íb-III(/II/IV)-TÚG-sa₆-gùn. These three garments made up the gift sent regularly at least once a year to the king and the elders (ábba) of the city-states which recognized the Eblaite supremacy (in the IX month, *zalul*; ARET 1.1–9, *passim*). People of inferior rank received usually garments of a lesser quality: a single ’à-da-um-TÚG-I and not double (-II; that is, folded), or an íb-III-TÚG-gùn not of the finest quality (sa₆).

These are without doubt outer clothes, therefore probably a cloak, ’à-da-um-TÚG;² a long robe or a skirt, aktum-TÚG; a waistband of cloth, generally folded three times (-III-), multicoloured (gùn) or of one colour (bar₆; ú-ḥab).

2.1 The basic article of clothing was the aktum-TÚG, sometimes substituted by a sal-TÚG. [46] Both required a waistband to tighten them at the waist. The ’à-

Pp. 45–54 in Michael. *Historical, Epigraphical, and Biblical Studies in Honor of Prof. Michael Heltzer*, eds. Yitzhak Avishur, and Robert Deutsch. Tell Aviv – Jaffa: Archaeological Center Publications. 1999.

1 A first study on clothes at Ebla was presented in ARET 1: 227–229.

2 The idea of G. Pettinato 1995: 188–91, that ’à-da-um-TÚG (attested more than 5,000 times) could be a defective writing for ’à-da-ru₁₂-um-TÚG (never attested) is unworthy of comment.

da-um-TÚG, necessary for the clothing of a person of rank, was rarely given to the artisans, the workers and the lesser dependents of the Palace.

[2] TM.75.G.2331 obv. 19–II 5: 1 *mi-at* 36 'à-*da-um-TÚG*-II 1 *mi-at* 36 íb-III-TÚG-sa₆ 9 *mi-at* 10 aktum-TÚG 9 *mi-at* 10 íb-III-TÚG-gùn AN.ŠÈ.GÚ 1 *li-im* 46 *ir-a-núm En-na-ma-lik* “136 double cloaks, 136 waistbands of finest quality, 910 kilts/tunics, 910 waistbands (= 1,046 + 1,046). Total 1,046 (individuals of the) team of Enna-malik.”

The 'à-*da-um-TÚG* was a very precious article of clothing, but the aktum-TÚG could be of an even greater value. In the Royal Palace G, above all in the Administrative Quarter, numerous fragments of limestone have been found which must have made up some small decorative panels where the king, the princes together with the high dignitaries were represented from a frontal view-point. Here we have above all pieces of belted skirts or kilts which must have been of woven wool imitating the fleecy kilts of the Early Dynastic tradition, with locks or loops hanging in tiers. The belt, represented by a semicircular element, is strongly convex (Matthiae 1984: Tab. 36b; Matthiae 1995: 311–13, 319, 335). Fragments of cloaks decorated like the kilts with loops hanging in tiers are much rarer (Matthiae 1995: 311, Tab. 75–76). There is a wooden statuette certainly representing the king, holding an axe lain on his breast like the insignia; he wears a turban, a skirt with three tiers of hanging loops and a short cloak, also decorated with three tiers of hanging loops (Matthiae 1984: Tab. 42b). It is very likely that the king is shown here in full dress, that is, dressed in an 'à-*da-um-TÚG* and an aktum-TÚG, while the íb-III-TÚG-sa₆-gùn is covered by the cloak.

2.2 In general the workers, but sometimes also the dignitaries, were given an aktum-TÚG or equivalent garment, but not an 'à-*da-um-TÚG*.

[3] TM.75.G.1899 rev. II 14–16: 43 aktum-TÚG 43 íb+III-TÚG-gùn 43 ábba níg-kas₄ “43 tunics, 43 waistbands (for) 43 Elders (for) a military expedition”.

[4] II 17–III 6: 51 'à-*da-um-TÚG*-II 1 *li-im* 14 aktum-TÚG 51 [íb+IV]-TÚG-sa₆-gùn 1 *li-im* 14 íb+IV-TÚG-gùn mu₄^{mu} 1 *li-im* 65 guruš *ir-a-núm Du-bi-šum* “51 cloaks, 1,014 tunics (= 1,065); 51 + 1,014 (= 1,065) waistbands to dress³ the 1,065 workers of the team of Dubišum”.

3 In Archi 1988f*: 133 [145] TÚG-MU has been translated “Kleider-Zuteilung”; in ARET 1: 306 “dress”. The lexical lists have the entry TÚG-MU = *si-dab-tum*, which has to be connected with Akk. *šatāpu*, *AHW*: 1200a: “ausschneiden, aushöhlen”, see ARET 4: 326; *sa-dab-tum* is attested in ARET 1.1 rev. VII 10. The correct analysis of this lexeme: ^{mu}mu₄ “a piece of clothing; dress”, or mu-mu₄ (mu as verbal prefix) “to dress, to put on clothing”, was suggested to me some years ago by J. Krecher for ARET 4.11 § 53: ... *in* ud MU-TÚG-sù “for her (i.e. the dam dingir

[5] III 7-1V 1: 5 *mi-at* 26 aktum-TÚG 1 *mi-at* 43 sal-TÚG 2 *mi-at* 43 gu-mug-TÚG 6 *mi-at* 70 lá-1 íb+III-TÚG-dar 2 *mi-at* 43 na₄ siki mu₄^{mu} 9 *mi-at* 12 guruš *ir-a-núm* *ir-ba_x-ze* “526 tunics, 143 s. tunics, 243 g garments (= 912); 669 waistbands, 243 stone weights of wool (= 912) to dress 912 workers of the team of Irbaze”.

[6] IV 2-7: 3 *mi-at* 22 aktum-TÚG 1 *mi-at* 80 sal-TÚG 1 *mi-at* 40 gu-mug-TÚG 3 *mi-at* [47] 22 íb+III-TÚG-dar 3 *mi-at* 20 na₄ siki 20 “KIN” siki mu₄^{mu} 6 *mi-at* 62 guruš *ir-a-núm* *I-bí-um* “322 tunics, 180 s. tunics, 140 g garments (= 642<+20>); 322 waistbands, 320 stone weights of wool, 20 K. weights of wool (= 662) to dress the 662 workers of the team of Ibium.”

One should note that in the last two passages, a part of the workers were provided with some gu-mug-TÚG, an article of clothing certainly very simple, perhaps a kilt, originally made of shoddy wool (mug).⁴ In these cumulative allocations of gu-mug-TÚG garments, generally some wool was given in place of waistbands (íb.).⁵ Sometimes a gu-mug-TÚG is worn with a sal-mug-TÚG and a waistband (íb.), ARET 4.1 §§ 97-102;⁶ or a gu-mug-TÚG appears between a cloak (*'à-da-um*-TÚG) and a sal-TÚG with an íb., ARET 4.1 §§ 117-118; 11 § 50. Summing up the clothes, not only the waistbands, but also the gu-mug-TÚG were not included among the túg-túg, see [7] ARET 1.3 § 78: šu-nigin 4 *mi-at* túg-túg 14 gu-mug-TÚG è; [8] 4.1 § 121: šu-nigin 6 *mi-at* 68 túg-túg 60 lá-3 gu-mug-TÚG è.

In some cases the workers were given only wool, [9] TM.75.G. 1950 rev. I 1-3: 7 *mi-at* 2 “KIN” siki *ba-ra-i* mu₄^{mu} 4 *mi-at* 70 lá-2 *na-se*₁₁ “702 K. weights of *b.* wool to clothe 468 persons (1.5 “KIN” per person)”.

2.3 mu₄^{mu} generally qualifies gada-TÚG “a cloth of linen for a garment” and sometimes also aktum-TÚG, Urciuoli 1993: 413-421. The sections ARET 8.532 §§ 1-7 and ARET 4.14 §§ 1-6 are parallel, and concern deliveries of garments to some princes.⁷ In [10] ARET 8 §§ 3, 4, 6 we have the sequence: 1 *'à-da-um*-TÚG-II 1 aktum-TÚG 2 íb+III-sa₆-gùn-TÚG 3 aktum-TÚG 3 aktum-TÚG ti-TÚG 1 gada-TÚG mu₄^{mu}, while the parallel passages have [11] 1 aktum-TÚG mu₄^{mu} 2 (/ 1)

priestess) taking the habit”. See now Urciuoli 1993, who after an extensive study of the passages where TÚG-MU appears, reaches the same conclusion.

4 In meant for a god, as in ARET 1.10 § 28, the gu-mug-TÚG could be of linen, gada-TÚG.

5 The case of the single allocations is different, see ARET 1.5 § 51 where 7 nar-tur receive 1 gu-mug-TÚG each; the nar-maḥ receive, according to § 50, 1 gu-mug-TÚG 1 sal-TÚG 1 íb+[III]-TÚG-gùn. See, further, ARET 4.3 § 57; 6 § 51; 10 § 33, § 40; *et passim*.

6 See also ARET 1.5 § 50; 7 §§ 31, 33, 34, 36, *et passim*.

7 See Urciuoli 1993: 417-18.

aktum-TÚG ti-TÚG 1 gada-TÚG mu₄^{mu}. Here aktum-TÚG mu₄^{mu} must mean “tunic (as) a (complete) outfit”, that is a tunic takes the place of a complete outfit made up of a cloak, a kilt or skirt and a waistband.

2.4 The basic meaning of ti-TÚG is given by [12] ARET 11.1 § 61 // 2 § 64: *ti-ib-ù-ma* (/ zi-ga) ti-TÚG en ù (/ wa) *ma-lik-tum è(-ma)*. The king and queen had spent the night in their rooms; at dawn “at the lifting of the curtains, the king and queen go out” to await the rising of the sun “seated on the throne of their fathers.”⁸

ti-TÚG is attested in the lexical lists of Fara, SF 64 Rs. VII 7; Abū Šalābikh, OIP 99.33 VII 10 = 34 VII 4; and Ebla, TM.75.G.2260 obv. II 7, MEE 3.53: 207.⁹ The basic meaning could be “ribbed, pleated cloth; drapes” (ti = “rib”; Waeztoldt 1990: 16: “geripptes Gewebe?”).

ti-TÚG usually qualifies aktum-TÚG “ribbed skirt”; sometimes also sal-TÚG and gada-TÚG, ARET 1: 305; 3: 390; 4: 325. **[48]**

é ti-TÚG is a “drapery warehouse,” where the garments were kept. Of the garments recorded in ARET 1 § 5, some come from the é siki “the wool house”, others from the é ti-TÚG.¹⁰ Also deliveries of gold objects passed through the é ti-TÚG, ARET 7.64.¹¹

3 The ‘à-da-um-TÚG is usually a garment for men. However, sometimes it was also given to women, perhaps for their men and men of their retinue. [13] TM.75.G.2089 obv. I 1-II 3: 15 ‘à-da-um-TÚG-II 11 íb-II-TÚG ... lú dam en A-zi šu-ba₄-ti “15 cloaks, 11 waistbands ... of the king’s women, Azi has received”; [14] II 4-III 2: 16 du-za-mu 5 ‘à-da-um-TÚG-I 20 íb+II-TÚG túg-nu-tag *ma-lik-tum* “16 d., 5 ‘à. cloaks, 20 waistbands (for) the weaving women of the queen.”

4.1 The typical garment for women is the zara₆-TÚG. This is how the clothing of the king, the queen and their children is described. [15] TM.75.G.10170 obv. I 1-II 2: 1 du-za-mu 1 íb+I-TÚG-sag 1 íb-lá 1 si-ti<-tum> 1 gír kun ša-pi kù-gi 1 gír mar-tu kù-gi níg-ba en “1 d. (as a) cloak, a waistband of superior quality, 1 belt 1 scabbard 1 curved gold dagger of 40 shekels, 1 m. dagger of gold: gift (for) the king.” [16] II 3-7: 2 d[u-za-mu] 2 íb+I-TÚG-sag 2 gír mar-tu kù-gi níg-ba *I-bi-*

⁸ For /tib‘u(m)/ see Fronzaroli, ARET 11: 41, who mentions Akkadian *tebû* “to stand up”.

⁹ The sequences is: ì-ti; ti-TÚG; ^{mu}mu₄.

¹⁰ Usually the é ti-TÚG is written in the same case; sometimes in two cases, ARET 4.22 § 22; 8.540 § 25.

¹¹ See further TM.75.G.2507 rev. I 12-15: 5 kù-sal; 2508 obv. XIII 8-9: 2 níg-tur; 10074 obv. XXII 32-33: 1 zi-bar.

zi-kir Íl-’à-ak-da-mu “2 *d.* (as cloaks), 2 waistbands of superior quality, 2 m. daggers of gold: gift (for the vizier) Ibbi-zikir (and for the crown prince) Ir’aq-damu.” [17] 16 *du-za-mu* 16 íb+I-TÚG-sa₆-gùn PN₁-PN₁₆ *dumu-nita en* “16 *d.* (as cloaks), 16 waistbands (for) PN₁-PN₁₆, the king’s sons”. [18] rev. 16–II 4: 1 zara₆-TÚG 1 gíd-TÚG 1 *bu-di šú+ša kù-gi ma-lik-tum* [1] zara₆-TÚG [1] *bu-di* 2 sag kù-gi šú+ša *A-ma-ga* “1 z. garment, 1 long garment (i.e. shawl?), 1 gold pendant of 20 shekels (for) the queen; [1] z. garment, [1] pendant with two heads of gold of 20 shekels (for the princess dam dingir) Amaga.”¹²

The zara₆-TÚG was also donated on the occasion of a wedding, ARET 4.15 § 30. The zara₆-TÚG and the gíd-TÚG garments are part of a gift delivered by the queen in ARET 11.3 § 1. The two types of garment also belong to the funeral array of women of high rank: ARET 1.10 § 27, for the queen of Kakmium.

Statues not only of goddesses but also of gods were dressed in the zara₆-TÚG. One should see for example TM.75.G.1382 obv. VII 8–9, 2331 rev. III 19–22 and IV 15–18: for Hadabal of Luban; ARET 1.13 § 16: for his consort; TM.75.G.2165 rev. VII 8–11: for Hadabal of Luban and his consort; ARET 1.15 § 13: 2 z. for Rašap *gunu* (and his consort?); 3.467 obv. II 10–13 and 4.13 § 53: to dress the bull (mu₄^{mu} am) of Rašap *gunu*. This was not the only garment of clothing intended for the statues of the gods, see TM.75.G.1340 obv. XI 1–4, 1441 rev. IV 5–8: 1 sal-TÚG for Hadabal of Arugadu; TM.75.G.1417 obv. VIII 9–11: 1 aktum-TÚG for Hadabal of ’Amadu; for the túg-NI.NI see 4.1.

The passages which refer to divinities would seem to indicate that the zara₆-TÚG was a shawl, [49] like that which covers the head of a votive statuette down to the waist (Matthiae 1995: 317, 336). However, the greater women of the court received only this garment, and thus the zara₆-TÚG must have been rather the long robe which covers the statuette just mentioned down to the feet. Another statuette in wood representing a young woman wears a long robe draped over the shoulders with a fringed end (Matthiae 1984: Tab. 42c).

4.2 According to TM.75.G.2551, the 26 most important women at the court of king Irkab-damu are given a zara₆-TÚG each; the other 73 a túg.NI.NI (Archi 1996d: 109–16). In ARET 8.527 §§ 6–7 the queen and another 3 women receive a zara₆-TÚG each, 27 “women of the king” of lower rank an aktum-TÚG each, 14 she-dancers (ne-di) a túg-NI.NI each. Similarly, in ARET 8.542 §§ 23–26 the queen and another 23 women receive a zara₆-TÚG each; 17 she-dancers (ne-di)

¹² Among the other passages concerning zara₆-TÚG given to women, see ARET 1.1 § 57: Tišalim, the queen of Emar, receives 1 z. and 2 pendants; 4 § 71: 2 z. for two women of the king at Lub. 15 § 20: 1 z. for the nurse of the queen, *et passim*.

a túg-NI.NI each; another 3 women an aktum-TÚG each. Nurses and midwives of the queen are also allocated túg-NI.NI, ARET 1.15 §§ 16–17.

PA-a-ba₄, one of the queens of Mari, receives 20 aktum-TÚG and 20 túg-NI.NI, ARET 7.132. Large quantities of túg-NI.NI were kept by officials, ARET 7.13 §§ 2–7¹³

The túg-NI.NI was therefore another kind of robe or shawl, generally worn by women. In túg-NI.NI were wrapped also the priest of the gods (lú-dingir-dingir), the servant (pa₄-šeš) of the god Kura, and other people taking part in the marriage ceremony of the royal couple, ARET 11.1 § 33.

A túg-NI.NI and two bracelets (gù-li-lum) of gold were the annual gift received by Kura, the principle god of Ebla, ARET 1.17 § 56 (Archi 1996a: 48).

5 In [14] the lot of the 'à-da-um-TÚG is completed with some *du-za-mu*; in [15] the clothing of the king, of the vizier and of the princes consists in a *du-za-mu* and a waistband, besides a belt and a dagger.

The entry MEE 4.860 of the bilingual lexical lists gives 2 šu túg = *du-za-mu-um*: a *duzatum* here is a cloth for the two hands. It seems that by *duza-mu(m)* we should understand a precious type of cloth, often used as a cloak or to make cloaks. See for example [19] TM.75.G.2082 obv. I 1–2: 15 *du-za-mu* 'à-II dūl-TÚG 21 íb+III-TÚG-sa₆, which can only mean “15 *duzamu* (for) cloaks (of type) 'à. (and) d., 21 waistbands”; [20] ARET 1.20 § 1: 10 *du-za-mu* 'à-da-um-TÚG-II 10 lá-1 *du-za-mu* 'à-da-um-TÚG-I 1 *du-za-mu* dūl-TÚG (and 3 + 2 + 16 b.), § 3: 2 *du-za-mu* 'à-da-um-TÚG-II 1 *du-za-mu* dūl-TÚG 15 'à-da-um-TÚG-II (and 11 íb.).

An annual mu-DU text, [21] TM.75.G.2070, has in obv. I 8–II 2: 15 *du-za-mu* dūl-TÚG 11 'du-za-mu' (?) 'à-da-um-TÚG-II 5 mi-at 40 'à-da-um-TÚG-II; 1 'à-da-um-TÚG-II is in rev. III 14, another in rev. VI 8, another 30 in rev. VIII 4; the total sum, rev. IX 1, gives 598 'à-da-um-TÚG, including the 15 *du-za-mu* dūl-TÚG. Further, [22] TM.75.G.2072, another mu-DU text, has in obv. IV 8–9, 13–IV 1: 15 *du-za-mu* 'à-da-um-TÚG-II 13 *du-za-mu* dūl-TÚG 4 mi-at 40 lá-2 'à-da-um-TÚG-II; rev. IV 11: 1 'à-da-um-TÚG-II; VII 3: 30 'à-da-um-TÚG-II; the total sum, rev. IX 2, has simply: 4 mi-at 97 'à-da-um-TÚG-II. [49]

The sums of the annual mu-DU texts usually separate the 'à-da-um-TÚG-II from the túg-túg. In the monthly accounts of cloth deliveries on the other hand, under túg-túg are added up all the garments of clothing, except the íb-TÚG and the gu-mug-TÚG, see ARET 1.1 §§ 89–92, 3 §§ 77–78.

13 For túg-NI.NI given to women, see further ARET 1.1 § 62; 15 §§ 16, 1); 16 §§ 24, 25.

6 The passages [19]–[22], where the *dùl-TÚG* are enumerated together with the *'à-da-um-TÚG-II*, show that they belong to the same category of cloaks. It is easy to add other significant passages, such as [23] TM.75.G.2597 obv. 11: 4 *'à-da-um-TÚG-II* 2 *dùl-TÚG* 4 *'à-da-um-TÚG-I* ($4 + 2 + 4 = 10$) 10 *aktum-TÚG*. [24] TM.75.G.1223 obv. III 2–7 lists 24 garments of the cloak type, and 25 tunics of different colours: 2 *'à-da-um-TÚG-II* 5 *dùl-TÚG* *Ma-ri^{ki}* 20 *lá-3 gu-dùl-TÚG* $5 + 2 + 19$ *aktum-TÚG* (brown, black, white).

7 In [24] the *gu-dùl-TÚG* is part of the group with *'à-da-um-TÚG*. Thus also in other passages, see [25] TM.75.G.2070 obv. II 1–3: ... *'à-da-um-TÚG-II* 1 *mi-at* 30 *gu-dùl-TÚG* 2 *li* 8 *mi-at* *aktum-TÚG*.¹⁴ The *gu-dùl-TÚG* seems to be a kind of second quality cloak, used by persons of low rank. In the annual *mu-DU* texts, the final totals include the *gu-dùl-TÚG* among the *túg-túg*, but then other *gu-dùl-TÚG* are recorded apart for “farmers”, *engar-engar*, see [26] TM.75.G.2070 rev. IX 4–5 and [27] TM.75.G.2072: 3 *mi-at* *gu-dùl-TÚG* *engar-engar*.

8 Another type of cloak was the *gu-zi-tum-TÚG*, cfr. Akk. *kusitu*. Sometimes it is distributed together with an *aktum-TÚG* and an *ib.*, in place of an *'à-da-um-TÚG*, ARET 1.11 §§ 37–39, 41; 14 §§ 16–19, *et passim*. In ARET 1.14 § 56, in the totals relative to clothes, the *gu-zi-tum-TÚG* are totalled with the *'à-da-um-TÚG-II* while the *gu-dùl-TÚG* with the *'à-da-um-TÚG-I*: 8 *gu-zi-tum-TÚG* *'à-da-um-TÚG-II* ... 14 *gu-dùl-TÚG* *'à-da-um-TÚG-I*.

9 The list of garments of outer clothing: cloaks and bands of different kinds, to be worn over the tunic or kilt, is very ample. Here we will limit ourselves to give an example, [28] TM.75.G.2073 obv. III 2–9: 11 *du-za-mu* *'à-da-um-TÚG-II* 10 *lá-1 du-za-mu* *sag-TÚG* 10 *dùl-TÚG* 3 *mi-at* *'à-da-um-TÚG-II* 1 *mi-at* *'à-da-um-TÚG-I* 70 *gu-dùl-TÚG* 20 *gada-TÚG* *mu₄^{mu}* 20 *gada-TÚG* *kir-na-nu* (the tunics or kilts: *aktum-TÚG* *sal-TÚG* follow).

The prices of clothes¹⁵

The prices of clothes vary greatly, and tend to have a low value if the number of garments is high; see *sub* *aktum-TÚG*, *gu-mug-TÚG* and *ib-III-sa₆-gùn-TÚG*.

¹⁴ The total in ARET 1.17 § 64 has: 16 *gu-dul-TUG* *gada-TUG*; here, the *gada-TUG* in § 48 is added to the 15 *gu-dul-TUG* listed in several sections.

¹⁵ The first number indicates the average price in shekels of silver (1 shekel = 7.84 gr); the number in brackets that follows indicated the number of garments quoted in the passage. TM.75.G. should always precede the number of inventory of unpublished texts. For example,

This is singular if one thinks that they are goods pertaining to the Palace, whose value was not determined by their circulation on the market. [50]

'à-da-um-TÚG-II

7 (3) 1910 obv. I 6; 8.88 (9) 10074 rev. XVII 22–XVIII 1; 9 (1) 1905 r. 13; 9 (1) 1910 obv. 15; 11 (2) 1910 obv. I 4; 15 (2) 1905 r. I 2; 15 (2) 1910 obv. I 3

'à-da-um-TÚG-II sa₆

8,40 (32) 2428 rev. VI 4–6

'à-da-um-TÚG-II ħul

5 (60) 2428 rev. VI 7–8

'à-da-um-TÚG-I

1.81 (49) 10074 rev. XVII 20–21; 1.94 (189) 2622 rev. I 11–12; 5 (1) 2428 rev. VI 17–18

aktum-TÚG

2.24 (335) 2507 rev. XVI 10–11; 4 (1) ARET 1.45+ obv. VII 9–12; 5.33 (3) ARET 7.13 § 15; 20 (15) 1463 obv. I 1–2; 20 (1) 1463 obv. I 5–6; 25 (2) 1463 obv. II 3–4; 30 (2) 1463 obv. II 1–2

aktum-TÚG-sal

10 (2) 1463 obv. III 6–7

aktum-TÚG ti-TÚG

4 (20) ARET 1.45+ obv. VIII 3–5; 8.81 (16) 10074 rev. 2–3

aktum-TÚG mu₄^{mu}

3.33 (9) 10074 rev. XVIII 8–9; 6.66 (3) 2622 rev. I 17–18; 9.20 (5) 2428 rev. VI 13–14

dara₄-TÚG

12 (1) 2507 rev. XVI 4–5

dùl-TÚG

13 (1) 1905 obv. II 1; 14 (1) 1905 obv. II 2

gada(-TÚG)

1.5 (6) ARET 1.45+ obv. VII 13–15; 3.02 (34) 2410 obv. I 7–II 2; 4 (1) 2424+ obv. IV 2–4 gada(-TÚG) sa₆

2.2 (10) 1390 rev. V 4–6; 3 (5) 1390 obv. III 3–5; 3 (2) 1390 obv. VII 9–VIII 2 gada(-TÚG) sa₆ šu en

the first quotation should be interpreted as follows: 7 shekels for an 'à-da-um-TÚG-II (3 garments = 23 shekels): TM.75.G.1910 obv. I 6.

3 (6) 1390 obv. IX 2–5

gada(-TÚG) ħul

0.76 (26) 2428 rev. VI 25–26; 1 (5) 1390 obv. V 2–4; 1.3 (10) 1390 obv. II 4–6

gada-TÚG túg-mu

1.65 (20) 2507 rev. XVI 8–9; 1.76 (19) 2622 rev. I 15–16; 2.04 (88) 2428 rev. VI 23–24; 2.39 (71) 10074 rev. XVIII 6–7

gàr-su-ud

1 (1) 1905 obv. III 4 [52]

gu-mug-TÚG

1 (300) 2507 rev. XVII 6–7; 1.07 (555) 2507 rev. XVII 3–4; 1.08 (62) ARET 7.74 § 1; 2.5 (2) 1910 rev. I 6; 4 (2) 1905 obv. III 3

îb-IV-sa₆-gùn-TÚG

0.78 (620) 2507 rev. XVI 18–19; 1.09 (274) 10074 rev. XVIII 14–15; 1.12 (192) 2508 rev. XX 21–22

îb-IV-TÚG bar₆

0.16 (249) 2508 rev. XXI 4–5

îb-IV-TÚG ú-ĥáb *Ma-rī^{ki}*

2.5 (5) 10074 rev. XVIII 12–13

îb-III-TÚG

1 (3) 1910 rev. I 4; 2 (3) 1910 rev. I 3; 2.5 (6) 1910 rev. I 2

îb-III-gùn-TÚG

0.33 (895) 2507 rev. XVI 20–21; 0.40 (110) 10074 rev. XVIII 16–17; 0.97 (36) ARET 7.74 § 2; 1 (94) 2410 obv. II 3–5; 1.58 (10.1) 1390 rev. II 7–9

îb-III-TÚG bar₆

0.16 (1,000) 2507 rev. XVII 1–2

îb-III-sa₆-gùn-TÚG

1.25 (374) 2428 rev. VI 27–28; 1.56 (6) 2410 obv. II 6–8; 2.5 (2) ARET 7.13 § 18; 2.85 (7) 1390 rev. III 1–3; 2.85 (7) 2424+ obv. II 5–7; 3 (2) ARET 7.13 § 15; 3 (1) 1390 obv. IV 5–7, rev. VII 4–6; 3 (2) 1390 obv. IX 6–8; 3.58 (12) 2424+ obv. IV 9–11; 4 (3) 1390 rev. V 1–3

îb-[III]-TÚG *Ma-rī^{ki}*

1.16 (3) 2428 rev. VI 19–20; 2.75 (4) 2622 rev. I 13–14

îb-III-TÚG bar₆ *Ma-rī^{ki}*

4.16 (12) 1390 obv. VII 1–3; 6 (1) 1390 obv. VII 4–6

îb+II-TÚG

2 (7) 1905 obv. II 4; 3 (2) 1905 obv. II 3

níg-lá-gaba

2.14 (7) ARET 7.74 § 3; 4? (2) 1390 rev. IV 9–11; 4.28 (7) 10074 rev. XVIII 10–11; 7
(2) 2428 rev. VI 21–22

níg-lá-sag

4?(1) 1390 rev. IV 9–11

pad-TÚG

20 (1, ú-ḥáb) 1463 obv. III 4–5; 40 (1, bar₆) 1463 obv. III 8–9 [53]

sal-TÚG

0.83 (650) 2507 rev. XVI 16–17; 1.21 (141) 10074 rev. XVII 18–19; 1.42 (21) ARET
1.45+ obv. VII 4–6; 1.48 (31) 1413 obv. I 5–7; 1.71 (70) 2424+ obv. III 12–IV 1;
2.32 (129) 2424+ obv. I 11–II 2; 3.5 (1) 1905 obv. III 1; 4 (8) 1905 obv. III 2; 4
(3) 1910 obv. I 7

sal-TÚG *Ma-r^{ki}*

2.22 (9) ARET 7.77 § 16

siki

0.5 (2 na₄) 10074 rev. XIX 3–4; 0.6 (245 na₄) 2508 rev. XX 23–24

na₄ siki *Ma-r^{ki}*

0.5 (110 na₄) 10074 rev. XVIII 18–XIX 1; 0.59 (232 na₄) 2428 rev. VI 29–30; 0.68
(1,290) 2507 rev. XVII 10–11

túg-NI.NI

2 (5) ARET 1.45+ obv. VII 7–9; 2.6 (97) 2428 rev. VI 15–16; 2.8 (15) 2622 rev. I 9–
10; 2.91 (72) 10074 rev. XVII 16–17; 2.92 (7) 1413 obv. I 8–II 2; 5 (48) ARET
7.13 § 7; 5 (3) 1390 obv. II 7–9; 5.16 (60) ARET 7.13 § 6

zara₆-TÚG

4.2 (107) 2507 rev. XVI 6–7; 4.72 (50) 2428 rev. VI 9–10; 5.82 (67) 10074 rev. XVII
14–15; 15 (3) 1463 obv. II 7–III 1

zara₆-TÚG ḥul:

2.97 (21) 2622 rev. I 7–8; 3 (30) 2428 rev. VI 11–12

zara₆-TÚG *Kab-lu₅-ul^{ki}*

20 (3) 1390 rev. IV 6–8

23 Cereals at Ebla

In a publication intended to recall the foundation of *Archív Orientální* by B. Hrozný, the man who deciphered the Hittite language, I should, as a Hittitologist, make a contribution in this field. Sadly, I am not able to at the moment.

Hrozný was, however, also the author of a pioneering work on cereals in the Ancient Near East which, still today, provides a model for a study of material culture, a field of research which he encouraged.¹ He not only examined in a thorough and original manner the cuneiform sources, but also took into consideration terminology relating to cereals in the other ancient languages. The result is an overall picture of the cultivation of cereals in Mesopotamia until the Arab period, accompanied with a brief outline of the kinds of grains harvested in modern times. Moreover, he requested assistance from a botanist, Franz von Frimmel, and used the results of analyses of finds from Nippur and Gezer to confirm identification.

If, on the one hand, my contribution, limited to the brief period in which Ebla was one of the capitals of the Ancient Near East (EB IVa; ca. 2368–2330 BC), shows how our knowledge has been increased on both the chronological and area level, on the other it underlines the debt owed to the man who, once and for all, established the basis for our understanding of this field.

1 Types of cereals

Hrozný stated that the most commonly occurring cereals in all periods are še “barley (*Hordeum vulgare*)”, zíz “emmer (*Triticum dicoccum*)”, and gig “wheat”, and that barley was by far the most frequent. [504]

This picture, based mostly on philological evidence, is still valid for South and Middle Mesopotamia.² The palaeobotanical data today reveals a more complex picture which, however, also portrays the peripheral areas. The types of wheat (*Triticum*) are: *Triticum dicoccum*, emmer; *Triticum monococcum*: einkorn; *Triticum spelta*: spelt, and two naked wheats: *Triticum aestivum* and *Triticum compactum*. Jane M. Renfrew writes about the naked wheats as following:

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¹ Hrozný 1913; see particularly pp. 3–7.

² See Powell 1984, a study which in some respects is based directly on Hrozný's work.

“*Triticum aestivum* (described in the literature as ‘bread wheat’) with large plump grains, and *Triticum compactum* (‘club wheat’) with dense ears of small almost spherical grains. The true identification to species of these two types of wheat is not satisfactorily resolved at the moment and since this has implications for the genetics and evolution of wheat, for our purposes I think we should describe them as *large or small grained naked wheats* and leave it safely like that.”³ According to the Ebla evidence, gig should be the naked wheat in its two types, because it is known in the standard and in the small (gig-tur) variety.

In the Ebla texts, alongside še, zíz and gig, and rather more frequently than gig, we also find KAL. zíd-KAL is a kind of flour attested in Mesopotamia from the Pre-Sargonic period.⁴ Its reading is zíd-sig₁₅ according to Hh V 20 (MSL XI, 76), Akk. *hišiltu* (CAD H, 205). G. J. Selz has suggested that KAL in this connection has to be considered a type of cereal.⁵ [505] This is proved now by the Ebla documentation, which has not only zíd-sig₁₅ “sig₁₅ flour”,⁶ but also sig₁₅(KAL) alone, in contexts where it can only be a cereal, as L. Milano has pointed out.⁷ The bilingual lists have a še-section, MEE 4 nos. 643–700,⁸ and much later, at nos. 1367–1368, zíz appears followed by sig₁₅. None of these three terms is provided with its Semitic reading. This is rather unfortunate as it is highly probable that Eblaite maintained the old Semitic words, while Akkadian *še’um* “barley” and *zizum* “emmer” are loanwords from Sumerian.

At Ebla, at least, sig₁₅ has to be identified with einkorn (*Triticum monococcum*). The palaeobotanical data from Tell Mardikh/Ebla, show that barley (*Hordeum vulgare*) was by far the most frequently found cereal there in all the archaeological contexts of the Bronze and Iron Ages. Second in importance was emmer (*Triticum dicoccum*), and thirdly we have einkorn (*Triticum monococcum*). Lastly, *Triticum aestivum* (with naked grains) appears in smaller

3 Renfrew 1984; the quotation is from p. 35 (my italic), where she also writes: “Thus it appears that although free-threshing wheats were known to Mesopotamian farmers quite early in the development of agriculture, they had reasons for continuing to cultivate the hulled wheats – emmer and einkorn – rather than going over to the more easily processed crops – why should this be? Were the hulled wheats better for storage or perhaps much less liable to bird or storm damage when standing in the fields?”

4 Bauer 1972: 423 and 665; for Ur III, see Oppenheim 1948: 136 f., 260; and in general, see Milano 1993/97: 26–27.

5 Selz 1989: 246–47.

6 ARET 2.21 II 4; 9.401: ninda-sig₁₅ and 410: zi-sig₁₅; Archi 1986b: 205.

7 Milano 1987: 199; Id. ARET 9: 403.

8 This section has been commented on by G. Conti 1990: 174–82. For še-zú = *a-zì-zú*, *’a₅-zì-zu-um* “pointed barley”, and še-sa = *sa-a-tum* “roasted barley,” see nos. 661 and 678.

quantities than the two preceding kinds of wheat, both in the Old and in the Middle Bronze Age, with an increase in the latter period.⁹ To these one has to add some amounts of *Triticum spelta*. This picture corresponds exactly with the epigraphic data, where barley (še) is the overwhelming presence; emmer (zíz) and einkorn (sig₁₅) are represented in roughly the same degree and *Triticum aestivum* (large and small grained) occurs more rarely. [506]

2 Quality of cereals

- **še** “barley”, *passim*.
- **še babbar**, **še gi₆** “bright/white, dark/black barley:”¹⁰ ARET 2.21 (no. 28), TM.87.G.499 (no. 23).
- **še-sag** “fine quality barley”. TM.76.G.861, 971 and 985 (no. 34) register amounts of še and še-sag. CAD J, 325: *jaraḥḥu* “(a fine quality of barley)”, quotes two OAKk. passages mentioning še-sag-*gunû*, and the lexical occurrences of še-sag-LUGAL, še-sag = *ja-ra-aḥ-ḥu*.
- **gig** “naked wheat (*Triticum aestivum*, *compactum*)” *passim*.
- **gig-tur** “small grained wheat (*Triticum compactum*)”. ARET 2.17 (no. 16) V 4 (VI 4 has *gú:gig*; the total in VIII 2 sums the amount of gig-tur and that of gig-*gú* under gig-*gú*; is *gú* an abbreviation for *gú-nida* / NUNUZ?¹¹); 9.35 § 5 (no. 20); 9.73 obv. III 1', IV 5 (no. 14). TM.75.G.1536 (no. 18) obv. V 4: *gig-tur*, rev. V 1–3: (AN.ŠĒ.GÚ) 100 *gú-bar* gig 7 *gú-bar* gig-tur 50 *gú-bar* gig-*gùn-tur* gur. TM.75.G.1546 (no. 15) obv. VII 1 (gig-tur-tur), rev. IV 4 (gig-tur dar). TM.75.G.10142 (no. 7a) obv. II 2: gig-ZÚM(LAK524)-tur.
- **gig-(tur)-gùn** “spotted”: TM.76.158 obv. I 2 (no. 17); TM.75.G.1546 rev. IV 4 (nos. 13, 15).
- **sig₁₅** “einkorn”, *passim*.
- **sig₁₅-sag** “fine quality einkorn”. TM.76.G.985 obv. VI 1 (no. 34), rev. 15.
- **zíz** “emmer”, *passim*.
- **zíz-sag** “fine quality emmer”. TM.76.G.985 obv. IV 9 (no. 34).

⁹ A rapid synthesis is given by Wachter-Sarkady 1995: 249–51. She was so kind to provide me with the tables which are given here below. This author (1998) has presented also a detailed analysis of the first palaeobotanical remains from Tell Afis (11 km north of Tell Mardikh); data concerning the Old Bronze Age is at the moment scanty.

¹⁰ For *zíz babbar*/gi₆, see Powell 1984: 53.

¹¹ On *gú-nida*(NUNUZ) referred to a cereal, see CAD G, 127; Powell 1984: 53.

3 The use of the term še

The annual accounts of silver expenditures record a number of purchases (níg-sa₁₀) of quantities of še. [507]

1. TM.75.G.1705(+) obv. I 1–3: 2 ma-na babbar:kù níg-sa₁₀ še *Ri-i-ma-lik* ugula *A-da-âš^{ki}* “2 minas silver (470 × 2 gr) to acquire barley (for) PN, the overseer of GN.”¹²
2. TM.75.G.2362 rev. VI 15–VII 2: 4 ma-na babbar:kù níg-sa₁₀ še guruš-guruš-sù *wa dam-sù* “4 minas silver to acquire barley for her (i.e. of Dusigu, the king’s mother) workers and women.”
3. TM.75.G.2507 obv. III 28–31: 10 gín DILMUN babbar:kù níg-sa₁₀ še *in* ugula-ir₁₁-ugula-ir₁₁ “10 shekels (78 gr) silver to acquire barley for the overseers of the servants.”

At Ebla, as in later periods, še possibly stood simply for “grain, corn” in those documents which record large quantities (see below, 5). In the three preceding passages, however, še must, without doubt, be translated as “barley” since, in another annual account an amount of wheat, gig, is registered. The plural form še-še (very rarely attested) may mean “cereals.”

4. TM.75.G.2464 obv. I 6–9: 4 ma-na babbar: kù níg-sa₁₀ gig *Ib-NE-um* šu-ba₄-ti “4 minas silver PN has received to acquire wheat.”
5. TM.75.G.3481(+) rev. XV 11–14: 3 ma-na babbar:kù *Za-ba-rúm* šu-ba-ti níg-sa₁₀ še-še “3 minas silver PN has received to acquire barley/cereals.”

Barley was also imported from foreign countries. According to TM.75.G.10096 Pa’aba, the queen of Mari, receives 37 minas of gold in exchange for barley: 37 ma-na kù-gi níg-sa₁₀ še *Pa-a-ba₄* šu-ba-ti.¹³

4 Cereals for sowing

The very few texts which provide information relating to quantities of seeds show that barley was greatly predominant but that other cereals were not, however, ignored. Given the irregular manner in which the documents of the agricultural administration were conserved, it is not possible to determine, or

¹² And so on until obv. II 11, see MEE 7: 135 f.

¹³ Archi 1982: 177.

even arrive at an approximation of the percentages in which the different cereals were cultivated.

[508] Capacity measures: 1 *gú-bar* = 120 an-zam_x; 6 an-zam_x = 1 sila; 1 sila about 1 liter (?).¹⁴ The dimension of the surface measure *gána-ki* or *gána-kešda-ki* is unknown.

7. TM.75.G. 10142

- a) obv. I 1–3: 5 še *gú-bar* še-numun 70 *gána-ki* “5 *gubar* of barley, seed (for) 70 g.-k. measures (of field)” (8.57 an-zam_x per 1 *gána-ki*).

I 4–II 1: 14.1 *gú-bar* zíz 180 *gána-ki* “14.1 *gubar* of emmer (seed for) 180 g.-k.” (9.66 a.-z. per 1 g.-k.).

II 1–3: 1.0.0.4 *gú-bar* gig-ZÚM(LAK524)-tur 65 *gána-ki* “1.0.0.4 *gubar* of small wheat (seed for) 65 g.-k.” (2.15 a.-z. per 1 g.-k.).

[PN] (**barley: 22,5 %; einkorn: 57 %; *Triticum aestivum*: 20,5 %**)

- b) rev. 4–5: 1 *gú-bar* sig₁₅ 30 *gána-ki* “1 *gubar* einkorn (seed for) 30 g.-k.” (4 a.-z. per 1 g.-k.).

I 6–II 1: 2 *gú-bar* še 23 [*gána-ki*] “2 *gubar* of barley (seed for) 23 [g.-k.]” (10.43 a.-z. per 1 g.-k.).

[...]

PN

8. TM.75.G.2143¹⁵

- a) obv. I 1–4: 2.1.0.7 *gú-bar* sig₁₅ še-numun 100 *gána-ki* “2.1.0.7 *gubar* of einkorn, seed (for) 100 g.-k.” (3.24 a.-z. per 1 g.-k.).

PN

- b) II 1–3: 1.0.0.4 *gú-bar* sig₁₅ še-numun 36 *gána-ki* “1.0.0.4 *gubar* of einkorn, seed (for) 36 g.-k.” (3.77 a.-z. per 1 g.-k.).

II 4–5: 1.1 *gú-bar* še 24 *gána-ki* “1.1 *gubar* of barley (seed for) 24 g.-k.” (7.5 a.-z. per 1 g.-k.).

rev. I 1–2: 2 *gú-bar* zíz 24 *gána-ki* “2 *gubar* of emmer (seed for) 24 g.-k.” (10 a.-z. per 1 g.-k.).

PN (**barley: 28 %; einkorn: 42 %; emmer: 30 %**) [509]

- c) I 4–II 5: 10 *gú-bar* še še-ba é 2.1 *gú-bar* še 1.1 *gú-bar* sig₁₅ 2 *gú-bar* zíz še-numun GN “10 *gubar* of barley (for) rations of the house. 2.1 *gubar* of barley, 1.1 *gubar* of einkorn, 2 *gubar* of emmer (for) seed: GN.”

Unlike the preceding two documents, areas sown with barley predominate in the two which follow.

¹⁴ ARET 9: 349–52. Another, less frequently applied system, existed alongside this, in which 1 *gú-bar* is the equivalent of 144 an-zam₆.

¹⁵ Text published by Milano 1987: 184 f.

9. TM.76.G.198 obv. I 1–rev. I 1:¹⁶ 25 *gú-bar* še 9 *gú-bar* zíz še-numun GN₁ 30 *gú-bar* še 9 *gú-bar* zíz še-numun GN₂ “25 *gubar* of barley (and) 9 *gubar* of emmer seed for GN₁ (**barley: 74 %**); 30 *gubar* of barley (and) 9 *gubar* of zíz: seed for GN₂ (**barley: 77 %**) (in the following sections: 20, 15, 15, 8, 2, 40 *gubar* of barley: seed for GN_{3–8}).”
10. TM.76.G.156 obv. II 6–IV 6:¹⁷ 29 še še-numun 11 *gú-bar* zíz 10 *gú-bar* še NE-ti-gi-LUM GN₂ 3 še 100 še še-numun GN₂ “29 (*gubar*) of barley as seed, 11 *gubar* of emmer (and) 10 *gubar* of N.-barley (as seed) (for) GN₁. 3 (*gubar*) of barley, 100 (*gubar*) of barley as seed (for) GN₂.”

5 Cereals for food

The use of barley as food predominated greatly over all the other kinds of cereal. Rations (še-ba) in barley for workers (*guruš*) are usual, as in ARET 2.18, where the barley is delivered to the overseers (*ugula*) of work-groups; similarly in ARET 2.19. In TM.75.G.1959, however, work-gangs (organized into several “gates,” *ká*) receive wheat (*gig*: *Triticum aestivum*); in ARET 9.39 the women of the king (*dam en*) receive only emmer (*zíz*). In the accounts of large quantities, it is possible that *še* includes all cereals, as in ARET 2.20 § 12: 548,500 *gubar* še, or in TM.75.G.1700 rev. I 1 and II 2, where 855,530 and 204,400 *gubar* še respectively are recorded.¹⁸ This may be deduced from the fact that the monthly documents relating to foods [510] (published in ARET 9) and the detailed accounts of the production of cereals (conserved for the current year in a specific archive, room L. 2875), record different kinds of cereals. This last group of documents consists of only a few not baked tablets, originally large but today reduced to small, thin fragments which it is difficult to join each other (the texts cited below, with the inventory number beginning with TM.76.G. belong to this archive).

Wheat grains have a high protein and carbohydrate content. Lucio Milano, studying documents relating to foodstuffs, noted that “the consumption of cereals by the royal family (was) more balanced, divided into a quota of barley and another, roughly equal, quota of wheat and emmer.”¹⁹ It is, however, not

¹⁶ Ibid., 195 f.

¹⁷ Ibid., 192–94.

¹⁸ Archi 1982: 182 (the first number has been corrected here according to a duplicate); see also there, at pp. 182–184, the following document, TM.75.G.2627.

¹⁹ ARET 9: 330.

possible to establish constant proportions among the various kinds of cereals. There were no standard documents for this administrative sector and there is frequently no mention of whom or for how many the rations are destined. Therefore, the quantities vary from text to text.

According to ARET 2.17 (no. 16) serfs and women working at the Palace received rations (še-ba ir₁₁, dam) of barley, while, in section § 12, the house of the king (é en) received similar amounts for each of the four types of cereals, that is, **barley: 30 %; einkorn: 25 %; emmer: 25 %; *Triticum aestivum*: 20 %.**

The rations for the king for one year (še-ba en 1 mu), according to ARET 9.35 (no. 20), needed 1,920 + [x] + 840 (additional) *gubar* še; 1,444 + 840 (additional) *gubar* sig₁₅; 1,370 *gubar* zíz; 120 *gubar* gig-tur. That is, **barley: more than 44 %; einkorn: about 33 %; emmer: about 20 %.**

Different amounts are registered in ARET 9.19 (no. 29). The king received 5.1 *gubar* of barley a day for rations, that is 1,980 *gubar* in one year; the workers (guruš) 3,600 *gubar*, and the women (dam) 1,200 *gubar*. In addition, 160 *gubar* of einkorn and 630 *gubar* of emmer were needed for one year. This means that **barley represented 89,6 %; einkorn: 2,1 %; emmer: 8,3 %.**

The following documents have sections concerning only einkorn and emmer for consumption by members of the royal family (“food for the king,” kú en). For four months, ARET 9.27 § 20 (no. 24): **einkorn: 54,8 %; emmer: 45,2 %.** For five months, ARET 9.30 (no. 25), **einkorn: 76 %; emmer: 24 %.** For ten months, ARET 9.31 §§ 1–6 (no. 26), **einkorn: 50 %; emmer: 50 %.** [511]

Rations for the king and the workers, for six months, ARET 9.109 § 1 (no. 31): **barley: 78 %; einkorn: 12 %; emmer: 10 %.**

Rations for several months for (?) 6 overseers, ARET 9.63 § 8 (no. 30): **barley: 85 %; einkorn: 7 %; emmer: 8 %.**

Rations for one month, probably for an official, ARET 2.21 (no. 28): **barley: 60 %; emmer and einkorn 20 % each.**

As regards the various kinds of flour, only the following passage (registering foodstuff kept in a village) is added here to those already published:²⁰

11. TM.75.G.1723 obv. I 1–II 4: 35 *gú-bar* zíd *za-la-tum* 5 *gú-bar* zíd *du-gúm* 5 *gú-bar* še zíd gu 25 *gú-bar* zíd zíz 60 *gú-bar* zíd še “35 g of bran, 5 *gubar* of fine (crushed) flour, 5 *gubar* of barley flour ..., 25 *gubar* of emmer flour, 60 *gubar* of barley flour.”

6 Passages concerning cereals different from barley, še

gig “*Triticum aestivum*”

12. TM.75.G.1959: deliveries of gig for overseers of “gates”, ká (i.e. work-gangs); each overseer receives from 520 to 150 *gubar*.

gig sig₁₅

13. TM.75.G.1546 rev. IV 4–V 1: 38 *gú-bar* gig-tur-gùn 7.1 *gú-bar* sig₁₅ (inventory: rations for PN; **einkorn: 16,5 %; *Triticum aestivum*: 83,5 %**). [512]

gig sig₁₅ zíz

14. ARET 9.73 rev. IV 1–4: (annual delivery, total) 450 *gú-bar* sig₁₅ 317 *gú-bar* zíz [x] gig-tur.

gig sig₁₅ še

15. TM.75.G.1546 obv. VI 5–VII 3: 31 *gú-bar* še 12 *gú-bar* gig-tur-tur 5 *gú-bar* sig₁₅ 5 *gú-bar* gig-tur-gùn (inventory of PN's house; **barley: 58 %; einkorn: 10 %; *Triticum aestivum*: 32 %**).

gig sig₁₅ zíz še

16. ARET 2.17 §§ 11–15: (11) AN.ŠÈ.GÚ 1,600 *gú-bar* še 190 *gú-bar* sig₁₅ 410 *gú-bar* zíz 40 *gú-bar* gig-tur še-ba PN₁ (12) 60 *gú-bar* še 50 *gú<-bar>* sig₁₅ 50 *gú-bar* zíz 40 *gú-bar* *gú-gig* é en (13) AN.ŠÈ.GÚ 930 še *gú<-bar>* še-ba ir₁₁ ir₁₁ PN₂ (14) šu-nigin 2,600 *gú-bar* še 240 *gú<-bar>* sig₁₅ 460 *gú<-bar>* zíz 80 *gú-bar* *gú:gig* (15) še-ba 12 iti lú PN₁ “(11) Total: 1,600 g of barley, 190 g of einkorn, 410 g of emmer, 40 g of *Triticum aestivum*, rations for (the official) PN₁ (**barley: 71,4 %; einkorn: 8.5 %; emmer: 18,3 %; *Triticum aestivum*: 1,8 %**). (12) 60 g of barley, 50 g of einkorn, 50 g of emmer, 40 g of *Triticum aestivum* for the king's house (**barley: 30 %; einkorn: 25 %; emmer: 25 %; *Triticum aestivum*: 20 %**). (13) Total: 930 g of barley: rations for the serfs of PN₂. (14) Final sum: 2,600 g of barley, 240 g of einkorn, 460 g of emmer, 80 g of *Triticum aestivum* (**barley: 76,9 %; einkorn: 7,1 %; emmer: 13,6 %; *Triticum aestivum*: 2.4 %**). (15) Rations for twelve months of PN₁.

gig še

17. TM.76.G.158 obv. I 1–II 3: 100 *gú-bar* še 7 *gú-bar* gig 1.1 *gú-bar* gig-gùn al₆-gâl GN “100 g of barley, 7 g of *Triticum aestivum*, 1.1 g. of spotted *Triticum aestivum*, present in GN.”

gig še zíz

18. TM.75.G.1536 obv. IV 6–V 7: 1,100 *gú-bar* gig 200 *gú-bar* zíz 563 *gú-bar* še 7 *gú-bar* gig-tur; rev. VI 5–V¹ 3: AN.ŠÈ.GÚ 683 *gú-bar* še 200 *gú-bar* zíz 1,100 *gú-bar* gig 7 *gú-bar* gig-tur 50 *gú-bar* gig-gùn-tur-gur ... šid diri *Ìr-kab-da-mu* en *Ib-la*^{ki} “Total: 683 g of barley, 200 g of emmer, 1,100 g of *Triticum aestivum*, 7 g of small *Triticum aestivum*, 50 g of small ... *Triticum aestivum* ... additional account (for) Irkab-damu, the king of Ebla (including also [513] the rations for his workers and messengers, guruš kas₄)” (**barley: 33.5 %; emmer: 9.8 %; *Triticum aestivum*: 56.7 %**).²¹
19. TM.75.G.1661 obv. IV 3–rev. I 2: 955 *gú-bar* še 65 *gú-bar* gig 130 *gú-bar* zíz (delivery for the overseer of a GN; **barley: 83 %; emmer: 11.3 %; *Triticum aestivum*: 5.7 %**).
20. ARET 9.35 §§ 1–3: (še-ba en 1 mu “rations for the king for 1 year”; totals) 1,922 + [x] + 840 (additional) *gú-bar* še; 1,444 + 840 (additional) *gú-bar* sig₁₅; 1,370 *gú-bar* zíz; 120 *gú-bar* gig-tur (**barley: 42 %**, not considering the amount in the gap; **einkorn: 35 %; emmer: 21 %; *Triticum aestivum*: 2 %**).

sig₁₅ “einkorn”**sig₁₅ še**

21. TM.75.G.1475 (cereals, oil and cattle “in the hand” of PN) obv. I 1–II 6: 4,150 + 4,300 *gú-bar* še, 80 *gú-bar* sig₁₅ (in the following three sections only barley, še).
22. TM.75.G.10211 rev. III 1–IV 5: AN.ŠÈ.GÚ 28,905 *gú-bar* e₁₁ 173,455 *gú-bar* nu-e₁₁ lú en 100 *gú-bar* sig₁₅ e₁₁ 2,700 <*gú-bar*> sig₁₅ nu-e₁₁ 500 <*gú-bar*> nu-e₁₁ in GN “Total: 28,905 g of barley which came down, 173,455 g of barley which did not come down: belonging to the king. 100 g of einkorn which came down, 2,700 g of einkorn which did not come down, 500 g which did not come down and in GN” (**barley: 98.4 %**).
23. TM.87.G.499 (fragmentary) obv. II 2–4:] 20 *gú-bar* še gi₆ 10 *gú-bar* še bab-bar 10 *gú-bar* sig₁₅ [.

sig₁₅ zíz

24. ARET 9.27 § 20: 400 <*gú-*>*bar* sig₁₅ 330 <*gú-*>*bar* zíz še-ba 4 iti “400 g of einkorn, 330 g of emmer: rations for 4 months” (**einkorn: 54.8 %; emmer: 45.2 %**).
25. ARET 9.30 § 6: 475 <*gú-*>*bar* sig₁₅ 150 <*gú-*>*bar* zíz kú en “475 g of einkorn, 150 g of emmer for the consumption of the king (for 5 months)” (**einkorn: 76 %; emmer: 24 %**). [514]

²¹ Ibid., 195–97.

26. ARET 9.31 §§ 1–6: 358 *gú-bar* sig₁₅ 395 <*gú->bar* zíz še-ba 5 iti 100 <*gú->bar* sig₁₅ 80 <*gú->bar* zíz iti *ir-me* 100 <*gú->bar* 80 <*gú->bar* zíz iti *hur-mu* 100 <*gú->bar* sig₁₅ 80 <*gú->bar* zíz iti è 57.1 <*gú->bar* sig₁₅ 80 <*gú->bar* zíz iti kur₆ 80 *gú-bar* 80 <*gú->bar* za-la-tum zíz iti ^dA-dam-ma-um “(1) 358 g of einkorn, 395 g of emmer: rations for 5 months. (2) 100 g of einkorn, 80 g of emmer, month IX. (3) 100 g of einkorn, 80 g of emmer, month X. (4) 100 g of einkorn, 80 g of emmer, month XI; (5) 57.1 g of einkorn, 80 of emmer, month XII (6) 80 g of bran 80 g of emmer, month I” (**einkorn and emmer: 50 % each**).
27. TM.75.G.2577: 178 *gú-bar* sig₁₅ 180 *gú-bar* zíz al₆-gál áš-da PN₁ 60 *gú-bar* zíz 25 *gú-bar* sig₁₅ še-numun 200 *gú-bar* sig₁₅ 200 *gú-bar* zíz PN₁ lú šu-mu-“tag₄” SA[.ZA_x^{ki?}] “178 g of einkorn, 180 g of emmer, present by PN₁. 60 g of emmer, 25 g of einkorn as seed. 200 g of einkorn, 200 g of emmer, (which) PN₁ has delivered to the Pa[lace] (?)” (**einkorn: 48 %; emmer: 52 %**).

sig₁₅ ziz še

28. ARET 2.21 rev. IV 1–4: [20+]30 *gú-bar* še gi₆ 10 *gú-bar* še babbar 20 *gú-bar* zíz 20 *gú-bar* sig₁₅ še-ba 1 iti “50 g of dark barley, 10 g of bright barley, 20 g of emmer, 20 g of einkorn: rations for 1 month” (**barley: 60 %; emmer and einkorn 20 % each**).
29. ARET 9.19 §§ 3–5: 5.1 <*gú->bar* še ninda 1 ud 300 <*gú->bar* še še-ba 1 iti 100 <*gú-bar* še> še-ba dam 160 <*gú->bar* sig₁₅ 630 <*gú->bar* zíz 1 mu “5.1 g of barley for bread, daily <for the king>. 300 g of barley, rations of 1 month (for the workers); 100 (g of barley) rations for the women (of the Palace, for a month). 160 g of einkorn, 630 g of emmer for 1 year” (**einkorn: 20 %; emmer: 80 %**).
30. ARET 9.63 § 8: [AN.ŠĚ.G]Ú 4,650 <*gú->bar* še 376 *gú-bar* sig₁₅ 420 <*gú->bar* zíz “[Tot]al: 4,650 g of barley, 376 g of einkorn, 420 g of emmer” (deliveries concerning an unknown number of months from (?) six overseers; **barley: 85.3 %; einkorn: 7 %; emmer: 7.7 %**).
31. ARET 9.109 § 1: 3,938(?) <*gú->bar* še 600 *gú-bar* sig₁₅ 500 *gú-bar* zíz še-ba en wa guruš-guruš in 6 iti “3,938 g of barley, 600 g of einkorn, 500 g of emmer: rations for the king and the workers, for 6 months” (**barley: 78.2 %; einkorn: 11.9 %; emmer: 9.9 %**). [515]
32. TM.75.G.2655+ (fragmentary text) obv. II 3–III 1: 30 *gú-bar* še 10 *gú-bar* sig₁₅ 10 *gú-bar* zíz []; rev. V 5–10: 340 (*gú-bar*) še še-ba; rev. VI 2–VII 3: 150 še (*gú-bar*) ninda-bappir (for beer bread) 30 (*gú-bar*) sig₁₅ 30 *gú-bar* zíz GN; VIII 1–3: AN.ŠĚ.GÚ (Total) 4,890 *gú-bar* še 1185 *gú-bar* sig₁₅ 975 *gú-bar* zíz (**barley: 69.4 %; einkorn: 16.8 %; emmer: 13.8 %**).

33. TM.76.G.976+980 obv. III 7–IV 2: 916 <gú-bar> [še] 18 <gú-bar> sig₁₅ GN; IV 7–11: 110 + 112 + 200 <gú-bar> še 40 <gú-bar> sig₁₅ [GN].
34. TM.76.G.985 obv. IV 4–V 2: 1,250 še e₁₁¹ 200 + 15 še nu-e₁₁¹ 15 gú-bar sig₁₅ e₁₁ 95 gú-bar zíz e₁₁¹ 35 zíz-sag nu-<e₁₁> 35 + 65 zíz nu-e₁₁ GN “1,250 (g) of barley (which) came down, 215 (g) of barley which did not come down; 15 g of einkorn which came down; 95 g of emmer which came down, 35 (g) of fine quality emmer (and) 100 (g) of emmer which did not come down” **(barley: 85.6 %; einkorn: 1 %; emmer: 13.4 %)**; V 3–6: 147 še e₁₁¹ 74 <še->sag nu-e₁₁¹ 110 <še> nu-e₁₁ GN “147 (g) of barley which came down, 74 (g) of fine quality barley (and) 110 <g. of barley> which did not come down: GN.” V 7–VI 7: 200 še e₁₁¹ 50 <še->sag nu-e₁₁ 75 še nu-e₁₁¹ 100 sig₁₅ e₁₁¹ [x] sig₁₅-sag nu-e₁₁¹ 20 sig₁₅ nu-e₁₁¹ 50 zíz e₁₁¹ 15 zíz-sag nu-e₁₁¹ 22 + 50 zíz nu-e₁₁¹ GN “200 (g) of barley which came down; 50 (g) of fine quality barley (and) 75 (g) of barley which did not come down; 100 (g) of einkorn which came down, [x] (g) of fine quality einkorn (and) 20 (g) of einkorn which did not come down; 50 (g) of emmer which came down, 15 (g) of fine quality emmer (and) 72 (g) of emmer which did not come down: GN” **(barley: 55.8 %; einkorn: 20.6 % [+x]; emmer: 23.5 %)**.
35. TM.76.G.985 rev. II 2–8: 530 še e₁₁¹ 110 še-sag nu-e₁₁ 120 + 30 še nu-e₁₁¹ 55 sig₁₅ e₁₁¹ 100 zíz e₁₁¹ GN “530 (g) of barley which came down, 110 (g) of fine quality barley (and) 150 (g) of barley which did not come down; 55 (g) of einkorn which came down, 100 (g) of emmer which came down: GN” **(barley: 83.6 %; einkorn: 5.8 %; emmer: 10.6 %)**.
(for sig₁₅ see also gig sig₁₅, and gig sig₁₅ zíz še) [516]

zíz – še

36. TM.75.G.1798 obv. II 5–rev. I 3: 0.0.0.5 še kú 1 bîr-BAR.AN ... 0.1 še ninda simug uru-bar ... 3 gú-bar zíz si-in é “0.25 g of barley: fodder (for) a pair of mules ...; 0.5 g of barley food (for) the smith ...; 3 g of emmer for the house.”
(for zíz see also gig sig₁₅ zíz še, gig še zíz, sig₁₅ zíz and sig₁₅ zíz še)

Tab. 1: Palace G, Central Unit West, North-East Area (EB IV a).

TM.88.G378/1	<i>Hordeum vulgare</i>	37
Ec V 8 IV	<i>Triticum monococcum</i>	8
L. 4448, Liv. 8b	<i>Triticum dicoccum</i>	1
(sample 1, 2)	<i>Triticum monoc/dicocc.</i>	4
	<i>Cerealía indet.</i>	31
TM.88.G289/290	<i>Hordeum vulgare</i>	12
Eb V 8 I+IV	<i>Triticum monococcum</i>	1
L. 4434, Liv. 8b	<i>Triticum dicoccum</i>	1
(sample 3)	<i>Triticum monoc/dicocc.</i>	4
	<i>Cerealía indet.</i>	40
TM.88.G.336	<i>Hordeum vulgare</i>	694
Eb V 9 II	<i>Triticum monococcum</i>	62
L. 4452, Liv. 8	<i>Triticum dicoccum</i>	68
(sample 79)	<i>Triticum aestivum</i>	4
	<i>Triticum spelta</i>	39

Tab. 2: Central Unit West, North-East Area, below the floor of Palace G: silo (EB III).

TM.90.G85	<i>Hordeum vulgare</i>	8
Ec V 8 II+IV	<i>Triticum aestivum/durum</i>	1
L. 4841, Liv. 9	<i>Triticum spelta</i>	4
(sample 59)		
TM.90.G105	<i>Hordeum vulgare</i>	291
Ec V 8 II+III	<i>Triticum monococcum</i>	33
F.4843, Liv. 10	<i>Triticum dicoccum</i>	22
(sample 89b)	<i>Triticum spelta</i>	30
	<i>Cerealía indet.</i>	228
TM.90.G.117	<i>Hordeum vulgare</i>	153
Ec V 8 II+III	<i>Triticum monococcum</i>	7
F.4843, Liv. 10	<i>Triticum dicoccum</i>	1
(sample 111)	<i>Triticum aestivum/durum</i>	1
	<i>Cerealía indet.</i>	72
TM.90.G.99	<i>Hordeum vulgare</i>	113
Ee V 8 II–III	<i>Triticum monococcum</i>	3
F.4843, Liv. 9	<i>Triticum dicoccum</i>	10
(sample 141)	<i>Triticum aestivum/durum</i>	6
	<i>Triticum spelta</i>	6
	<i>Cerealía indet.</i>	145

24 Culture de l'olivier et production de l'huile à Ébla

1 Les oliveraies

L'olivier est considéré comme originaire de l'aire qui comprend les régions occidentales de la Syrie et de l'Anatolie méridionale. Ébla nous fournit la plus ancienne documentation épigraphique concernant cette culture. C'est à Paul Garelli que je dédie cette première analyse en signe de reconnaissance pour son amitié.

Dans les archives d'Ébla on compte une trentaine de documents qui enregistrent des terrains relevant du roi, de la reine et de fonctionnaires du Palais dont le titre, selon la coutume administrative éblaïte, n'apparaît que rarement. Il s'agit pour la plupart de terrains emblavés, c'est-à-dire destinés à la culture des céréales, še; les textes ne le signalent pas, mais ces terrains étaient en partie destinés aussi à la culture de légumineuses et de cucurbitacées, quand ils n'étaient pas laissés en friche, selon un système de rotation non précisé. Le terme désignant les terrains emblavés est: GĀNA-kešda(-ki) (parfois écrit en abrégé: GĀNA-kešda ou GĀNA-ki); il n'est pas certain que kešda signifie ici «lié», dans le sens de «champ (GĀNA) relevant du / lié au Palais».¹ Parfois les documents mentionnent aussi des surfaces plantées, c'est-à-dire des «oliveraies», GĀNA-kešda(-ki) GIŠ-ì(-giš) (dans une dizaine de textes), et plus rarement des «vignobles», GĀNA-kešda(-ki) GIŠ-geštin. GIŠ-ì-giš, qui peut être abrégé en: GIŠ-ì (en évitant la reduplication de GIŠ), est le terme employé pour «olivier»; ì-giš, pour «huile».²

Les premières attestations épigraphiques de l'olivier en Mésopotamie sont peu nombreuses et datent de l'époque akkadienne. Si l'on tient compte de la durée respective des dynasties éblaïte et akkadienne, elles se situent environ 150 ans après Ébla, et peut-être davantage. Le terme employé pour «olivier»

Pp. 211–22 in *Marchands, Diplomates et Empereurs. Études sur la civilisation mésopotamienne offertes à Paul Garelli*, eds. Dominique Charpin, and Francis Joannès. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations. 1991.

1 Voir en général mon étude 1990d: «Agricultural Production in the Ebla Region». Pour l'interprétation de GĀNA-kešda-ki, voir Foster 1983: 299–303. Toute la documentation relative à l'agriculture sera publiée dans un prochain volume de la série ARET.

2 Les listes bilingues ne donnent aucune équivalence pour ì-giš, et ignorent GIŠ-ì-giš.

étant l'akk. *serdum* (*zi-ir-tum*),³ cela prouverait que le sumérogramme GIŠ-ì-giš n'appartenait pas à la tradition scribale sumérienne, d'autant plus que l'équivalence pour *serdum* dans les listes mésopotamiennes est GIŠ-gi-rim, ou l'emprunt akkadien *zi-ir-tum/du-um*.⁴

Les listes qui suivent donnent une idée des rapports entre les surfaces emblavées et celles des terres plantées: [212]

1.1 TM.75.G.1831(+)

Face	I	9-10	600	GÁNA-kešda-ki	100	GÁNA-kešda	GIŠ-ì	(6 : 1)
	II	6- 7	1.500	"	500	"	"	(3 : 1)
	III	3- 4	200	"	100	"	"	(2 : 1)
	IV	7- 8	700	"	400	"	"	(1,7 : 1)
	IV	11-12	1.000	"	100	"	"	(10 : 1)
	VI	10-11	500	"	100	"	"	(5 : 1)
	VII	1- 2	700	"	100	"	"	(7 : 1)
	VIII	1- 2	500	"	400	"	"	(1,2 : 1)
	VIII	8- 9	1.000	"	300	"	"	(3,3 : 1)
	VIII	11-12	1.000	"	200	"	"	(5 : 1)
	IX	6- 7	600	"	400	"	"	(1,5 : 1)
	X	1- 3	1.000	"	300	"	"	(3,3 : 3)
	X	6- 7	600	"	250	"	"	(2,4 : 1)
Revers	II	4- 5	800	"	100	"	"	(8 : 1)
	II	9-10	200	"	100	"	"	(2 : 1)
	III	5- 6	500	"	200	"	"	(2,5 : 1)
	III	9-10	500	"	200	"	"	(2,5 : 1)
	IV	4- 5	600	"	100	"	"	(6 : 1)
	IV	11-12	400	"	400	"	"	(1 : 1)
	V	1- 2	500	"	100	"	"	(5 : 1)
	V	13-14	300	"	100	"	"	(3 : 1)
	IX	11-12	400	"	400	"	"	(1 : 1)

3 BIN VIII 260, 4; RTC 216, 2; voir Gelb 1957: 240 s.v. SRD; AHw: 1037a.

4 En Mésopotamie giš-ì est «sésame»; selon Waetzoldt 1985a: 79, le sumérogramme giš-ì-giš, abrégé en giš-ì, a été «von der Olive einfach auch auf den Sesam übertragen ... Dann würde sich das Wort von selbst erklären und es wäre auch verständlich, warum in Mesopotamien das Olivenöl mit dem semitischen Namen bezeichnet wurde und nicht etwa mit einem sumerischen, denn das beste dafür mögliche sumerische Wort war schon für eine andere Ölpflanze verbraucht». Et à propos de l'huile, Waetzoldt 1985a: 92, n. 35, cite Gelb 1967: 3b: «vegetable oils were very rare (in ancient Mésopotamie), and that we normally call sésame (ŠE.GIŠ.Ì, Ì.GIŠ) first appeared in the Sargonic period but did not become the dominant oil of Mesopotamia until the Ur III period».

1.2 TM.75.G.3863(+)

Face	II	12–13	500	GÁNA-kešda	100	GÁNA-kešda	GIŠ-ì	(5 : 1)
	VI	3– 4	300	"	200	"	"	(1,5 : 1)
	VII	1– 2	3.400	"	1.300	"	"	(2,6 : 1) ^a
	VII	5– 6	500	"	300	"	"	(1,6 : 1)
	IX	9–10	1.000	"	800	"	"	(1,2 : 1)
Revers	III	6– 8	3.500	"	2.000	"	"	(1,7 : 1) ^b
	V	7– 8	600	"	300	"	"	(2 : 1)

a) propriété du vizir Ibrum (à ajouter: 300 GÁNA-kešda GIŠ-geštin)

b) propriété du roi (à ajouter: 1.000 GÁNA-kešda GIŠ-geštin)

1.3 TM.75.G.2340

Face	K	9–10	AN.ŠÈ.GÚ	28.000	GÁNA-kešda	8.000	GÁNA-kešda	GIŠ-ì	(3,5 : 1)
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1.4 TM.75.G.2646(+)

Face	I	8–10	700	GÁNA-kešda-ki	300	GIŠ-ì-giš	15	GÁNA-kešda GIŠ-geštin
	II	13–15	500	"	100	"	100	" "
	III	9–11	500	"	5.400	"	400	" "
	IV	9–11	150	"	200	"	10	" "
	VI	13–15	200	"	1.000	"	100	" "
	...							
Revers								
VII	13–VIII 4	AN.ŠÈ.GÚ	8.800	GÁNA-kešda-ki	16.320	GIŠ-ì-giš	630	GÁNA-kešda GIŠ-geštin
	...							
XII	4–6	AN.ŠÈ.GÚ	3.700	GÁNA-kešda-ki	1.350	GIŠ-ì-giš	10	GÁNA-kešda GIŠ-geštin

1.5 TM.75.G.1767 = SEb 2 (1980) 7–8 [213]

Face	I	1–2	2.260	GÁNA-kešda-ki	1.000	GIŠ-ì-giš	(2,2 : 1)	al ₆ -tuš
	II	4–5	1.100	"	500	"	(2,2 : 1)	al ₆ -tuš

Sur environ trente documents, il n'y en a qu'une dizaine environ qui signalent des oliveraies, ce qui fait penser que cette culture était grosso modo pratiquée dans des champs occupant seulement un tiers des surfaces agricoles du Palais. Beaucoup plus rares sont les vignobles. Le paysage agricole de la région éblaïte différerait donc de celui de la côte, tel que le documentent les archives d'Ugarit, tout au moins pour le IIe millénaire, où presque chaque unité agricole comportant une oliveraie avait aussi un vignoble.⁵

Si l'on considère encore la surface des oliveraies par rapport aux surfaces emblavées, elle pouvait varier de beaucoup selon les cas, mais en moyenne les valeurs oscillent entre $\frac{1}{4}$ et $\frac{1}{3}$ de la surface globale. D'après les documents cités dans les listes mentionnées ci-dessus, les rapports sont: *a* 2,84 : 1 (14.100–4.950 GĀNA); *b* 1,96 : 1 (9.800–5.000 GĀNA); *c* 3,5 : 1.

En *d* on a simplement Giš-i-giš, avec la suppression de GĀNA-kešda-ki. Le texte s'articule selon une classification tripartite: terrain (emblavé), oliveraie, vignoble. Ce qui exclut l'interprétation: «700 mesures de champ (avec) 300 oliviers» (f. I 8–10), même si certaines pratiques administratives demandent, pour les cultures arboricoles, non seulement la surface du champ mais aussi le nombre d'arbres fruitiers.⁶ D'ailleurs, selon cette interprétation, on aurait deux champs de 500 GĀNA, l'un avec 100 (II 13–15) et l'autre avec 5.400 oliviers (III 9–11) ! Compte tenu qu'une oliveraie plantée selon des critères non modernes pouvait avoir de 80 à 120 plantes par ha,⁷ et en acceptant une valeur moyenne de 100 plantes par ha, 500 GĀNA avec 5.400 oliviers correspondraient à 54 ha. Or, comme le montrent les listes citées précédemment, 500 GĀNA représentent une valeur de surface moyenne – élevée mais pas très élevée – dans les attributions de terrains. D'autre part il est peu probable que GĀNA-kešda-ki soit, dans ce cas, sous-entendu, c'est-à-dire: «300 (mesures GĀNA à) oliveraie», même si le rapport de 2,74 : 1 entre la surface emblavée et la surface plantée qui résulterait alors de la «somme partielle», AN.ŠĒ.GŪ (rev. XII 4–6), est conforme aux valeurs établies ci-dessus (dans rev. VII 13 suiv., il serait de 1 : 1,85).

⁵ «Sa terre, sa vigne, son 'castel'», A.ŠĀ^{HL.A.}-šu Giš.GEŠTIN^{MEŠ.}-sù Giš.GI.DĪM^{MEŠ.}-sù É AN.ZA.GĀR-šu, cf. RS 16.353 (*PRU* III, 113), 16.148(+) (p. 115), 15.155 (p. 118), 16.204 (p. 119), 15.145 (pp. 122–123), 16.154 (p. 127), 16.343 (p. 129), etc. Parfois, on a seulement une vigne, cf. RS 15.37 (*PRU* III, 35). Très fréquemment seulement de la «terre», RS 15.150 (*PRU* III, 47), 16.263 (p. 49), 16.277 (p. 50), etc.

⁶ Dans le cadastre de la campagne d'Uruk, *AnOr* IX 19, antérieur au VI^e siècle, avec la surface de chaque verger on donne aussi le nombre et l'âge des palmiers, voir 1968: 20–22.

⁷ Cf. Ruppin 1917: 45. Melena 1983: 106. Voir Caton, *De Agricultura* 6, 1.

Par contre, il est vraisemblable que les dimensions de l'oliveraie étaient parfois déterminées non par la surface mais par le nombre de plantes.⁸ A ce propos, la formulation en *e* est claire: *al₆-tuš*, terme qui signifie « assigné, résidant » lorsqu'il désigne des hommes, veut dire dans ce cas « oliviers plantés ».⁹ Si l'on suppose toutefois que tout le terrain avait été planté, et sur la base de la valeur théorique de 100 plantes par ha, 2.260 GÁNA devraient correspondre à 10 ha, avec une plante tous les 44,25 m². Un GÁNA correspondrait donc pratiquement à 1 sar (35,28 m²). Cette valeur est cependant inacceptable parce que d'après les quantités de semence prévues pour 1 GÁNA, celui-ci doit mesurer environ 10 sar.¹⁰ [214]

Si les documents considérés jusque là (*a-e*) enregistrent des terrains avec des aires emblavées et des aires plantées d'arbres, par contre TM.75.G.12448+ présente trois sections, dévolues respectivement à des champs emblavés, à des oliveraies, à des vignobles. Les bénéficiaires des trois sections ne varient pas: ce sont toujours le roi, la reine, le vizir Arrukum, le chef des fondeurs, ugula simug, et quatre ou cinq autres fonctionnaires. Invariablement la motivation est « (pour) l'entretien (de) », kú. Les villages varient, c'est-à-dire que dans certains villages les bénéficiaires disposaient *seulement* de terrains emblavés, dans d'autres *seulement* d'oliveraies, dans d'autres encore *seulement* de vignobles: GÁNA-kešda-ki, GIŠ-ì, GÁNA-kešda GIŠ-geštin. Là aussi GIŠ-ì ne peut qu'indiquer « oliveraie ». L'ampleur des oliveraies varie considérablement de village à village. Voir les sections suivantes:

1.6 TM.75.G.12488+

Face X 7-18	2.000	GIŠ-ì kú en	XI 9-19	15.000	GIŠ-ì lú(!) en
	400	GIŠ-ì kú <i>ma-lik-tum</i>		1.600	GIŠ-ì-kú <i>m-lik-tum</i>
	600	GIŠ-ì kú <i>Ar-ru₁₂-gúm</i>		600	GIŠ-ì-kú <i>Ar-ru₁₂-gúm</i>
	500	GIŠ-ì kú <i>En-na-BE</i>		1.200	GIŠ-ì-kú <i>En-na-BE</i>
	...			...	

⁸ Un exemple est donné par l'administration mycénienne, voir la tablette KN Gv 862: « 1.770 figuiers, 405 oliviers », Ventris and Chadwick 1973: 165-166.

⁹ Le document a été publié indépendamment par Pettinato 1979b: 174 et 208, et Archi 1980a: 7-9. Cf. Foster 1983: 299-303.

¹⁰ J'avais proposé l'équivalence 1 GÁNA = 1 sar (1980: 9). La valeur de 1/10 de iku (1 iku = 0,3528 ha) a été calculée par Pomponio 1983a: 5-12, sur la base de la semence par GÁNA. Selon Milano 1987b: 186-187, 1 GÁNA est 1/6 de iku; mais la correction apportée par Milano à ARET 2.51, n'est pas justifiée épigraphiquement.

Revers II 11–III 8 et IV 5–15	1.000 / 400	GÁNA-kešda GIŠ-geštin kú en
	[x] / 100	GÁNA-kešda GIŠ-geštin kú <i>ma-lik-tum</i>
	300 / 200	GÁNA-kešda GIŠ-geštin kú <i>Ar-ru₁₂-gúm</i>
	[x] / 100	GÁNA-kešda GIŠ-geštin kú <i>En-na-BE</i>

Ces oliveraies devaient s'étendre dans la région immédiatement autour d'Ébla et dans la plaine d'Idlib et Ariha, dont les terrains calcaires, les plus propres à la culture de l'olivier, jouissent aussi des effets bénéfiques du climat maritime. Idlib est aujourd'hui la province syrienne qui produit la plus grande quantité d'olives. Des localisations plus précises sont impossibles car les références topographiques fournies par les textes sont de simples noms de villages, aujourd'hui difficilement identifiables, mais jamais ceux de centres importants.

Il n'est pas possible ici d'examiner le système d'attribution de ces terrains. Il suffit de dire qu'il se base probablement sur des concessions administrées directement par les bénéficiaires et non par le Palais (sauf naturellement le roi et la reine). La main-d'œuvre était vraisemblablement fournie par la communauté du village. Les surfaces étant en général exprimées en chiffres ronds, les champs doivent avoir été obtenus dans les aires périphériques (open fields) du territoire de chaque village.

Dans TM.75.G.2646+, on trouve non seulement des mesures de surface mais aussi des quantités d'orge exprimées en *gú-bar*, des quantités d'huile exprimées en « jarres », la-ḫa, et parfois même des bovins et des outils, comme des jougs et des récipients. Le texte énumère les biens donnés à (?) Tirin-damu (une « prêtresse », « fille de roi », dam dingir, dumu-mí en) (et à une certaine Gimizadu) par(?) la reine: lú (*Gi-mi-za-du*) *Di-rin_x*(EREN)-*da-mu* in-na-sum *ma-lik-tum*, et situées dans plusieurs villages. Le schéma complet est le suivant: x G(ÁNA)-k(ešda)-k(i) x GIŠ-ì-giš x G(ÁNA)-k(ešda)-k(i) GIŠ-geštin x la-ḫa ì-giš x še *gú-bar* x gu₄ x GIŠ-sudun. Mais plus d'un élément peut manquer tour à tour. Le tableau suivant réunit les sections les plus complètes. [215]

1.7 TM.75.G.2646+

Face		
I 8–11	700 G.k.k. 300 GIŠ-ì-giš 15 G.k.k. GIŠ-geštin 200 še <i>gú-bar</i>	(100 G.k.k. : 28,57 g)
II 9–10	1000 G.k.k. 230 še <i>gú-bar</i>	(100 G.k.k. : 23,00 g)
III 9–13	500 G.k.k. 5.400 GIŠ-ì-giš 140 G.k.k. GIŠ-geštin 200 še <i>gú-bar</i> 24 la-ḫa ì-giš	(100 G.k.k. : 40,00 g) (100 G. : 0,44 l)
VII 16–17	700 G.k.k. 400 še <i>gú-bar</i>	(100 G.k.k. : 57,14 g)

Revers

IX 10–11	[x] G.k.k. 600 GIŠ-ì-giš 10 G.k.k. GIŠ-geštin 270 še <i>gú-bar</i> 18 la-ḫa ì-giš	(100 G. : 3,00 l)
XI 10–11	650 GIŠ-ì-giš 48 la-ḫa ì-giš	(100 G. : 7,38 l)
VII 13–VIII 6	8.800 G.k.k. 16.320 GIŠ-ì-giš	(100 G.k.k. : 19,31 g)
(AN.ŠÈ.GÚ)	630 G.k.k. GIŠ-geštin [1]700 še <i>gú-bar</i> 18 la-ḫa ì-giš	(100 G. : 0,11 l)
XII 4–8	3.700 G.k.k. 1.350 GIŠ-ì-giš 10 G.k.k. GIŠ-geš-	(100 G.k.k. : 143,24 g)
(AN.ŠÈ.GÚ)	tin 5.300 še <i>gú-bar</i> 66 la-ḫa ì-giš	(100 G. : 4,88 l)

Dans la colonne de droite on a les rapports entre surfaces emblavées (GÁNA-kešda-ki) et quantités de céréales en *g(ú-bar)*, ainsi que les rapports entre oliviers: G(IŠ-ì-giš) et jarres d'huile: l(a-ḫa ì-giš). Mais il n'est pas certain que les quantités d'orge et d'huile indiquent la production estimée pour ces champs. Dans d'autres documents on trouve des rapports entre surface et semence dont il faut tenir compte:¹¹

1.8 TM.76.G.188

<i>Za-ba-du</i> ^{ki}	630 GÁNA – 26 <i>gú-bar</i> še	= 100 : 4,12
<i>A-a-da</i> ^{ki} <i>Gi-du</i> ^{ki}	1.000 GÁNA – 37 <i>gú-bar</i> še	= 100 : 3,70
<i>Gú-wa-lu</i> ^{ki}	700 GÁNA – 20 <i>gú-bar</i> še	= 100 : 2,85
<i>ì-zu</i> ^{ki}	1.600 GÁNA – 15 <i>gú-bar</i> še	= 100 : 0,93

ARET 2.51 IV 6–7	100 GÁNA – 6,5 <i>gú-bar</i> še
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Un certain degré de variabilité en ce qui concerne les quantités de semence est dû sans doute aux conditions différentes des terrains qui ne convenaient parfois qu'en partie à la culture. Toutefois les différences qui résultent du tableau et qui concernent des champs modestes, laissent perplexes. Si l'on considère pourtant une valeur moyenne de 4 *gubar* d'orge de semence pour 100 GÁNA, dans TM.75.G.2646+ f. II 9–10, on obtient entre semence et récolte un rapport de 1 : 5,75, ce qui est tout à fait acceptable. Les rapports plus élevés indiqués dans d'autres sections du même texte s'expliquent si dans quelques cas – selon une pratique non inusitée – on ensemait même dans les terrains à oliveraie, entre les arbres. Mais cela ne peut être vrai dans f. VII 16–17, où l'on n'a pas

¹¹ TM.76.G.188 a été publié par Milano 1987b: 181–83.

d’oliveraie, ou dans rev. XII 4–8, où le rapport reste de toute façon trop élevé. Les rapports entre oliviers et jarres d’huile sont [216] encore plus variés, ce qui permet de supposer que les oliveraies ne devaient pas être toutes en pleine production.

2 L’huile

Des membres de la cour et des fonctionnaires de l’administration avaient donc la jouissance d’oliveraies situées dans différents villages; mais on peut présumer que les villages étaient aussi tenus de verser au Palais une part de leur production. La documentation concernant l’huile est cependant très rare. Dans la partie finale de TM.76.G.985, au rev. V 2’–7’ on lit: 3 la-ḫa ì-giš *I-ma-ra-LUM*^{ki} 3 la-ḫa ì-giš *A-rí-mu*^{ki} 3 la-ḫa ì-giš *Šè-la-du*^{ki}. Toutes les autres sections n’enregistrent que des quantités de céréales. Une formule administrative quelconque précisant la fonction du document manque, mais il est vraisemblable qu’on énumère ici les livraisons effectuées par les villages.

Dans TM.75.G.1244, où manque aussi tout mot clé définissant le mouvement des biens, la structure du texte est un peu plus complexe: argent (en général seulement quelques sicles), jarres d’huile, parfois des têtes de bétail, NP, NG. Il s’agit ordinairement de petits centres, mais on trouve aussi une livraison de la part d’une ville-État comme Iritum (Irrite) de 40 sicles d’argent, 1 bœuf et 5 jarres d’huile.

Les localités sont:

3 la-ḫa	’ <i>Ā-ba-bū</i> ^{ki}	5 la-ḫa	<i>Du-bū</i> ^{ki}
2 la-ḫa	’ <i>Ā-ga-lu-nu</i> ^{ki}	56 la-ḫa	<i>Du-ra-u₉</i> ^{ki}
8 la-ḫa	<i>A-kul</i> ^{ki}	5 la-ḫa	<i>Ir-i-tum</i> ^{ki}
1 la-ḫa	<i>A-na-sa-ši-ū</i> ^{ki}	5 la-ḫa	<i>Û-du-lu-ba-ū</i> ^{ki}
		3 la-ḫa	<i>Û-gú-na-mu</i> ^{ki}

En plus du bétail «relevant» (lú) de deux fonctionnaires: IrNíba et ZuNí, TM.75.G.10075 enregistre les quantités d’huile suivantes:

16 la-ḫa	<i>Dib-nu</i> ^{ki}	40 la-ḫa	<i>Ša-na-ru₁₂-gú</i> ^{ki}
389 la-ḫa	<i>Ní-za-ru₁₂</i> ^{ki}	12 la-ḫa	<i>Šè-la-du</i> ^{ki}
		3 la-ḫa	[. . .]

Un autre document, TM.75.G.2183, concerne seulement l'huile, et de différentes qualités. De toute évidence, il s'agit là encore de livraisons effectuées par des villages, et également par des fonctionnaires. Le total donné, 954 jarres, ne correspond pas au nombre de jarres enregistré dans le texte. L'erreur est due sans doute au fait qu'on a ajouté aux jarres les 15 sila donnés par ANEa.

160 la-ḥa ì-giš	AN.SAG.AN.AN.AN	40 la-ḥa ì-giš <i>ti-ba-ù</i>	<i>Ba-nu</i> ^{ki}
346 la-ḥa ì-giš	AN.SAG.AN.AN.AN	27 la-ḥa ì-giš <i>ti-ba-ù</i>	<i>Du-u₉-bu</i> ^{ki}
60 la-ḥa ì-giš	AN.SAG.AN.AN.AN	5 la-ḥa ì-giš <i>ti-ba-ù</i>	<i>Si-ig-am</i> ^{ki}
100 la-ḥa ì-giš			<i>A-NE-'à</i>
158 la-ḥa ì-giš	15 sila ì-giš		<i>A-NE-'à</i>
27 la-ḥa ì-giš			<i>Mi-ga-ll</i>
8 la-ḥa ì-giš			<i>Su-du-ur</i>
10 la-ḥa ì-giš			<i>Uš-ga-ti</i>
941 (la-ḥa)			

Des données globales sur les disponibilités d'huile du Palais sont tirées d'ARET 7.148: «7.000 jarres d'huile disponibles dans les faubourgs (al₆-gál uru-bar); 4.000 jarres d'huile disponibles au Palais (al₆-gál SA.ZA_x^{ki}). Mois X (*i-ba₄-sa*)». Les sommes arrondies au millier montrent qu'il s'agit d'huile stockée dans les magasins centraux, à l'intérieur des murs de la ville et dans des localités périphériques dépendant du Palais, et non de données concernant la production d'huile pour une récolte déterminée. Malheureusement on ne trouve pas de référence à une année comptable, une pratique qui d'ailleurs n'était suivie que rarement par l'administration éblaïte. La tablette lenticulaire étant abîmée sur [217] la face antérieure, on ne peut guère utiliser le total de 6.185(?) jarres enregistré dans TM.75.G.4969 rev. (I anép.) II: AN.ŠĒ.G[Ú 2 +]4 *li-im* 1 *mi-at* 85 la-ḥa ì-giš.¹²

Par contre, on a un compte rendu global de la production d'huile dont disposait le Palais dans TM.75.G.1700 (= Archi 1982: 182: T. 6) (= a) et dans le duplicat TM.75.G.10228+10262 (= b). Le texte compte trois sections:

1. «1.677,5 + 282 kg d'argent, 138.620 moutons, 8.770 bœufs, 501.866 *gú-bar* d'orge: présents (disponibles) dans la 'colline' (al₆-gál *in* DU₆^{ki})»; 2. «855.530 *gú-bar* d'orge dans les faubourgs (uru-bar)»; 3. «5.635 jarres d'huile, 204.400 *gú-bar* d'orge: relevant du (lú) roi, auprès (b: *áš-da*) des surveillants des paysans».

¹² Egalement très endommagé, TM.75.G.10249, dont le colophon, rev. XI-X, porte: [x] *li-[im x mi]-at* 10 la-ḥa 20 sila ì-giš dub-gàr è ì-giš *áš-da* [x] mu [x] *li-im* 3 *mi-at* la-ḥa ì-giš en 2 *mi-at* 50 la-ḥa ì-giš nu-e₁₁ 1 mu.

Il s'agit d'un compte rendu annuel, puisque les données concernant le bétail et celles enregistrées dans d'autres documents pour tout le patrimoine du Palais sont du même ordre.¹³ L'argent de la première section constitue le métal thésaurisé, « la colline » pourrait donc indiquer métaphoriquement Ébla même, dont l'acropole avec le Palais formait justement une élévation. Mais en ce qui concerne le bétail, le terme *al₆-gál* « présent » ne peut que désigner les disponibilités dont le Palais disposait dans le territoire. Cela devrait être aussi le cas pour l'orge; mais alors comment distinguer l'orge « de la colline » et l'orge « des faubourgs » (c'est-à-dire des centres périphériques palatiaux), enregistrés ici parce qu'ils étaient eux aussi disponibles pour le Palais? En tout cas, si l'expression dans la troisième section indique la part de la production des villages qui revient au roi, il faudra admettre alors que l'huile provenait en très grande partie des villages et non des domaines royaux.

L'huile était aussi fournie par des fermes contrôlées directement par le Palais. TM.75.G.1475 concerne quatre secteurs administratifs à la tête de chacun desquels opérait un fonctionnaire. Dans la comptabilité on enregistre des quantités de céréales « livrées », *in-na-sum*, ou « présentes » (dans le magasin), *al₆-gál*; ou même des céréales et du bétail « dans les mains », *lú 2-šu*, c'est-à-dire à la disposition de ces mêmes fonctionnaires. Parmi ces biens, 178 jarres d'huile sont « présentes » pour le secteur de Puzur-agu, f. IV 6–rev. I 1, et 14 autres jarres sont « dans les mains » de Tirail, f. II 4–6.

Le personnel chargé de la préparation de l'huile est cité dans les textes administratifs en tant que destinataire de laine et de tissus, ARET 3.60 rev. II 5'–7': *En-na-ì lú Mi-ga-ì lú ì-giš*; 212 II 3'–4': *Ma-ni-áš-ba-rí lú ì-giš*; 492 II 3'–4': 5 dam *lú ì-giš*. Les listes de rations alimentaires pour les personnels du Palais mentionnent aussi des « femmes (dam) de l'huile résidant (au Palais) », ARET 10.95 f. IV 1: 8 <dam> *al₆-tuš lú ì-giš*; 9.51 f. IV 1–2: 8 dam *lú ì-giš*; 47 f. IV 11–rev. V 3: 6 dam *lú ì-giš* ... *al₆-tuš é en*, 2 dam *lú ì-giš* ... è *uru-bar*. Elles étaient chargées du « dépôt de l'huile » (é *ì-giš*), du Palais; ARET 9.41 rev. II 1–2: 9 še *gú-bar* <dam> *lú é ì-giš* (par mois; pour 18 dam); 42 f. V 4: 4 še <*gú-bar*> *lú é ì-giš* (8 dam?); 43 rev. III 3–4: 2 dam *lú é ì-giš*. Peut-être leur tâche était-elle la préparation de produits cosmétiques. Dans le dépôt de l'huile un fonctionnaire reçoit des farines: ARET 9.101 f. 17.

Probablement, sinon le magasin du Palais, du moins les é *ì-giš* dans la campagne étaient-ils pourvus de pressoir. Une é *ì-giš* se trouvait dans la propriété d'Irik-damu à Duneb: *ki é ì-giš-ì*, ARET 7.155 f. 6–7 (dans un autre village il y avait une cave: é *GIŠ-geštin*, rev. I 4). Les fonctionnaires du Palais qui

13 Cf. Archi 1984a: 76; et TM.82.G.267 rev. I 1–3: 92 700 udu en *wa I-bí-zi-kir*.

supervisaient la préparation de l'huile étaient dans les centres ruraux. TM.75.G.10250 enregistre les « unités de travail de personnes », é *na-se*₁₁, organisées en quartiers, *kâ*, dans la ville d'*A-ru*₁₂-*li*^{ki}, mais présentes aussi dans des villages voisins. Plus d'une fois on cite « une unité de surveillants de l'huile (aux dépendances) de Nuzar », 1 é *ugula i-giš Nu-za-ar*, f. V 24–26, VI 6–8, VII 10–12 (2 é), XII 6–7, 24–26 (3 é). Sous le contrôle d'Ingar (un fonctionnaire dont le nom revient souvent dans les documents concernant l'administration agricole), on trouve des « unités de surveillants des céréales et de surveillants de l'huile », 2 é *ugula še ugula i-giš In-gâr*, f. XII 30–33, XVI 22–25, rev. X 9–13. [218]

Pour établir approximativement l'ordre de grandeur des quantités d'huile mentionnées plus haut, il faut considérer que les récipients pour l'huile, ayant aussi fonction de mesure de capacité, étaient: *an-zam*_x, *sila*, *gú-bù*, *dug*, *la-ḥa*. Les trois premiers, utilisés dans les distributions d'huile au personnel,¹⁴ avaient des capacités restreintes. Comme mesure employée pour les céréales, *an-zam*_x (akk. *assammum*).¹⁵ correspondait à 1/6 de *sila*. On ignore la capacité du *gú-bù*, à mettre en rapport avec le sém. **kapp*, akk. *kappu* « main; bol »; en ougaritique et en arabe « plateau de la balance »¹⁶

Dans TM.75.G.1451 f. VI 3–7 (= *SEb* 4 [1981] 6–7), on établit la capacité d'un *dug* à 20 *sila*: 70 *dug i-giš ša-ti* 20 *sila* « 70 vases d'huile de 20 *sila* ». On avait donc tendance à standardiser cette capacité pour ce type de récipients destinés à contenir de l'huile; mais la nécessité de cette notation prouve indirectement que les *dug* n'avaient pas tous cette mesure.¹⁷ Dans les *dug* on conservait outre l'huile, en général d'une qualité particulière,¹⁸ du vin et du miel, comme en Mésopotamie.¹⁹ De certains passages comme TM.75.G.1383 f. IV 2–6 (= *Archi* 1986b: 194): 46 *la-ḥa i-giš* 35 *dug i-giš*, on déduit que le *la-ḥa* était certainement plus grand que le *dug*. Ce récipient avait fondamentalement deux standards, puisqu'à des *la-ḥa* « grands », *maḥ*, s'opposent des *la-ḥa* normaux (sans aucune indication) ou « petits », *tur*, TM.75.G.1383 f. III 4–6 (= *Archi* 1986b: 194): 20 *la-ḥa maḥ wa 1 mi-at la-ḥa* « GISGAL »-titab; TM.75.G.1536 f. III 3–4 (= *Archi* 1986b: 195): 5 *la-ḥa maḥ za-la-tum* 25 *la-ḥa tur za-la-tum*. Les listes lexicales

14 Voir ARET 9, *sub i-giš*.

15 Voir récemment *Archi* 1986b: 199.

16 Pour Milano 1987a: 530 et n. 46, *gú-bù* est à identifier avec akk. *quppum*, aram. *quppēta* « panier, caisse ».

17 Pour un *dug* de capacité inférieure, voir Milano 1987a: 529 n. 41. Pour un *dug* en bois, voir ARET 3.176 V 4'–5': 5 *dug ildag₄ i-giš su-um-tum*.

18 Pour l'huile, voir *Archi* 1986b: 202: *i-giš(-du / NÍG.ŠEŠ)*; pour le vin, *ibid.*, 200, et ARET 3: 350, *sub geštin*. TM.82.G.265 et TM.84.G.201 enregistrent respectivement 80 et 85 *dug* de vin.

19 Pour *dug* = *karpatum* à Mari, voir Bottero ARM VII: 351; Birot, ARM IX: 320.

bilingues comportent la séquence: sila, la-ḥa, dar-áb = *zi-ru₁₂-um*,²⁰ dar, dug; cela pourtant ne peut mettre en doute que le la-ḥa, le récipient où l'on conservait aussi les farines,²¹ était plus grand que le dug. La-ḥa correspond certainement au sum. DUG-la-ḥa-an, akk. *laḥannu*, mais avec un changement de sens, vu que le terme suméro-akkadien indique « une sorte de bouteille ». ²² D'après des documents de distributions alimentaires, il résulte que le la-ḥa pour la conservation de l'huile mesurait 30 sila.²³ Les standards des grands récipients d'huile: dug et la-ḥa, sont donc de 20 et de 30 sila, les deux mêmes valeurs données au dug dans la Mésopotamie présargonique.²⁴

Il n'y a pas de raison de penser que le sila éblaïte était fondamentalement différent du sila mésopotamien. Si, en simplifiant, on le fait équivaloir à un litre,²⁵ on aura pour les totaux d'ARET 7.148 les données suivantes: dans le Palais 4.000 jarres pour 120.000 litres; dans les autres centres (« les faubourgs ») 7.000 jarres pour 210.000 litres. Ces quantités paraissent vraisemblables si on les compare avec les quantités estimées pour le Palais de Knossos, dont les magasins occidentaux contenaient 420 jarres de 300 litres environ, pour une capacité globale de 126.000 litres.²⁶ [219]

Les 330.000 litres estimés par ARET 7.148 correspondent à la production de 118.800 ou 148.500 plants d'oliviers, en comptant que la production moyenne d'un olivier est de 2,5/2 kg d'huile;²⁷ par conséquent, si l'on considère un rapport optimal pour l'époque de 100 oliviers par ha, on obtient le produit respectivement de 1.188 et 1.465 ha d'olivieraie.

²⁰ Pour ce récipient, voir Arcari 1984: 322–23.

²¹ Cf. Archi 1986b: 202.

²² Salonen, 1966: 225. La forme sémitisée de la-ḥa semble être *la-a-tum*, cf. TM.76.G.221 f. I 3–5: 1 *la-a-tum* málḫ geštin ap 1 *la-a-tum* tur i-giš.

²³ Voir Milano 1987a: 520–30 et n. 43. Cf. TM.75.G.10249 rev. XI 1: [x] li[-im x mi]-at 10 la-ḥa 20 sila i-giš.

²⁴ Thureau-Dangin ITT I: 23 n. 3; cf. Powell 1976: 98–99.

²⁵ Le sila paléo-babylonien est de 0,97 litre, voir Thureau-Dangin 1932: 189–90; Id. 1937: 85–86. Celui d'Ur III est de 1,02 litres, voir Gelb 1982: 585–89. Les arguments de Milano (1987a: 547–48) en faveur d'un rapport de 6:1 entre le sila d'Ebla et celui de la Mésopotamie, me semblent douteux.

²⁶ Voir Ventris and Chadwick 1973: 60. Mais pour Palaima (1984: 200) les jarres ont une capacité de 200 litres! On arrive alors à 84.000 litres seulement. Et pour Graham (1987: 130–31) la capacité de chaque jarre est de 586 litres, pour un total de 246.000 litres!

²⁷ Selon Ruppín (1917: 45) une bonne année alternant avec une mauvaise, la production d'un olivier varie de 12 à 25,5 kg d'olives. 100 kg d'olives donnent 9,14 litres d'huile de première pression et 3,6 kg de deuxième pression, plus 12 à 20 kg de marc. Selon les données de Allbaugh (1953: 269) en Crète on a « 5,0 pounds of oil per tree ... 3,7 in Grece, 3,1 in Italy ». A rappeler que 1 kg d'olives donne 0,17 kg d'huile; 1 litre d'huile = 0,9 kg; cf. Melena 1983: 104.

Les 5.635 jarres des comptes rendus TM.75.G.1700 et 10228+10262, pour un total de 169.050 litres, considérés comme la livraison annuelle au Palais, représentent la production de 60.858 ou 76.072 arbres (respectivement 2,5 et 2 kg par olivier); donc de 608 à 760 ha d'olivieraie. Il s'agit d'une surface modeste, mais qui peut devenir considérable si on doit la multiplier par 10, dans le cas où les 5.635 jarres représentent seulement le dixième (qui revient au Palais) de toute la production des villages.

Nous aurons l'occasion ailleurs de présenter une analyse de la capacité des récipients découverts dans le Palais d'Èbla. Mais déjà un premier examen révèle les difficultés concernant la correspondance des données métrologiques et archéologiques.²⁸ Parmi les récipients à ouverture étroite, propres à contenir des liquides, on distingue trois types: une forme globulaire, dont un exemplaire mesure 15 litres (A); une jarre de transport et de conservation, dont un exemplaire est de 20 litres (B1) et un autre de 45 litres (B2); une grande jarre de conservation supérieure à 100 litres, qui devait avoir la même fonction que l'akk. *naspakum*.²⁹ Vu que dug et la-ḥa définissent vraisemblablement deux types différents, elles pourraient correspondre respectivement à A et à B. Il reste à vérifier, sur la base d'un grand nombre de récipients restaurés, les valeurs moyennes sur lesquelles étaient fixées les capacités.

L'huile avait une importance économique si grande qu'elle devenait parfois une valeur d'échange, même quand elle était estimée en l'argent, comme tout autre bien, selon la coutume administrative éblaïte. Dans ARET 7.11 § 2, pour l'acquisition de vêtements, laine et argent provenant de Mari, on livre 90 jarres d'huile, d'une valeur de 13 mines d'argent; si l'on compte une jarre à trente sila, un sicle d'argent correspond à 3,46 sila, une évaluation élevée pour un centre de production d'huile.³⁰ Dans TM.75.G.10178, une tablette lenticulaire avec de grosses quantités d'huile, la première partie est un « compte-rendu » de 2.000 jarres, alors que le deuxième enregistre 662 jarres que « les surveillants ont reçues » comme contre-valeur d'orge: 2.000 la-ḥa i-giš šid [...] 662 la-ḥa i-giš níg-sa₁₀ še-še ugula-ugula šu-ba₄-ti [R]a²-ʾà-tum. À la place de moutons, l'administration reçoit de l'huile dans TM.75.G.2183 rev. II 4–III 2: 100 la-ḥa i-giš lú udu-udu áš-ti A-NE-ʾà. Des moutons sont encore échangés par les fonctionnaires contre de l'huile dans TM.75.G.1855 f. I 1–5: 30 udu-nita-sa₆ níg-

²⁸ Pour la documentation de la Syrie de l'âge du Bronze sur ce problème, voir Gates 1988.

²⁹ Les exemplaires A, B1, B2 ont été publiés par Mazzoni 1988: 99 fig. 6 nrs. 3 et 4; 101 fig. 7 nr. 7.

³⁰ Des termes de comparaison valables manquent pour les valeurs données à l'huile d'olive. L'huile fine, i-du₁₀-ga, pendant la IIIe Dynastie d'Ur, était évaluée à 1 sicle pour 6,67/4,00 sila, voir Snell 1982: 151.

sa₁₀ ì-giš 20 udu-nita-sa₆ lul-gu-ak *En-ga-da-ba-an*; IV 2–4: 1 udu-nita ì-giš *áš-ti ĩr-PĚŠ-zé*.

L'huile de qualité supérieure est: ì-giš-du₁₀; les listes lexicales ont: ì-du₁₀ = *ša-ma-nu-um da-bu-um* /šamnum t̃abum/ « huile fine ». En ajoutant à une base d'« huile fine », ì-giš-du₁₀, des essences (ARET 10.67 I 1-II 1) on obtenait des onguents:³¹

- ì-giš (lú GIŠ-)ád (LL GIŠ-ád = *a-da-tum*) « huile au myrte(?) ».
- ì-giš (lú GIŠ-)šim (LL GIŠ-šim = *ga-na-ga-tum*, cf. akk. *kanaktu*) « huile à l'oliban ».
- ì-giš *ne-mi-lum* « ». [220]
- Il s'agit là des trois onguents donnés au vizir Ibbi-zikir pour son voyage à Kiš, ARET 9.94 § 2: 50 sila ì-giš GIŠ-šim *wa* GIŠ-ád 73 sila ì-giš *ne-mi-lum*, ou des onguents, selon ARET 10.68 f. I 1–5, III 2–3, apportés (íl) au roi; à la reine on livre par contre de l'huile fine: 30 sila ì-giš šim 30 sila ì-giš ád 12 sila ì-giš *ne-mi-lum* en ... 90 sila ì-giš-du₁₀ *ma-lik-tum*.
- Les autres qualifications de l'huile sont:
- ì-giš ir « huile aromatique »: elle est incluse dans les biens comestibles dans Archi 1986b: 202.
- ì-giš šeš « huile amère » (LL ì-šeš = ì-giš *mar-ru₁₂-um*): elle est incluse dans les biens comestibles dans ARET 9 f. IV 3 et Archi 1986b: 202 (où la graphie est: ì-giš NÍG.ŠEŠ).³²
- ì-giš gibil « huile nouvelle », ARET 4.12 § 49.
- ì-giš *su-um-tum* (conservée dans un récipient en bois, dug ildag₄, une huile cosmétique ?) ARET 3.176 V 5.
- ì-giš TAR.TAR (une qualité d'huile) TM.75.G.10249 f. VII 1.
- ì-giš *ti-ba-ù*, TM.75.G.2183 (*supra* p. 216 [341]) f. II 1, III 1, rev. I 1.
- ì-giš AN.SAG.AN.AN.AN, *ibid.*, f. I 1, II 3, III 5 (peut-être deux attributions comptables).
- ì-giš-sag. Un passage isolé assure que le terme indique tout d'abord une huile ou un onguent, TM 76.G.2046 II' 2'–3': 2 la-ħa 20 sila ì-giš-sag *I-ma-la-lum*^{ki}. D'après ce que nous avons proposé, il devrait équivaloir à l'akk. *rūštum* « huile de première qualité », sum. ì-giš-sag. Mais à Ébla sag-ì-giš est traduit (dans une seule liste, TM.75.G.1774 f. V 11–12) par NI-*gi-lu*, qui a une étymologie obscure. Les contextes dans lesquels ce terme apparaît sont du genre: vêtements, ì-giš-sag, NP. Etant donné que ì-giš-sag n'est jamais précisé par un chiffre qui en indique la quantité, on a supposé qu'il

³¹ Pour les citations, Archi 1986b: 202; ARET 9 et 10, index s.v.

³² A Mari, l'huile « amère », *šamnum tamrirum* (cf. Charpin 1984: 111), semble être un cosmétique.

désigne non pas un bien mais une occasion et une motivation pour la livraison des vêtements, c'est-à-dire: « pour l'onction de la tête ».³³

En effet, la cérémonie du mariage prévoyait (selon une coutume bien connue au Proche-Orient) l'onction de la tête; ARET 1.11 § 41: níg-dé ì-giš *si-in* sag NPF ...*in* u₄ níg-mu-sá; TM.75.G.1250 f. I 7-13: níg-a-dé ì-giš *al₆* sag NPF [... (cf. 2520 f. IX 1-13: (biens) NP dumu-nita en níg-a-dé ì-giš *a-li-iš* (cf. akk. *eliš*) sag *Iš-ru₁₂-ud* nin-ni *Du-si-gú* é dingir en, passage qui ne se rapporte peut-être pas à une cérémonie de mariage).

Mais ì-giš-sag ne fait pas partie du rituel du mariage, puisqu'il se rapporte aussi à « mère », ama-gal. Il peut d'autant moins indiquer la cérémonie de l'onction du roi que ce terme se réfère à toutes les catégories de personnes.

Dans certaines formulations ì-giš-sag indique sans aucun doute une cérémonie:

- a) TM.75.G.2334 f. X 14-XI 2: « (vêtements) au roi d'Emar qui se rendit (pour) l'ì-giš-sag du roi (d'Ébla) » en *Ì-mar^{ki}* lú DU.DU ì-giš-sag en (cf. 1261 = MEE 2.1 rev. IV 1-12, et cf. III 1-7) ;
- b) 1462 rev. IV 1-VIII 9: apports de souverains étrangers et de fonctionnaires pour l' ì-giš-sag du prince Išar-damu, du roi d'Ébla et de la mère du roi: Dusigu, selon le schéma: (vêtements) mu-DU en NG (/NP) ì-giš-sag *Iš₁₁-ar-da-mu* (/en/*Du-si-gú*);
- c) 2375 rev. X 1-XII 8: livraisons de vêtements (pour) l'ì-giš-sag du roi et de la reine d'Ébla de la part des rois étrangers et de fonctionnaires, c'est-à-dire: (vêtements) ì-giš-sag en (/ma-lik-tum) en NG (/NP) ì-na-sum.

Le terme ì-giš-sag doit donc désigner une onction pour une cérémonie non réservée à une catégorie particulière de personnes et pouvant être célébrée plusieurs fois pour la même personne. [221]

Les destinataires des livraisons d'huile fine pour onction, šu-i (LL šu-i = *ba-ša-šum/šu-um*, *bí-šum* /paṭāṭum/ « oindre », /pittum/ « onction », ³⁴ étaient des fonctionnaires du Palais; certains d'entre eux, comme les messagers (kas₄, ARET 9.79, 80, 82, 84) et les commerçants (lú-kar), les utilisaient dans leurs déplacements; d'autres destinataires étaient les hôtes de la cour et même de simples gens de service (guruš, dam)³⁵

³³ Le problème de l'ì-giš-sag a été discuté par Pettinato 1977b: 235; Id. 1980a: 55-56; Id., MEE 2: 16-17; et par Archi 1979b: 560-561; Id. 1980B: 20-30; Id., ARET 3: 358-359.

En néo-assyrien, *šamna ana qaqqadi tabāku* a une signification banale: « to pour oil on the head = to make one's toilet », Parpola 1983: 191, ad 18-22.

³⁴ Kreberník 1983: 18; cette signification est mise en doute par Civil 1984a: 88 n. 17.

³⁵ Voir ARET 9.82.

Des envois mensuels sont destinés à un groupe fixe de souverains de villes syriennes, particulièrement liées à Ébla, ceux de *Bur-ma-an*^{ki}, *Du-ub*^{ki}, *Gàr-mu*^{ki}, *Gú-da-da-núm*^{ki}, *Ì-mar*^{ki}, *I-bí-bu_ybu_y(NI)*^{ki}, *Lum-na-nu*^{ki}, *Ra-’à-ak*^{ki}, *Ur-sà-um*^{ki}, localités qui se trouvent toutes au nord et à l’est d’Ébla, ainsi qu’à un « commerçant » (lú-kar) d’*Ì-l/ra-ar*^{ki}, Enna-malik.³⁶ Des comptes rendus concernent un mois seulement (ARET 9.77, 81, 83(?)); d’autres sont plurimensuels (12 mois, ARET 9.82: 21 sila par mois pour un total de 252 sila; 8 mois ou plus: 9.84; 3 mois: 9.75, 76). Même si les quantités d’huile (de 1 à 2 sila par mois) étaient plus ou moins symboliques, ces livraisons, comme celles parallèles, de vêtements,³⁷ constituaient une pratique d’échanges qui avaient pour fonction de maintenir les rapports diplomatiques avec les principautés de l’aire sur laquelle Ébla exerçait son hégémonie.

À Ébla aussi, l’huile était symbole de bien-être et de santé, donc de paix. Mais la sécheresse des textes administratifs ne permet pas de préciser la valeur de cette symbolique. Les nombreuses mentions d’une offrande d’huile suivent la formule « biens à (NP de) NG pour l’offrande d’huile (nída ì-giš) », qui semble désigner une cérémonie au cours de laquelle la localité qui était nommée se liait à Ébla par une alliance sacrée.³⁸ Cela est explicite dans ARET 2.13 § 24, où l’on enregistre les biens remis par un roi ami lorsqu’il renouvela ses liens de fidélité, en offrant de l’huile dans le temple de Kura, à Ébla: « 5 mines d’or, 3 objets d’or, 12 mines d’argent, 4+20 objets: apports d’Enar-Halam, roi de Burman, quand il se rendit pour l’offrande d’huile au temple de Kura; (biens) conservés dans le trésor ». ³⁹ La cérémonie se complétait par un serment (nam-ku₅); dans TM.75.G.1755 f. VI 13–VIII 11, les représentants de Martu qui s’engagent au nom de leur peuple sont six: NP₁-NP₆ ugula Mar-tu^{<ki>} lú DU.DU nída ì-giš wa nam-ku₅ é ^dKu-ra.

D’après TM.75.G.2561 (texte de Suwamawabar) f. VI 13–rev. 11,⁴⁰ le rituel se servait d’une balance, symbole d’équité et métaphore pour « accord, pacte »: « Moi (le roi de ’Adu) et Ébla, nous avons posé l’huile de la balance (*scil.* accord) et le serment de la balance (*scil.* accord) devant Kura et devant Adda »,

³⁶ Pour Enna-Malik, lú-kar d’Irar, voir ARET 4.3 § 5. Le vizir Ibbi-zikir reçoit à son tour de l’huile par un agent (maškim) d’Enna-malik, ARET 4.18 § 87.

³⁷ Voir ARET 1: 219–25.

³⁸ ARET 1.15 § 32: *Ĥar-ba-tum*^{ki}, *Sì-bir*₅^{ki} *Tì-gi-na-u₉*^{ki}, 3.31 f. II: *Bàd*^{ki}; 159 f. VII: *Ba-u₉-ra-du*^{ki} *wa Lu-la-dè*^{ki} nída ì-giš in *Sì-na-rí-ù*^{ki}; 216 V: *Ga-UR*^{ki}, 249 f. IV: *Tì-ù*^{ki}; 368 III: *Ar-mi*^{ki}; 430 II: [...] ì-giš uru^{ki}-uru^{ki} *A-ga-ga-li-iš*^{ki} nída [...] 4.9 § 13: *Uš-hu-rúm*^{ki}, § 40: *Dar-áb*^{ki}, § 50: *Za-’à-ar*^{ki} (qui a livré une mine d’argent); 16 § 5: *Û-ti-ik*^{ki}, § 52: *Û-ti-gú*^{ki}; 17 § 120: *’À-ma-at*^{ki}; 8.523 § 15: *Edin*^{ki}; 533 § 24: *Hu-tim-mu*^{ki}. Et cf. TM.75.G.1391 III 9 suiv.: ì-giš nída *áš-da Ar-mi*^{ki}.

³⁹ Cf. ARET 3.800 I :NP₁-NP₅ *Kak-mi-um*^{ki} in u₄ nída ì-giš é ^dKu-ra.

⁴⁰ Cf. Pettinato 1986: 398–400.

an-na wa Ib-la^{ki} ì-giš GIŠ-éren *wa nam-ku*₅ GIŠ-éren gaba ^d*Ku-ra wa gaba*^d 'À-da an-gál. Un autre rituel prévoyait des fumigations, ARET 2.34 § 18: « Si on prescrit une libation d'huile, on effectuera (aussi) une fumigation », *su-ma a nídba ì-giš du*₁₁-ga *ga-du-ru*₁₂ *u*₉-ga-da-ra.⁴¹ [222] Dans la conclusion de la lettre d'Enna-Dagan de Mari, TM.75.G.2367 rev. IV 3–7, l'huile semble correspondre à « paix »: « quand en paix ai-je reçu les pays? », *ma-da-a in ì-giš kalam*^{tim}-*kalam-tim* šu-du₈.⁴²

L'accord politique avec Mari, le grand centre rival, eut une telle importance que l'événement donna le nom à une année, TM.74.G.102 rev. I 2–5:1 mu nídba ì-giš *Ma-rí*^{ki}. La caractère paritaire est délibérément souligné dans certaines formules qui incluent les noms des deux villes, TM.75.G.1261 rev. II 1–9: (2 vêtements, 2 objets) níg-ki-za lugal *Ma-rí*^{ki} in *u*₄ nídba ì-giš *Ib-la*^{ki} *wa Ma-rí*^{ki}; 1923 f. XII 7–17: « 20 sicles d'argent à Enna-Dagan (roi de Mari), 1,5 mines d'argent aux Anciens de Mari », in *u*₄ nídba ì-giš *Ib-la*^{ki} *wa Ma-rí*^{ki}. D'autres dons remis à Mari pour la cérémonie (célébrée probablement dans cette ville, ARET 7.109 f. II 2–4: lú níg-kas₄ *Ma-rí*^{ki} lú nídba ì-giš sont enregistrés dans TM.75.G.2278 f. II 1 suiv. et 2464 f. III 1 suiv.⁴³

⁴¹ Dans le traité entre Èbla et Abarsal, 509–524, on met en rapport huile et eau à boire: « Si dans le pays de l'huile mauvaise ou de (l'eau) à boire mauvaise ... » 'à-na-sa in *kalam*^{tim} ì-giš ħul ù-ma nag ħul ì-ti in é Ib-la^{ki} an-da nag ì-giš ħul máš šu-du₈, Sollberger 1980: 145.

⁴² Texte transcrit par Pettinato 1980 [= ARET 13.4]. J'interprète *ma-da-a* comme un adverbe: /matay/ « quand? », cf. *gi-di-ma-a*: Steinkeller 1984a: 36; *am-sa-a*: Fronzaroli 1988d: 18.

⁴³ Voir M.A.R.I. 4 (1985) 76, 78. On parle d'huile et de versement d'huile (níg-dé ì-giš) dans le traité commercial entre Èbla et Mari TM.75.G.2268 f. VI 6 suiv.

Part III. **Political Relations**

25 Mardu in the Ebla Texts

1

The oldest evidence of Mardu – as is known – comes to us from a tablet from Fāra (WVDOG 45.78 X 3), where with this term is qualified a person with a Sumerian name: É-su₁₃(BU)-ág, who receives a salary from a farmer, engar.¹ Then, as the name of a people, Mardu reappears in the documents of the Akkad dynasty, some of which date from Šar-kali-šarri, while others probably date back to his predecessor Narām-Suen.² Now however the Ebla archives offer about thirty attestations which date chronologically from slightly earlier than the Akkad dynasty.³

The identification of *ba-sa-ar* KUR (the mountains where Šar-kali-šarri defeated the Amorite peoples: Mar-tu-*am*) with Ġebel Bišri, which extends from Palmyra to the northeast up to the Euphrates,⁴ after much discussion has permitted the identification of the area (or at least one of the areas) where the Amorites were located toward the end of the twenty-third century BC.⁵ The Ebla documents show that the Amorites lived in those regions from at least the beginning of the twenty-fourth century. Text 9. below can be translated: “(fabrics) for A. of Emar, who brought the news that Martu was destroyed, and its sheep sacked. (Fabrics) for B. of Emar, when Martu was destroyed.” It is clear that the term “to win, victory”, ĠIN.ŠĖ,⁶ is [8] to be placed in relation to Mar-tu TIL. Therefore, if perhaps the peoples of Emar were not the only ones responsible for the defeat of the Amorites, it is certain they were in some way involved in that event. And Emar was located near today’s Meskene, on the Euphrates, precisely to the northwest of Ġebel Bišri. Further, in 30., an inhabitant of Tuttul

Orientalia N. S. 54 (*Festschrift Johannes J. A. van Dijk*) (1985) 7–13.

1 Cf. Wilcke 1969: 28.

2 See Kupper 1957: 149–51; Edzard 1957: 33.

3 The passages gathered in the second part of this article are the fruit of a cursory reading of all the epigraphic material of Ebla. Mardu is also attested in a Sumerian literary text: ARET 5.20 XI 2 = 21 XII 1.

4 Gelb 1938: 73.

5 For the complicated history of studies regarding the Amorite problem, see Kupper 1957: 147–196; Id. 1961: 84 nt. 1; Edzard 1957: 30–43; Buccellati 1966: 3–12.

6 For ĠIN.ŠĖ “victory”, in the Ebla texts, cf. Edzard 1981: 90 and nt. 9, with previous bibliography. Sumerian verbal forms are used also as substantives in Ebla, cf. šu ba₄-ti(-sù); see ARET 2: 139; Archi and Biga ARET 3: 386–87.

is called a “resident” of Mardu. And this Tuttul can only be the one which lay where the Balikh flows into the Euphrates.

In Ebla, the spelling of this geographic name is indifferently Mar-tu/tum^{ki} or, in 10., Mar-du^{ki}.⁷ Now the fact that in Ebla is attested solely the name in use in Mesopotamia confirms that the word is certainly Sumerian, and therefore its original meaning indicated a cardinal point (“west”) and secondarily a people living to the northwest.⁸ It is therefore clear that Mar-tu(m)^{ki} is the name of a region and not of a city. On the other hand, mention of this name is extremely rare with respect to cities in the Euphrates and Ḥabur areas,⁹ and this means that Mardu was on the border of the usual trade routes followed by messengers from Ebla. In this way the Sumerian tradition which sees in the Amorite “the awkward man living in the mountains”, “the man who does not know city (-life)”, “who eats uncooked meat”,¹⁰ is indirectly confirmed.

This is not contradicted by the fact that the Eblaites (in contrast to the documents of the third Dynasty of Ur) attribute a “king” to the Amorites, a title expressed both with the term *en* (also used to indicate the king of Ebla and those of the other Syrian cities), and with that of *luga1* (generally used for Mesopotamian kings).¹¹ Evidently the Eblaites, even if they knew the title used by the Amorites themselves, wanted in any case to give it the equivalent of the title of the heads of the other nations. And, just as for all the cities with which Ebla was in contact, also in Mardu there was a Council of Elders, ABxĀŠ, beside the king.

Following the usual custom practiced with regard to exchanges in Ebla, on the occasion of a shipment of fabrics three items of clothing were [9] sent to the king of Mardu. They were: “a cloak(?)” ’ā-da-um-TÚG, “a tunic(?)” aktum-TÚG, and “a girdle” īb+III/I-DAR-TÚG(-sa₆). The same types of clothing were also sent to the Elders, and in these quantities: 1. 12 + 12 + 12; 14. and 29. 11 + 11 + 11; 8. 9 + 9 + 9. From this, however, it is not possible to deduce the number of Elders; in fact, in the cases of cities such as Emar, Ḥarran and Kakkimium,

7 In the Ebla texts, the use of mimation in the GNs is rare. The alternation -tu/du confirms the reading Mar-dū proposed by Wilcke 1969: 28 on the basis of the “unorthographische” writing Mar-du₈, in *NRVN* 1, 215 rev. 4; and by Lieberman 1968–69: 55. However Buccellati 1966: 170–71, had defended the reading Mar-tu for MAR.TU.

8 Cf. Wilcke, loc. cit.

9 Consider, for example, that in the texts collected in ARET 3, Mardu is mentioned only once, whereas there are 21 and 28 citations for Emar and Mari, respectively.

10 Edzard 1957: 31–32; Buccellati 1966: 330–32.

11 For *en*, see the texts 1., 8., 14., 20., 23., 29.; for *luga1*, see 11.. The kings of Kiš and Mari were also indicated by the Eblaites with both terms, see Archi 1981a: 83 and 130.

the number of items of clothing for the Elders varies only from 3 and 5 for each type.¹²

Then, on a lower level in the social structure, there was the *ugula*, usually translated as an “overseer”, mentioned in 10. (6 overseers) and in 12..

A defeat suffered by Martu.¹³ has been mentioned earlier. But Ebla also made a treaty with the Amorites. This is deduced from text 10., which records an offering of oil by six representatives (*ugula*) of Mardu, in connection with their oath: “(fabrics) for PN₁-PN₆, the overseers of Mardu, who went for the oil-offering and the oath in the temple of Kura”. The peaceful relations between Ebla and Mari¹⁴ were also ratified with a ceremony of this type. Kura was the divinity of oaths not only in Ebla, but perhaps also in other Syrian cities¹⁵

Further, it is significant for relations between the two countries, that in 16. Mardu is also considered one of the places which had to contribute to the worship of 'Ā(NI)-*da-kul/bal* (Hadabal), one of the principal gods of Ebla.¹⁶

The greater part of the texts concern deliveries of fabrics by the Eblaic administration. Often, the names of the destinees were not even stated; thus texts 2., 13. and 17., are to be translated as follows: “fabrics for one/various persons of Mardu”.

With regard to the other goods, it is uncertain whether the silver registered in 7., 3,280 kg, was delivered to Ebla or (less probably) by Ebla.¹⁷ In 18., some fabrics were given to a certain Išma-damu, who delivered to (minister) Ibbi-zikir some wine received in Mardu. Instead, on the part of Mardu, sheep were generally delivered: 21., 22. and 24.; in 4., wool (only one measure) is cited, which came from Mardu. [10] People, *na-se*₁₁, Amorites, 20 in number, are registered in a list of personnel 5., along with 10 persons from Ḫarran and 86 from Ibal; however, it is not stated what work they were destined to carry out. In 6., two other persons are registered as “fugitives”, *zàḥ*.

There are only fifteen names qualified as Mardu, and among them *A-mu-ti* is the name of a king, 1uga1. This PN is not in the least isolated in the Ebla

12 See ARET 1, Index under ABxĀŠ.

13 Beside 9., to be kept in mind is 27., which poses again the problem of how to understand TIL: *nīg*-AN.AN.AN.AN Mar-tu^{ki} TIL.

14 See Archi 1985a: 67. For votive offerings by an official šeš-ib-II in Mardu, see 28..

15 See ARET 3.375. For *nam*-ku₅ in a royal verdict, see Edzard 1981a: 50. “Vocabulary C” gives the equivalence: *nam*-TAR = *gi*₄²-*tum* (the two cases are only lightly incised). If the reading is correct, here another semantic field must be thought about. Keeping in mind that in Akkadian *nam*-tar is *šimtum*, “the determined, destiny”, it would be possible to think of *qītum* “end”, from *qātum* “to end”.

16 Or was this cult also wide-spread in Mardu?

17 In 19., 78 gr. of silver are consigned to three Amorites by the Ebla administration.

documentation, since it is also given to a dependent of a palace functionary (ARET 4.10 obv. XIII 5–8: A. lú *Ib-u₉-mu-ut* SA.ZA_x^{ki}; cf. 17 XII 15–17: *Rí-ì-ma-lik* lú A., parallel to ARET 3.531 IV 4–5), and also to a lord of Aradu (TM.75.G.1373 obv. VII 2–4: A. lugal *A-ra-’à-du*^{ki}).¹⁸ The same name – but with the hypocoristic ending *-u(m)* instead of *-(t)i* – is given to men from Absu (near Qadeš) and Garmu, and also to an official (lú-kar) of Mari.¹⁹

For this PN, consider *Ià-a-mu-tum* (TCL II 5508 I 12),²⁰ and *A-bí-a-mu-ti* “my father ...” (*TRU* 267:10)²¹ two Amorite names known from texts from the third Dynasty of Ur, in which a verbal form /yamūt/ from *MWT* “to die”²² is usually recognized, which is also attested in many Amorite names of the Old Babylonian period, such as *Ia-mu-ut-li-im*, *Ia-mu-ut-Ba-al* (the name of an Amorite tribe)²³ “DN died”.

Therefore, also the Eblaic names have to be interpreted as /yamūt-i/um/. Initial A – in the Ebla system of writing – can be read /ya/, as is shown by the Ebla Vocabulary, with the equivalence *a-me-tum* /yamit-t-um/ for á-zi “right side”.²⁴

Further, of notable interest for the Amorite onomastic tradition and its relations with Eblaic names is that (Y)amūta is also the name of an Amorite “sheikh” of the Gutian age (therefore, from the period of the later Akkad rulers), according to the “Genealogy” of the Hammurabi Dynasty, [11] while Iptiyamūta and Abi-yamūta are “sheikhs” of the Amorite *palū*.²⁵

The other PNs do not show Amorite features. Some do not present any elements useful to a linguistic classification, such as *A-bū-mu-du* “The father is the husband” (in Akkadian and in Amorite, *mūtu* is generally the first element in the name, whereas in Ebla it is always the final part).²⁶ In addition,

¹⁸ Wrongly in Pettinato MEE 2: 311: *Za-ra-’à-du*^{ki}; see also TM.75.G.1437 rev. III 5–7: *A-mu-ti* lugal *A-ra-’à-du*^{ki}.

¹⁹ See ARET 1, Index: *A-mu-tum*.

²⁰ See Buccellati 1966: 77.

²¹ Wilcke 1969: 25–26.

²² Goetze 1950: 72; Edzard 1957: 41 nt. 180; Finkelstein 1966: 100 nt. 13; Gelb et al. 1980: 320. Different is the interpretation of Huffmon 1965: 229: “The usual explanation of these names ... cannot be maintained in view of the number of deities required to ‘die’”. He therefore derives the name from *MD(D)* “to stretch, lengthen, measure; help”. For *A-bí-a-mu-ti*, Huffmon 1965: 167, proposes a root *MD* (“unclear”).

²³ See Goetze 1950: 72; Edzard 1957: 105–106; Stol 1976: 63–72. For other names beginning with *Ia-mu-ut-*, see ARM XVI, 1: 220; Gelb, *loc. cit.*

²⁴ Krebernik 1996: 238, who quotes also ud-GĀN = *a-(wa-)mu ’à-mu-tum* /yawmū ḥammūtum/ “hot days”.

²⁵ See Finkelstein 1966: 100 and 114.

²⁶ Stamm 1939: 298; Huffmon 1965: 234 ff.; Gelb et al. 1980: 326 ff. For Ebla, see ARET 3: 313.

other names have non-Amorite features, such as *I-ti-^dl-lam/la-mu* “DN has given” (well attested also at Ebla), *I-ku-tu-a-bù Iš₁₁-gì-zu*, where there is an initial *ji* and not *ja*.²⁷ *’À-wa-ra* is a rather frequent name also in the region of Ebla.²⁸ The remaining names do not seem to be attested elsewhere, and the difficulty they present for a linguistic analysis prevents the recognition in some of them, such as in *Da-a-nu*, *Lu-du-ma-nu*, *Sa-a-nu*, *U₉-a-nu*, *Zu-bu-AN*, of the element *-ānum(/ān)*, typical of several Amorite PNs, and which is absent from Eblaic names.

2 Ebla Texts Mentioning Mardu

1. ARET 1.5 obv. XI 3–6: (1 + 1 + 1 f. [= fabrics]) en Mar-tu^{ki} (12 + 12 + 12 f.) ABxÁŠ-sù.
2. ARET 1.15 obv. 9–13: (2 + 2 + 2 f.) 2 Mar-tu^{ki} áš-da Û-NE maškim *Ib-du-ra*.
3. ARET 3.329 II 2–3: (fabrics) *I-ti-^dl-lam* Mar-tum^{ki}.
4. ARET 4.15 rev. X 6–9: 1 siki na₄ Mar-tum^{ki} níg-AN.AN.AN.AN Nin-uš-MUŠ-EN-gi.
5. TM.75.G.309 rev. I 1–2 (Archi 1979a: 111 f.): 20 na-se₁₁ Mar-tu^{ki}.
6. TM.75.G.540 rev. III 1–3: 2 na-se₁₁ zàḥ *Lu-du-ma-nu* Mar-tu^{ki}.
7. TM.75.G.1238 obv. II 5–7: 48 (gín) babbar:kù Mar-du^{ki} *Ib-du-lu*; V 1’–3’: 6 ma-na 11 (gín) babbar:kù Mar-du^{ki} NI-BAD-šum.
8. TM.75.G.1252 rev. VII 1–4: (1 + 1 + 1 f.) en Mar-tu^{ki} (9 + 9 + 9 f.) ABxÁŠ-AB-xÁŠ-sù.
9. TM.75.G.1317 obv. XI 3-rev. I 1: (1 + 1 + 1 f.) *Ar-šum l-mar*^{ki} níg-AN.AN.AN.AN Mar-tu^{ki} TIL wa udu-sù GÍN.ŠÈ (1 + 1 + 1 f.) *Ba-lu-zú l-mar*^{ki} in u₄ Mar-tu^{ki} TIL. [12]
10. TM.75.G.1755 obv. VI 13–VII 11: (6 + 6 + 6 f.) *Zi-da-mu Sa-a-nu U₉-a-nu Puz-ur₄-ru₁₂ I-ku-tu-a-bù Ru₁₂-zu-ru₁₂* ugula Mar-tu^{<ki>} lú du-du nídba i-giš wa nam-ku₅ é ^d*Ku-ra*.
11. TM.75.G.1769 obv. VII 7–VIII 1: 1 túg-NI.NI 1 íb-III-GÙN-TÚG mu-DU *A-mu-ti* lugal Mar-tum^{ki}.
12. TM.75.G.1895 rev. V 2–3: (1 + 1 + 1 f.) *I-ti-^dl-lam* ugula Mar-tum^{ki}.
13. TM.75.G.2239 obv. III 16–17: 2 mí-TÚG Mar-tu^{ki}.

²⁷ The last two names are not easy to interpret. The ending *-zú* in *Iš₁₁-gì-zú* is according to ARET 3: 288 and TM.75.G.1360 obv. V 4 (= MEE 2: 264): *Iš₁₁-gì-zu*.

²⁸ See ARET 3: 261.

14. TM.75.G.2279 obv. VIII 20–24: (1 + 1 + 1 f.) en Mar-tu^{ki} (11 + 11 + 11 f.) ABxÁŠ-sù.
15. TM.75.G.2329 obv. XI 10–11: (1 + 1 + 1 f.) A-bù-mu-du Mar-tu^{ki}.
16. TM.75.G.2377 obv. I 2 = 2379 obv. I 2 (Archi 1979a: 107 f.): Mar-tum^{ki} (... uru^{ki}-uru^{ki} šu mu-nigin ^dNI-da-kul).
17. TM.75.G.2401 rev. III 13–15: (fabrics) Mar-tu^{ki} Ir-ti šu ba₄-ti.
18. TM.75.G.2490 rev. IV 12–19: (1 + 1 f.) Iš-má-da-mu A-ba-um^{ki} šu mu-“taka₄” GEŠTIN I-bí-zi-kir in Mar-tum^{ki} šu ba₄-ti.
19. TM.75.G.2502 obv. V 16–20: 10 gín DILMUN níg-ba Á-a-nu Bu-si ’À-wa-ra Mar-tu^{ki}.
20. TM.75.G.4256 2–3: (1 + 1 + 1 f.) en Mar-tu^{ki}.
21. TM.75.G.10079 rev. IX 2–9: (1 f.) Gur-da-LUM maškim A-mur-da-mu níg-AN.AN.AN.AN nu-KA udu-udu Mar-tu^{ki} kar.
22. TM.75.G.10251 obv. XI 6–13: (1 + 1 + 1 f.) I-rí-ik-Il ugula Ī-ra-ar^{ki} in u₄ ì-ti mi-nu šu-du₈ udu-udu Mar-tu^{ki}.
23. TM.75.G.11138 III 2’–3’: en Mar-tu^{ki}.
24. TM.75.G. 16380 I 1’–3’:]x-um udu-udu Mar-tu^{ki}.
25. TM.76.G.521 obv. VII 22–VIII 1: (1 + 1 + 1 f.) en Mar-tu^{ki}.
26. TM.76.G.523 obv. VIII 11–16: (2 f.) I-ni-lum Mu-si-lu^{ki} Iš-má-da-ba-an Mar-tum^{ki} šeš-II-ib kéš-da.
27. TM.76.G.524 obv. VI 4–12: (1 + 1 + 1 f.) Rí-ì-ma-lik Ī-mar^{ki} níg-AN.AN.AN.AN en Ī-mar^{ki} Mar-tu^{ki} TIL in KUR^{ki}; VIII 22–26: (1 + 1 + 1 f.) Iš₁₁-gì-zu Mar-tum^{ki} šu-du₈ in Šu-tì-gú^{ki}; XI 7–14: (1 + 1 f.) I-ti-um Ūr-lu^{ki} Za-NI níg-AN.AN.AN.AN Mar-tu^{ki} TIL áš-da Gu-du^{ki}.
28. TM.76.G.527 obv. XI 21–28: (5 + 5 + 5 f.) Iš-la-ì Zu-ba Ĥu-ti-mu^{ki} Tì-la-ì Dab₆-mu-gú^{ki} šu-du₈ in Mar-tu^{ki}; XII 17–24: (1 + 1 + 1 f.) ’À-bí-šu níg-AN.AN.AN.AN Ru₁₂-zi-ma-lik šeš-ib-II in Mar-tum^{ki} ma-lik-tum ì-na-sum; XV 16–17: (1 + 1 + 1 f.) Zu-ba-AN Mar-tum^{ki}; rev. III 13–19: (1 + 1 + 1 f.) Nap-ĥa-ì lú AN.NA níg-AN.AN.AN.AN Ru₁₂-zi-ma- šeš-ib-II in Mar-tum^{ki}.
29. TM.76.G.531 obv. VI 26–VII 2: (1 + 1 + 1 f.) en Mar-tu^{ki} (11 + 11 + 11 f.) ABxÁŠ-sù (then: en Da-da-nu^{ki}).
30. TM.76.G.533 rev. IV 6–10: (1 + 1 + 1 f.) níg-ba Du-du-lu^{ki} tuš:lú in Mar-tu^{ki}.

[13]

2.1 Addendum

31. TM.75.G.2404 obv. 1’–2’:]x Mar-tum^{ki}.
32. TM.75.G.2542 obv. II 6–14: ša-pi babbar:kù níg-ba ’À-zi AL₆-ma 15 bab-bar:kù 2 maškim-sù 1 na-se₁₁ Mar-tu^{ki} Ma-rí^{ki}.

3 Mardu Personal Names

Á-a-nu 19.

A-bù-mu-du 15.

A-mu-ti (lugal) 11.

'Ā-wa-ra 19.

Bu-si 19.

I-ku-tu-a-bù (ugula) 10.

Iš₁₁-gi-zú 27.

I-ti-^dl-lam/la-mu (ugula) 3., 12.

Lu-du-ma-nu 6.

Puzur₄-ru₁₂ (ugula) 10.

Ru₁₂-zu-ru₁₂ (ugula) 10.

Sa-a-nu (ugula) 10.

U₉-a-nu (ugula) 10.

Zi-da-mu (ugula) 10.

Zu-ba-AN 28.

26 Alalah al tempo del regno di Ebla

Ho preso parte a diverse campagne di scavo, ma sempre in qualità di epigrafista, tranne una volta, la prima. Molti anni fa, l'istituto Miceneo ed Egeo-Anatolico del CNR venne associato ad una missione archeologica dell'Università di Padova a Topaklı, nell'Anatolia centrale, per indagare l'espansione culturale e politica dei Frigi. Il progetto, che nelle sue linee generali mantiene tuttora la sua validità, si arenò ben presto, nonostante la disponibilità e l'entusiasmo di Elena Di Filippo. Andò così persa una buona occasione per dare ad alcuni studiosi italiani il modo di lavorare su un punto nodale della storia dell'Anatolia preclassica. Quella breve esperienza fu per me comunque importante, perché mi convinsi di essere nel giusto nel volere lasciare agli archeologi gli obblighi e le fatiche di diverso genere imposte dalla loro disciplina, come pure gli eventuali onori conquistati sul campo.

Una nota su Alalah mi sembra si adatti ad un piccolo omaggio da parte mia alla festeggiata, alla quale mi sono sempre sentito legato da sincera amicizia, nonostante che i nostri interessi si siano sempre più divaricati. In tutta la sua storia, questa città fu solidamente integrata al suo entroterra. Durante il Bronzo Antico essa fu inclusa nel regno di Ebla. Nella tarda età del Bronzo vi si installò un ramo cadetto della casata di Aleppo, e dipese da Mitanni. Conquistata stabilmente dagli Ittiti, cadde sotto il controllo di Karkamiš. Nel X secolo il centro più importante dell'Amuq (la cosiddetta piana di Antiochia) divenne Kunaluwa (forse Tell Ta'ynat), capitale del regno di Patina, che dominò anche Aleppo. Queste vicende appartengono al mio campo di studi. Tra il IX e l'VIII secolo, finalmente, con al-Mina "il Porto", l'Amuq si apre non solo ai Fenici, ma anche ai Greci.¹ Qui inizia il periodo di cui si interessa Elena.

La strada lunga 78 km che congiunge Aleppo con Alalah segue un percorso agevole (se non fosse per l'attraversamento dell'attuale frontiera politica) scendendo verso l'Amuq attraverso la gola di Bab el-Hawa. Da Ebla ci si può congiungere a tale strada ad Atareb (probabilmente l'antica *Da-ri-ib*^{ki}), o anche più a est, e la distanza è all'incirca la stessa. Una via meno diretta era quella parallela all'Oronte (seguire direttamente il suo corso non è affatto agevole perché in diversi punti esso si fa strada attraverso gole strette e difficili); questo

Pp. 3–5 *Tra Oriente e Occidente. Studi in onore di Elena Di Filippo Balestrazzi*, eds. Daniele Morandi Bonacossi, Elena Rova, Francesca Veronese, and Paola Zanovello. Padova: SARGON srl. 2006.

¹ Mazzoni 2001: 299–303, 308–12.

percorso permette di raggiungere le colline che dominano l'Amuq, su una delle quali si erge Harim, da dove i soldati di Aleppo controllavano i crociati di Antiochia. Lungo l'Oronte, probabilmente sulle pendici del Jebel Samaane e del Jebel Zawiyeh, vanno collocati Luban (menzionata più tardi nei testi di Alalah e Ugarit del II millennio) e (L)arugadu (nota anche da Ugarit), i due santuari più importanti del dio Hadabal, uno dei maggiori di Ebla,² e del quale non sussiste alcuna sopravvivenza nel II millennio.

Gli archivi di Ebla offrono scarsi dati riguardanti Alalah, e ogni valutazione storica della sua regione è resa difficile anche dal fatto che ben pochi dei numerosissimi toponimi si lasciano situare geograficamente. [4]

L'Amuq era in mano eblaita almeno a partire dal tempo del penultimo sovrano, Irkab-damu, il quale regnò ca. 11 anni e morì trentasei anni prima della caduta di Ebla, che è da porre negli ultimi decenni del XXIV secolo (verso il 15° anno di regno di Lugalzagesi, quando Sargon era già re di Akkad).³ Il testo TM.75.G.1653 si data al periodo dei cinque anni durante i quali Arrukum fu ministro del re Irkab-damu. Tale documento menziona Alalah (r. III 2) insieme a Luban e Muraru (note anche dai documenti di Alalah del II millennio) e a diverse località dell'area a nord-est e a est di Ebla, tutte tributarie di piccoli quantitativi di oro.

In generale, delle località citate nei documenti di Alalah del II millennio (tanto le tavolette di Alalah VII, del Bronzo Medio II, quanto quelle di Alalah IV, del Bronzo Tardo, presentano un orizzonte geografico abbastanza limitato) appartenevano al regno di Ebla, oltre alla stessa Alalah, anche A-da-bi(NE)-ig^{ki}, Ĥa-sa-sar^{ki}, I-ri-bù^{ki}, Lu-ba-an^{ki}, Mu-ra-ru^{ki}₁₂, Na-na-ab^{ki}, Zu-ĥa-ra^{ki} (?). Solamente Du-ub^{ki} (la Tuba del II millennio), la cui collocazione resta incerta, aveva un suo re, malkum, ed era dunque indipendente.⁴

Successivamente, Alalah compare tra le città tributarie di Ebla in due documenti del ministro Ibrium, che servì per diciotto anni Išar-damu, il successore di Irkab-damu. TM.75.G.1462 elenca una quarantina di città, alcune indipendenti, come Dub, che apre l'elenco, mentre altre appartenevano a Ebla. Alalah consegna 670 gr di argento (r. III 3-4), e Luban appena 80 gr. In TM.75.G.1527 r. X 3-5, Alalah consegna solo 245 gr di argento. Il fatto che Alalah qui compaia

2 Per Darib, Luban e (L)arugadu, v. ARES 2: 193-95, 334-38, 110-14 e 331-32.

3 Archi - Biga 2003: 31-34.

4 Per tutte queste località, v. ARES 2, e Bonechi 1993, s.v. Se Tuba fosse veramente da identificare (come è stato proposto) con Umm el-Marra, a ca. 47 km a est di Aleppo, essa sarebbe più frequentemente menzionata in connessione con Mari, tanto negli archivi di Ebla quanto in quelli di Mari del II millennio. Inoltre, nei testi di Ebla, Dub ed Emar non sono mai connesse tra loro.

tra città come Dub e Ḫarran, le quali, pur subendo l'egemonia eblaita, avevano un loro re, malkum, ed erano perciò indipendenti, mostra che Alalah era il centro maggiore dell'Amuq.

Come tutti i centri appartenenti a Ebla, Alalah era retta da un “soprintendente”, ugula, TM.75.G.1708 r. VII 1-2 (testo del ministro Ibrium). Uno di essi aveva nome Ze-malik, ARET 12.731 r. I 2-3: Zé-ma-lik ugula 'A₅-a-a-ḫu^{ki}. A Alalah “risiedeva”, tuš-LŪxTIL, un certo Iš₁₁-gi-bar-zú, TM.75.G.10088+10182 r. XXI 1-4 (3° anno del ministro Ibbi-zikir, successore di Ibrium).

In diverse occasioni alcune persone “prendono”, šu-du_g, capi di vestiario in Alalah: ARET 3.31 r. III 9-11, 370 IV 1-4 (*Ki-t[i-ir]*); ARET 12.161 II 1-4, 210 II 3-5, 825 r. III 1-5, 830 III 1-2, 909 v. IV 1-5, 937 r. III 1-4; MEE 2.37 r. VI 18-VII 1.

Si ha notizia di uno scontro militare tra Alalah e Ebla. Se in quell'occasione Alalah veramente vinse il contingente eblaita, dovette trattarsi di uno scontro di poco conto (il testo si data all'ultimo ministro, Ibbi-zikir): TM.75.G.10280 v. IV 5-10: “1 + 1 + 1 veste a Ibdulu, il sorvegliante (ur₄) che ha portato la notizia che Alalah ha battuto Ebla (/ che Alalah è stata battuta (da) Ebla [?])” níg-mul 'A₅-la-la-ḫu-um^{ki} Ib-la^{ki} til.

Stante le norme del sillabario eblaita e la cosiddetta riduzione di /l/, le grafie usate per il nome di Alalah presentano un numero rilevante di varianti:⁵ [5]

A-a-a-aḫ ^{ki}	ARET 12.909 v. IV 5, 937 r. III 4
A-a-a-ḫu ^{ki}	MEE 2.37 r. VII 1
A-la-la-ḫu ^{ki}	TM.75.G.1653 r. III 2
'A ₅ (NI)-a-a-ḫu ^{ki}	ARET 3.31 r. III 11; ARET 12.210 II 4, 731 I 3
'A ₅ -a-la-ḫu ^{ki}	TM.75.G.1701 r. XII 2; TM.75.G.1867 r. VIII 3
'A ₅ -la-a-ḫu ^{ki}	TM.75.G.1527 r. X 5; TM.75.G.1708 r. VII 2
'A ₅ -la-la-ḫu ^{ki}	ARET 3.370 IV 4; ARET 12.161 II 4; MEE 2.37 v. III 8; TM.75.G.1462 r. III 4; TM.75.G.2361 v. V 3; TM.75.G.10088+10182 r. XXI 4; TM.75.G.10280 r. VII 3.
'A ₅ -la-la-ḫu-um ^{ki}	ARET 12.825 r. III 5, 830 III 2; TM.75.G.10280 v. IV 8
La-la-ḫu ^{ki} (?)	TM.75.G.10088+10182 v. II 6

5 Alcune delle citazioni qui sotto elencate si trovano già in ARES 2: 81, 104, 139, 142, e in Bonechi 1993: 32. È stato Hecker 1981: 169 nota 28, a identificare questo toponimo con Alalah.

27 Imar au III^{ème} millénaire d'après les archives d'Ébla

1 La situation politique

L'ordre politique d'un territoire trouve avec l'éco-système un équilibre qui ne change pas avec la substitution d'un État à un autre, ni même avec l'addition de groupes ethniques différents. Alors qu'à l'époque paléo-babylonienne les grands centres de la Syrie du nord et de la Mésopotamie sont Alep (le Yamhad), Mari et Babylone, vers le milieu du III^{ème} millénaire (environ 700 ans auparavant), il s'agissait d'Ébla, de Mari et de Kiš. Or Ébla et Kiš occupaient quasiment la même position géographique qu'Alep et Babylone, puisqu'elles ne sont distantes que de quelques dizaines de kilomètres respectivement d'Alep et de Babylone.

La puissance du Yamhad (dont les archives ne nous sont pas parvenues) nous a été révélée médiatement par la documentation épigraphique de Mari de même que ce sont les textes d'Ébla qui montrent à quel point fut important le rôle de Mari pendant le III^{ème} millénaire.¹

Ébla et Mari ainsi que les expéditions archéologiques en Syrie du nord ont fait repenser toute l'histoire du Proche-Orient ancien. Une certaine *périodisation* opposait entre eux un troisième millénaire caractérisé par de petites entités politiques sises en Mésopotamie méridionale, participant à une même culture tout en étant rivales les unes des autres, entourées de zones à demi barbares, puis unifiées par la dynastie d'Agadé qui soumit aussi les zones périphériques, et un deuxième millénaire caractérisé par de grandes métropoles régionales. Mais, entre les III^{ème} et II^{ème} millénaires, la géographie historique – en tenant aussi compte de l'établissement des dynasties amorrites majeures – présente des constantes dans la longue durée jusqu'au XVI^{ème} siècle, lorsque la Syrie du nord fut soumise par la dynastie du Mitanni, puis devint la zone d'expansion d'États à prétentions impérialistes.

Le royaume d'Ébla incluait au nord Carkémish et au nord-ouest la plaine d'Antioche, au sud Hama et à l'est probablement la zone du Jabbul. Il dominait

MARI 6 (1990) 21–38.

¹ La documentation épigraphique de Mari au III^{ème} millénaire est limitée et a été publiée par Dominique Charpin 1987.

donc un domaine d'à peu près 200 km du nord au sud et de 100 km de l'est à l'ouest. Au delà de cette région, s'étendaient de nombreux États indépendants, régis par leurs propres dynasties.

Il existe des registres mensuels de distributions de tissus – grandes tablettes d'environ 18 cms de large – qui nous définissent la géographie politique de la Syrie du nord. Dans les premières sections de quelques uns de ces documents (lesquelles précèdent celles comportant les livraisons à des fonctionnaires éblaïtes), sont énumérés des envois aux cités-États avec lesquelles Ébla était en rapports amicaux ou qui plutôt en subissaient l'hégémonie. Les envois eux-mêmes qui n'étaient pas d'une valeur considérable (il s'agit en général de quelques pièces d'habillement) et étaient effectués nominalement selon une certaine fréquence, même si nous ne pouvons plus préciser laquelle, montrent qu'ils visaient simplement à [22] entretenir les rapports diplomatiques. En ce qui concerne les rapports de force, la situation est assez claire dans l'introduction du traité entre Ébla et Abarsal, où des cités-États comme 'À-du^{ki}, Ga-ra-mu^{ki}/Gâr-mi^{ki}, Gu-da-da-núm^{ki}, Ī-ra-ar^{ki}, Kab-lu₅-ul^{ki}, Kak-mi-um^{ki} (que nous savons régies par un « roi », en = *malkum*), sont dites être « dans la main du roi d'Ébla », in šu en *Ib-la*^{ki}, c'est-à-dire sous son contrôle.²

Dans quelques comptes mensuels, les cités-États sont regroupées par zones géographiques.³ Elles commencent par Irar et Kakmi'um qui, puisqu'elles sont mentionnées dans le traité avec Abarsal, doivent être cherchées au delà du Habur.⁴; avec Imâr, on descend vers l'Euphrate, et en continuant vers l'occident, de Dub (Tuba du II^{ème} millénaire), on remonte à Ursaum (Uršum), Irritum (Irrite), Ḫarran, au nord d'Ébla; avec Arḫadu on se tourne vraisemblablement vers le sud en direction d'Emèse / Homs, pour terminer parfois avec des localités sises de nouveau à l'est comme Ibal, Kablul et Hadu⁵ On remarque que Tuttul (*Du-du-lu*^{ki}) qui se trouve près de Raqqa, au confluent du Balih et de l'Euphrate, à environ 100 kms à l'est de Meskéné / Imâr, n'apparaît pas dans ces listes, quoiqu'elle soit fréquemment citée dans la documentation éblaïte. De toute évidence, Tuttul appartenait à la zone d'influence de Mari qui, à l'est, limitait celle d'Ébla, à proprement parler entre Tuttul et Imâr.

Telle est toutefois la situation qui s'était instaurée pendant les tous derniers rois de la dynastie éblaïte. A l'époque antérieure, Mari avait cherché à contrôler la vallée supérieure de l'Euphrate. C'est ce dont nous informe une lettre qu'un roi de Mari, Enna-Dagan, avait adressée à un roi d'Ébla resté ano-

² Edition du texte: Sollberger 1980 (= ARET 13.5).

³ Par exemple, ARET 1.1–9.

⁴ Kakmium pourrait être identifiée au Kakmûm des textes de Mari.

⁵ Cf. Archi, ARET 1: 219–225.

nyme.⁶ En racontant dans ce document les succès de ses prédécesseurs (et ce n'est pas un hasard qu'il fasse sans cesse allusion à Iblul-II sous le règne de qui Mari avait atteint son maximum de puissance), Enna-Dagan cherchait à intimider Ébla qu'il considérait comme sa principale rivale du côté de l'occident.

Le premier roi mentionné, *A-nu-KA*/^r*bù*^r (F II 1) s'était limité à la région de *Be-la-an*^{ki}; *Sá-ù-mu* atteignit *Ra-'à-ak*^{ki}. Ištup-(I)šar, le souverain qui précéda Iblul-II, avait remonté l'Euphrate jusqu'à Imâr, et « l'avait réduite à un tas de ruines » du₆-kiri₆ gar (F. IV 13–V 13), suivant la formule, plutôt inquiétante pour Ébla, qui se répète dans le texte. A son tour, Iblul-II étendit les conquêtes au nord, en poussant carrément jusqu'aux environs de Hazuwan, qui devrait correspondre à Ḫaššuwan / Ḫaššum du II^{ème} millénaire, tandis que Ursaum (Ur-šum), plus au nord et non directement sur l'Euphrate, n'est pas mentionnée. Si l'identification avec Ḫaššuwan est exacte, Iblul-II atteignit la limite meridionale de la Commagène. Du reste, dans une campagne ultérieure, ce roi s'est dirigé carrément contre Gasur (en direction de Kirkuk) et en a défait l'armée. Remontant l'Euphrate, Iblul-II devait dès lors affronter Imâr, en faisant une seconde fois « un tas de ruines » (R. I 4–8). De telles expéditions avaient comme but de définir les zones d'influence, non d'acquérir de façon durable des territoires. Ébla devait se sentir sérieusement menacée, et suite à la campagne de Hazuwan, paya tribut à Mari dans la ville de *Má-NE*^{ki} (F. IX 11–R. I 3:

Tab. 1: Imâr et les cités-Etats adjacentes d'après les listes dans les rapports mensuels d'attribution de tissus.

Villes	Documents									
	n° 29	n° 76	n° 84	n° 105	n° 115	n° 145	n° 199	ARET 1.10	ARET 8.528 § 39	ARET 533 § 42
<i>Ra-'à-ak</i> ^{ki}	1	1	1	1	1		1	1	3	1
<i>Du-ub</i> ^{ki}	2		3	2	5				1	
<i>Ì-mar</i> ^{ki}	3	2	4	3	3	2	3	3	2	3
<i>Bur-ma-an</i> ^{ki}	4		2		2	1	2	4		2
<i>Gâr-mu</i> ^{ki}	5			5	6			6		5
<i>Ir-i-tum</i> ^{ki} (?)	6									
<i>Lum-na-an</i> ^{ki}	7			4	4		4	5		4
<i>Sa-nap-zu-gúm</i> ^{ki}	9									
<i>Du-lu</i> ^{ki}	8			6				2		

⁶ Pour la transcription de la lettre, TM.75.G.2367 [= ARET 13.4], voir Pettinato 1980b; pour l'interprétation, Edzard 1981c.

ù (*Ib-lul-Il*) mu-DU *Ib-la*^{ki} šà-sù NE:*má*^{ki} šu-ba₄-ti), laquelle ville est mentionnée dans divers documents administratifs éblaïtes comme le lieu où – même après Iblul-Il –, étaient consignés les « dons » (nig-ba) pour Mari – la chancellerie préférait cette façon de dire à « tribut » (mu-DU) plus cru – et qui est à situer dans la vallée de l'Euphrate, près d'Imâr.⁷ Mais, malgré les efforts d'Enna-Dagan, la puissance de Mari et celle d'Ébla en étaient venues à s'équilibrer graduellement, et Imâr fut englobée dans la zone d'influence éblaïte,⁸ comme le montrent les documents de distributions de tissus. Dans ces textes, l'ordre dans lequel apparaît Imâr, par rapport aux autres cités-États, est illustré par le tableau suivant (les données en tout point analogues des textes ARET 1.1–9 ont déjà été synthétisées à la p. 224 et suiv.). [23]

2 La situation linguistique

Du point de vue linguistique et culturel, la Syrie du nord au III^{ème} millénaire constitue une unité. La typologie des noms de personnes et les éléments qui les composent, sont les mêmes pour l'onomastique de Hama et de Harrân, pour celle de la plaine d'Antioche et d'Imâr, de Kakmum et d'Abarsal.⁹ Il n'y a que dans les noms de Mari et de Kiš que quelques éléments appartiennent à une tradition différente.¹⁰ Dans les noms d'Imâr (voir la liste en appendice), en se limitant à ceux qui sont théophores, on note:

- a) des éléments communs à toute l'aire sémitique: 1. -*Il*/-*î*, -*î-lum*: *Áš-î-lum*, *Bîl-za-î*, *Bù-da-î*, *Dam-da-Il/î*, *En-na-Il/î*, *EN-zi-lum*, *Ib-hur-î*, *Îr-maš-î*, *Iš-la-î*, *I-ti-î*, *Mi-ga-î*, *NI-ba-Il*, *NI-bù-ul-NI* (?), *Ti-ra-î*; 2. -*ma-lik*: *A-bù-ma-lik*, *Ib-du-ma-lik*, *Puzur₄-ra-ma-lik*, *Ri-î-ma-lik*, *Šu-ma-lik*, 3. -*I-šar*: *Du-bù-I-šar*
- b) des éléments de l'aire occidentale: 1. -*da-mu*: *En-zi-da-mu*, *Ib-da-mu*, *Iš₁₁-gi-da-mu*, *Na-an-da-mu*, *Ri-î-da-mu*, *Si-ir-da-mu*, *Sur_x-sa-da-mu*; 2. -*zi-kir*: *Du-bi-zi-kir*, *I-bi-zi-kir*, 3. -*li-im*, 4. -*Ku-ra*: mais, il n'est pas sûr que *Ti-ša-li-im* et *A-bù^d-Ku-ra* soient des personnes d'Imâr;
- c) des éléments plus fréquemment attestés, dans la Mésopotamie centrale que dans la Syrie occidentale: 1. -^d*Aš-dar*: *I-ti^d-Aš-dar*, 2. -^d*Da-gan*: *I-zu-kum^d-Da-gan*.

⁷ Voir Archi 1985a: 65; ARET 7: 199.

⁸ Archi 1981b; Id. 1985a.

⁹ Archi 1984b; il y a, à la p. 247 et suiv. (cf. p. 238 et suiv.), une liste provisoire des noms d'Imâr.

¹⁰ Archi 1985b; Id. 1987c: 130–32.

Parmi les autres noms, dont beaucoup ne diffèrent pas de ceux d'Ébla, on remarque que *Kul-ba-nu* apparaît aussi à la 26^{ème} et dernière place d'une liste qui semble être constituée uniquement de noms de rois d'Ébla.¹¹ [24]

3 La famille royale

On connaît quatre noms de rois d'Imâr (*Î-mar*^{ki}; dans le texte n° 208: *Î-mar-ar*^{ki}) et tous les quatre sont composés en *-da-mu*: *EN-zi-da-mu* (peut-être *Ru*₁₂-*zi-da-mu* = « ND est mon aide », ¹² *Ib-da-mu*, *Iš*₁₁-*gi-da-mu*, *Na-an-da-mu*. Sont identiques aussi deux noms de fils de roi: *Ri-î-da-mu*, *Sur*_x-*sa-da-mu* (hypocoristique *Sur*_x-*si*). Un autre élément se trouve dans le nom d'un frère du roi: *Ib-du-ma-lik*.

Cela ne signifie pas en fait que Damu ait été une des divinités principales d'Imâr. A Ébla aussi, six noms royaux – sur une liste de dix – sont composés en *-da-mu*;¹³ et faut-il ajouter *Iš*₁₁-*ar-da-mu*, le successeur d'Irkab-damu: le dernier roi de la dynastie.¹⁴ De plus, sur 50 noms de « fils du roi », *dumu-nita* en, il y en a bien 24 qui ont des théophores en *-da-mu*.¹⁵ Damu cependant n'apparaît jamais dans les énumérations des divinités qui reçoivent des offrandes cultuelles du palais.¹⁶ Il appartient essentiellement au monde social: il s'agit d'un terme du sémitique commun, *damum* « sang », qui a été divinisé, avec le sens de « race »;¹⁷ donc, à l'expression d'une organisation nobiliaire qui, cependant – à Ébla comme à Imâr – s'est solidement ancrée dans une culture urbaine, au point d'en être le centre, dans la mesure où le souverain appartient à ce groupe. C'est un phénomène bien connu dans la formation des cités du Proche-Orient, autant pour l'Antiquité que pour les époques récentes. Ce n'est donc pas un hasard si dans le groupe des familles royales on privilégie des noms qui exprimaient l'appartenance à la « race » par excellence.

Les documents, dépourvus de dates en ce qui concerne les années et en général privés d'éléments susceptibles de préciser une chronologie relative, ne permettent pas d'établir une séquence entre les quatre souverains. *ENzi-damu*

11 Archi 1988b: 213 suiv. et n. 27.

12 Krebernik, 1988a: 84; van Huyssteen 1984: 227–30.

13 ARET 7: 150, voir Archi 1986c: 213–17.

14 Biga – Pomponio 1987. Cfr. Archi, ARES 1: 213–15.

15 Archi, ARES 1: 222–35.

16 Quatre listes ont été publiées par Pettinato 1979a: 85–215.

17 E. Lipiński (1987) est d'un autre avis.

qui, du fait qu'il est cité plus fréquemment que les autres (11 fois contre 4 fois pour Ib-damu, et une fois autant pour Išgi-damu que pour Nan-damu) doit avoir eu un règne particulièrement long, était l'époux de Tiša-lim¹⁸ qui a le titre de « Reine (*ma-lik-tum*). Cela se déduit du document suivant où sont enregistrés les moutons qui leur sont attribués:

3.1 TM.75.G.2304

1. F. I 1 1 *rí-pap* 9 *li-im* udu ti-la
2 *li-im* 4 *mi* [x+] 12 ʽuduʽ
II 1 *nídba*
1 *li* 8 *mi* 90 udu ug₇
3 *níg-á-gá-II*
EN-zi-d[*a-mu*]
2. III 1 9 *li-im* udu-udu ti-la
1 *li-im* 2 *mi-at* udu ug₇
3 l[ú(?)]
R. I 1 []
Ti-ša-li-im
3 (anépigraphé)
II (anépigraphé)
III (anépigraphé)

IV^{ème} fois)»,¹⁹ il s'agit d'un bien dont il a la possession. Si c'est effectivement une livraison de la part d'Ébla, il est difficile de justifier la classification des moutons comme « d'offrandes » et « de boucherie », qui est la même que celle utilisée pour les comptes des troupeaux d'Ébla²⁰ et qui est appropriée à un patrimoine dont on gère l'administration. Mais si la tablette donne la situation de la maison royale d'Imâr relativement aux animaux, il n'est pas facile de comprendre pourquoi elle a été conservée dans les archives d'Ébla.

Deux autres documents d'Ébla, qui proviennent du roi Irkab-damu, concernent cette fois-ci des possessions territoriales et l'une mentionne ENzi-damu.²¹

3.2 TM.75.G.2396

- 1 (F. I 1–II 2) *mi-nu-ma* ki-ki níg-sa₁₀-níg-sa₁₀ *Îr-péš*^{ki} *wa Gú-ra-KUL*^{ki} *Îr-kab-da-mu* *Ti-šè-li-im* in-na-sum
- 2 (II 3–7) *ap áš-du-ma* u₄ in-na-sum GIŠ-érin
- 3 (II 8–III 8) *ap su-ma da-'à-ut na-se*₁₁ BAD ki nam-ku₅ *ù-ma máš šu-du*₈
- 4 (III 9–V 2) *ap na-se*₁₁-*na-se*₁₁ *Î-mar*^{ki} lú 2 šu *Ti-ša-li-im áš-da* en di-ku₅-di-ku₅ *al₆-ma ga-ma-lum Î-mar*^{ki} *al₆-tuš*
- 5 (V 3–R. I 3) *ap mi-nu* uru^{ki}-uru^{ki} *Ti-ša-li-im* maškim en lú-kar è
- 6 (I 4–II 2) *ap [mi]-nu* uru^{ki}-uru^{ki} en maškim *Ti-ša-li-im* lú-kar è
- 7 (II 3–III 2) *ap* en ki ì-na-sum *na-se*₁₁-*na-se*₁₁ *Ti-ša-li-im* al-kur₆ en

- 1 « Toutes les terres acquises dans la localité d'Irpeš et GuraKUL, Irkab-damu (roi d'Ébla) (les) a données à Tiša-lim.
- 2 Et, en outre, à partir d'aujourd'hui, il (les lui) a données (suivant sa) décision.
- 3 Et, en outre, si le propriétaire du terrain est astreint à (fournir) l'entretien des gens (qui s'y rattachent), alors il en consignera le dû.
- 4 Et, en outre, les gens d'Imâr possédés par Tiša-lim, pour autant que cela regarde le roi, ont été de bon gré jugés résider à Imâr. [26]
- 5 Et, en outre, des villages de Tiša-lim, le représentant du roi (d'Ébla) en excluera ses (propres) marchands.

¹⁹ Comme l'a remarqué P. Fronzaroli 1980a: 39, níg-á-gá doit être la graphie de l'abstrait sur á-ág « donner des instructions », á-ág-gá « instructions »; donc « affecté ». Les contextes suggèrent le sens de « possession », cf. ARET 7: 229.

²⁰ Cf. TM.75.G.1629 et 1630, publiés par Pettinato 1977: 258–263; cf. Milano 1984: 218 suiv.

²¹ Les textes ont été publiés par Fronzaroli 1984a; on en redonne ici la transcription et la traduction avec des changements minimes.

- 6 Et, en outre, des villages du roi, le représentant de Tiša-lim excluera ses (propres) marchands.
- 7 Et, en outre, le roi a donné les terres; les gens de Tiša-lim, le roi les a transférés».

Tiša-lim a donc acquis des terres près de deux villages du royaume d'Ébla (1), et – suivant une procédure usuelle, s'en est fait confirmer la possession par un décret royal (2). Tiša-lim succède au propriétaire primitif dans les obligations et servitudes qui grèvent ses terres (3). Les gens d'Imâr que Tiša-lim y fait résider, pour autant qu'il s'agit du roi d'Ébla, ne sont pas attachés à la propriété, mais peuvent rentrer à Imâr (4). Le droit de commerce, dans les villages et dans les propriétés de Tiša-lim, est réservé aux marchands d'Imâr, auxquels il est refusé d'opérer dans des villages d'Ébla (5–6). Le roi a ainsi produit son décret à la fois pour les terres et pour les gens qui y résident.

3.3 TM.75.G.1986+3221+4544

- 1 (F. I 1–II 5) *mi-nu-ma* ki-ki *ša-ti* níg-sa₁₀-níg-sa₁₀ [Īr]-péš^{ki} *wa* *Gú-ra-ra-KUL*^{ki} *ša-ti* [Īr-kab-da-mu in-na-sum] *Ti-ša-li-im* in 2 šu *Ti-ša-li-im*
- 2 (II 6–III 7) *ap su-ma si-mi* *Ti-ša-[li-i]m* [en] in-na-sum [Ī]-mar^{ki} [k]ú[?] níg-sa₁₀-níg-sa₁₀ in 2 šu(?) *Ti-ša-li-im* (?)
- 3 (III 8–IV 8) *ap* níg-sa₁₀-níg-sa₁₀ Ī-mar^{ki} *ša-du* [...] al₆-gír-TAG *Gú-ra-ra-KUL*^{ki} [.....] in 2 šu *Ti-[ša]-l[i-im]*
- 4 (IV 9–V 9) [*ap* (?) al₆(?)] *Ĥáb-du*^{ki} *wa* al₆ x-x-mu^{ki} du₆^{ki} [l]ú *Ĥu-ra-zu*^{ki} *Ti-ša-li-im* di-ku₅ šu-mu-« *taka*₄ »
- 5 (V 10-R. II 1) [*n*]a-se₁₁-[na-s]e₁₁ *Ti-ša-li-im* lú in *Za-bí-ḥa-du*^{ki} si-gi-ma na-se₁₁-na-se₁₁ *Za-bí-ḥa-du*^{ki} šu-ti en ki-ki kú *wa* A-ḥum-na-im al₆ DI-s[ù] al₆-tuš [*Za-bí-ḥa-d*]u^{ki}
- 6 (II 2–9) *na-se₁₁-na-se₁₁* en in é-é-sù *wa* in ki-sù *mi-nu* x-da-x^{ki} [...]
- 7 (III 1–10) dam šeš:pa₄ ^{dr}BARA₇-iš^r [.....] *mi-nu-ma* diri-um in 2 šu-sù
- 8 (IV 1–5) [...] *Ma-x-ne*(?)^{ki} lú UR-ne x-zi-x-x [...]
- 9 (IV 6–V 2) *en-ma* en *na-se₁₁-na-se₁₁* *Ti-ša-li-im* šu-ti in [...] *lu-x-gú-nu*
- 10 (V 3–9) *ap na-se₁₁-na-se₁₁* EN-zi-da-mu lú in uru^{ki}-uru^{ki} *Ti-ša-li-im* x [...]

- 1 « Toutes les terres qui ont été acquises dans les localités d'Irpeš et de Gur-raKUL, (et) qu'[Irkab-damu (le roi d'Ébla) a données à] Tiša-lim, (sont) possédées par Tiša-lim.
- 2 Et, en outre, si Tiša-lim a donné le prix [au roi], Imâr aura [l'usufr]uit (des biens) (qui sont) possédés (?) par Tiša-lim (?).

- 3 Et, en outre, (les biens) acquis par Imâr, qui [...] ... GurraKUL [.....] en possession de Tiša-lim.
- 4 [Et, en outre (?), à la charge (?)] de la localité de Ḫabdu et à la charge de la localité de x-x-mu, de la colline de Ḫurazu, (pour) Tiša-lim a été consigné le verdict.
- 5 Les gens de Tiša-lim qui (se trouvent) à Abiḫadu *en même temps que* les gens d'Abiḫadu qui (appartiennent) au roi, auront l'usufruit des terres; et Alum-Naim, à *cause* de son déplacement, résidera à [Abiḫad]u.
- 6 Les gens du roi dans leurs propriétés et sur sa terre de la localité de x-da-x [...].
- 7 La femme du prêtre d'Išḫara [...] quelque'autre chose (se trouve) en sa possession.
- 8 [...] la localité de Ma-x-me, celle d'URne[.....].
- 9 Ainsi le roi: « Les gens de Tiša-lim qui (se trouvent) dans [...] sont ... ».
- 10 Et, en outre, les gens d'ENzi-damu (roi d'Imâr) qui se trouvent dans les villages de Tiša-lim [...] ».

Les premières sections (1–3) concernent les mêmes biens que le document précédent; mais Tiša-lim possède des terres dans d'autres localités aussi (4–8). Le roi d'Ébla renonce à tout droit direct sur les personnes qui y résident, et qui appartiennent à Tiša-lim et à ENzi-damu, le roi d'Imâr.

Les archives nous ont conservé une liste détaillée des terres (ki-ki) de Tiša-lim: [27]

3.4 ARET 2.27 a

- 1 (F. I 1–III 2) 1 *li-im* 1 *mi-at* gâna-ki Ša-da^{ki} 9 *mi-at* gâna-ki Ḫu-ra-zu wa Da-ma-rúm^{<ki>} wa in-na-sum še-ba Ti-ša-li-im
- 2 (III 3–R. II 4) 2 *li* gâna-kešda Dar-da-ù^{ki} 2 *li* gâna-kešda Šu-na-u^{ki} 2 *li* gâna-kešda A-bi-ḫa-du^{ki} 2 *li* gâna-kešda Má-NE^{ki} 1 *li* gâna-kešda Sá-a-nu^{ki}
- 3 (II 5–IV 1) AN.ŠÈ.GÚ 9 *li-im* gâna-kešda ki-ki Ti-ša-li-im En-[z]i-da-mu A-ti-ir

La propriété de Tiša-lim, tout comme celles des membres des grandes familles éblaïtes, est partagée entre plusieurs localités: la superficie globale, 9.000 mesures gâna-kešda, n'est pas particulièrement élevée.²² Il y a huit centres cités: Damarum, Dardau, Ḫurazu, MaNE, Sa'anau, Šada, Šunau, Zabiḫadu. Les 2.000

²² Cf. les documents relatifs aux champs, publiés dans Archi 1980a: 7–10.

gána-kešda d'Zabiḥadu constituaient probablement la terre dont il est question dans le texte c, section 5. Dans Šada, Irik-damu, sans doute le fils du vizir Ibrium (ARET 7.155 F. I 5), a lui-aussi des terres. Dans *Ḥa-la-zu*^{ki} (= Ḥurazu), Irdamu, un autre fils d'Ibrium (TM.75.G.1444 VII 6–12; Edzard 1981a: 39 = ARET 16.27 § 13), possède une « maison ». A Sa'anū, des terres appartenaient au fils du juge, Iram-damu (ARET 7.156 R. V 1). A MaNE, Ébla enregistrait les tributs (mu-DU) pour Mari.²³ Cette ville doit être cherchée près de l'Euphrate, aux confins du territoire d'Imār.

De GurraKUL et Irpeš, les deux localités auprès desquelles il y a les terres objets du verdict dans les documents n° 2 et 3, section 1, GurraKUL, d'après ARET 7.152, est un village appartenant à Napḥa-I(l), fils d'Ibrium (cf. aussi la liste des « maisons », ARET 3.103); mais dans ARET 1.30 §§ 33–37 la même est incluse dans une liste de cités-États: Ibubu, GurraBAL(/KUL), Ursaum, Gudadanum, Irpeš. Irpeš, s'il ne s'agit pas d'un cas d'homonymie, est certainement une cité-État (ARET 4.17 § 7: en *ḥr-péš*^{ki}).

Que la reine d'un État étranger ait eu des propriétés dans le territoire d'Ébla et, au moins en partie, près des mêmes localités que celles où en avaient aussi les membres de l'aristocratie éblaïte,²⁴ et que son patrimoine en bestiaux ait été compté en rapport à celui de son époux, semble trouver l'explication la plus simple dans le fait qu'elle était originaire d'Ébla. La pratique du mariage interdynastique, répandue dans le Proche-Orient ancien, est aussi attestée à Ébla²⁵ et le cas de Tiša-lim pourrait bien rentrer dans ces échanges de femmes d'une cour à l'autre²⁶. Il en manque cependant la preuve. On peut simplement en accumuler des indices.

Tout d'abord la fréquence des attestations: Tiša-lim est mentionnée plusieurs dizaines de fois par son nom propre, ce qui est rare pour une autre reine.

²³ Voir n. 7.

²⁴ Cf. aussi ARET 3.460 (+) R. V et VI.

²⁵ Voir Biga 1987: 45–47.

²⁶ De même Pettinato 1979: 93 et 102, à propos de Tiša-lim, pense à un mariage interdynastique, considérant Tiša-lim comme la fille d'Ibrium et ce dernier, roi d'Ébla. Mais Ibrium ne fut pas roi d'Ébla, ni Tiša-lim, sa fille. Nous n'avons pas de renseignements sur l'ascendance de Tiša-lim, malgré TM.75.G.1436, cité par Pettinato, *op. cit.*, p. 125, pour étayer son hypothèse: 1 zara₆-TÚG 2 bu-di ša-pi 2 sag-sù kù-gi *Ti-ša-li-im* in u₄ al₆-tuš i-na-sum dumu-nita-dumu-nita *I-bi-zi-kir* (F. VI 10–16, cf. texte n° 137). Dans ARET 3.277 II 4–7 on lit: (objets) *Ti-ša-li-im* ama-gal-sù *Ib-ri-um* šu-mu-« taka₄ »; et cf. ARET 3.772 III 1–2: *Ti-šè-li-im* ama-gal-sù; mais Tiša-lim n'était pas la mère, ama-gal, d'Ibrium, et dans la lacune on pourrait restaurer: [en *ḥ-mar*^{ki}], « [Le roi d'Imār] ... Tiša-lim, sa mère », cf. le texte n° 167.

Les noms des « filles du roi » et « d'Ibrium », dumu-mi en / *Ib-ri-um*, sont réunis dans ARES 1: 238–42.

Parmi les quelques exceptions, il ya celle de *Zu-ga-LUM*, reine de Ḫarran (huit attestations).²⁷ Ensuite, il y a les occasions de ces attestations: *Tiša-lim* reçoit des présents non seulement quand elle met au monde un fils (texte n° 70 et 165; au moins dans ce dernier cas, le don est-il fait par la reine d'Ébla), mais aussi quand accouche une princesse éblaïte du nom [28] de *Tište-damu* (n° 112, 113)²⁸ (on ne sait pas par contre qui était *Dabdu-damu*, n° 201).²⁹ Les rapports entre les deux cours étaient tels que l'on fait aussi mention de *Tiša-lim* lorsque meurt une fille du roi *ENzi-damu* (n° 111), et vraisemblablement de *Tiša-lim*, elle-même, comme c'est aussi le cas au n° 113. A Ébla, *Tiša-lim* habite (*al₆-tuš*, n° 113 et TM.75.G.1436, cité n. 26); loge au Palais (*SA.ZA_x^{ki}*, n° 30; 179); se rend à l'ÉxpAP (n° 113) ou dans des localités comme *NI-ab^{ki}* (n° 30) et *'Ā-da-ni^{ki}* (Atanni des textes d'Alalaḥ; n° 30, 113), centre de culte du couple divin *Rasap* et *Adamma*³⁰; sacrifie à *Kamiš* (n° 110). Souvent *Tiša-lim* reçoit non les habits habituels mais des toggle pins (*bu-di*) d'argent d'un poids de 20 à 40 sicles (160–320 g), pourvues de « têtes », sag, de deux sicles d'or – d'une valeur équivalant à 10 sicles d'argent –, un des objets au moyen desquels, selon le cérémonial, on faisait présent aux femmes de certaines quantités de métaux précieux (n° 2; 15; 30; 62; 66; 70; 73; 110; 111; 112; 113 (plusieurs fois); 125; 127; 129; 137; 143; 144; 149; 165; 167; 178; 179; 184; 185; 190; 191; 193; ARET 1.1 § 57, 15 § 29; 3.326). Il faut y ajouter les passages suivants, où elle a le titre de « reine » alors que le nom de *Tiša-lim* manque: n° 17; 53. Des envois de tissus ne sont mentionnés que dans n° 162; ARET 1.1 § 64; 2.15 § 10; 4.4 § 11, 5 § 17, 9 § 10 et § 15; « pour, à propos de » (*āš-du*) *Tiša-lim*). Des habits sont remis aussi à un de ses « serviteurs » (*ir₁₁*), n° 50, et à un de ses « oints » (*pa₄-šeš*), n° 143.

Tiša-lim maintint des rapports directs avec la cour éblaïte par l'intermédiaire de ses « représentants » (*maškim*), n° 27; 39; 59; 70; 71: *Āš-i-lum*; 111; ARET 1.1 § 64: (*maškim-e-gi₄*). Sont mis en rapport avec elle, comme d'habitude avec le roi, des « Anciens » (*ābba*), n° 15, desquels, *URne* et *Wabasum* sont aussi « représentants du roi », *maškim en*; *Ibḫuri* est un « *ur₄* »).

Le fait que *ZugaLUM* de Ḫarran, elle-aussi, se rende à Ébla et soit directement destinataire de présents,³¹ montre que dans la société syrienne du III^{ème} millénaire, les fonctions de reine ne se cantonnent pas à l'intérieur de la cour proprement dite. Le rôle diplomatique dévolu à *Tiša-lim* sort cependant de l'or-

27 Archi 1989.

28 *Tište-damu* appartient au second (et plus récent) groupe des « filles du roi », voir ARES 1: 238 et 240.

29 Dans ARET 4.24 §§ 9–10, *Dabdu-damu* est mise en relation avec *Ibrium*.

30 Cf. ARET 3: 316.

31 Voir n. 27.

dinaire, même si la sécheresse d'expression d'une documentation aussi archaïque ne permet pas de juger de sa personnalité, à la différence d'autres reines, du II^{ème} millénaire, bien connues dans le domaine syro-anatolien.

Comme on l'a vu grâce aux décrets royaux 75.2396 et 1986(+), relatifs à ses propriétés foncières, Tiša-lim fut la contemporaine d'Irkab-damu, un des derniers rois de la dynastie éblaïte.³² Pendant une partie du règne d'Išar-damu, Ibrium fut vizir à Ébla, et un synchronisme entre Ibrium et Tiša-lim est donné par le n° 37. Tiša-lim survécut à son époux ENzi-damu, dont la mort survint pendant qu'Ibrium exerçait ses fonctions de vizir, selon ARET 3.277, qui enregistre des présents provenant d'Ibrium pour Tiša-lim, « mère » (ama-gal) du roi d'Imâr.³³ On manque d'éléments pour décider qui, d'Ib-damu, Išgi-damu et Nan-damu, a été fils et successeur d'ENzi-damu. D'autres documents mentionnent Tiša-lim avec les fils d'Ibbi-zikir, donc les neveux d'Ibrium (n° 137 et 75.1436),³⁴ et avec Tište-damu, une princesse éblaïte de la dernière période de la dynastie éblaïte (n° 112; 113).³⁵ On retrouve encore Tiša-lim comme « reine » (*maliktum*) dans un texte de l'archive L. 2712 (n° 2), où sont conservés des documents qui datent de l'année qui précède immédiatement la destruction d'Ébla.³⁶ [29] Or puisqu'Ibbi-zikir, succédant à son père Ibrium comme vizir, a occupé cette charge pendant plus de 10 ans³⁷ encore, Tiša-lim a dû survivre au moins 15 ans à ENzi-damu, en conservant le titre de « reine »!³⁸

On connaît encore le nom de deux « femmes du roi » (dam en): *Kir-su-ut et Da-ḫu-šum* (n° 197);³⁹ d'un « fils du roi » (dumu-nita en): *Sur_x-sa-da-mu*, hypocoristique *Sur_x-si* (n° 6 et 205: « 8/3 fils du roi », mais leurs noms ne sont pas précisés);⁴⁰ et aussi d'un « frère du roi », šeš en: *Ib-du-ma-lik*.⁴¹ Tous sont des

32 L'avant-dernier, ou l'antépénultième, si Išar-damu lui succéda sur le trône, voir n. 15.

33 Cité n. 26.

34 75.1436 est cité n. 26.

35 Voir n. 28.

36 ARES 1: 288–90.

37 ARES 1: 218 sq.

38 On a souvent dans les textes la mention « mère du roi » (d'Ébla). Le cas de Tiša-lim n'est donc pas suffisant pour pouvoir affirmer que dans la Syrie de l'époque d'Ébla, le titre de reine n'était pas dévolu automatiquement à l'épouse du roi, au moment de l'accession au trône de ce dernier.

Dans le n° 17, on cite un « fils de la reine » (dumu-nita *ma-lik-tum*), dans n° 16: « de la reine (d'Ébla) »?), et dans ARET 8.540 § 33: « deux filles (dumu-mi) de la reine ». Ces expressions ne peuvent cependant prouver l'existence d'une régence de Tiša-lim.

39 Pour l'emploi du terme dam en, à Ébla, voir ARES 1: 245–50.

40 Voir l'index des noms de personnes, en appendice. Pour d'autres attestations de dumu-nita en, voir n° 206; ARET 3: 673; 8.540 § 32. Pour les « filles du roi » (dumu-mi en) voir ARET 3.730 R. II 7 et n° 113: dans les deux cas on distribue des *bu-di* de 10 sicles d'argent.

41 Voir l'index des noms de personnes, en appendice.

récipiendaires de tissus; Sursa-damu reçoit aussi une plaque de 20 sicles d'or (n° 101).

4 Les rapports économiques

Dans l'immense majorité des cas où l'on parle du roi, en, il reçoit des tissus, biens dont Ébla était grande productrice, et cela alors qu'on distribue à la reine des objets en argent (*bu-di*), par exemple, n° 178; 184. L'envoi type comprend trois habits de prix: un manteau (*'à-da-um-TÚG*) une chemise (*aktum-TÚG*) et une écharpe ou ceinture (*íb-TÚG-sa₆-dar*): n° 14; 19; 21; 25; 29; 36; 37; 39; 45; 52; 55; 58; 63; 67; 79; 82; 89; 91; 99; 100; 102; 105; 106; 111; 114; 115; 136; 139; 142; 144; 145; 147; 148; 150; 155; 158; 159; 161; 166; 170; 172; 176; 178; 184; 196; 198; 203; ARET 1.1 § 4, 2 § 4, 3 § 4, 4 § 3, 5 § 5, 6 § 4, 7 § 5, 8 § 19 et § 42, 9 § 4, 10 § 6 et § 26; 3.63 F. I 9–11, 439 II 2–4; 584 VIII 9–12; 4.6 § 33; 8.524 § 41, 529 § 39 et § 47, 540 § 32, 541 § 7.⁴²

Il est rare, par contre, qu'on remette au roi des objets en métal précieux: n° 30: un poignard d'une mine d'argent; 49 et 133: une décoration de char; 92: une plaque d'or de 90 sicles (0, 71 kg); 179: une plaque d'or de 30 sicles; 103: une plaque d'or de 72 sicles.

Dans les registres mensuels de distributions de textiles, figurent souvent à côté du roi, les Anciens (*ábba*) comme destinataires des mêmes sortes d'habits que le souverain.⁴³ Le nombre de chaque groupe, constitué par les trois items de vêtements énumérés ci-dessus, est certainement en rapport au nombre des Anciens connus dans la chancellerie éblaïte.⁴⁴ Voici les groupes d'habits attribués aux Anciens d'Imâr:

- 4 groupes: n° 15; 82; 91; ARET 1.5 § 5; 6 § 4; 7 § 5
- 3 groupes: n° 92 (+ une plaque d'or de 20 sicles); 172; ARET 8.540 § 33
- 2 groupes: n° 19; 58; 158; 161; ARET 1.1 § 4, 2 § 4, 3 § 4, 4 § 3, 8 § 19; 3.439 II 6; 8.529 § 48, 541 § 8
- 1 groupe: n° 21; 105; 145; 148; ARET 1.9 § 4, 32 § 4 (une plaque d'or de 10 sicles)

Dans le texte n° 15 on donne aussi les noms des Anciens, qui cette fois cependant sont associés à la reine: *Ti-ša-li-im ... Ib-ḥur-ì UR-ne Wa-ba-sum A-i-lu*

⁴² Sur les textiles d'Ébla, cf. ARET 1: 227–29.

⁴³ Voir n. 3.

⁴⁴ Cf. ARET 1: 222.

ábba-sù *Ī-mar*^{ki}. Puisqu'URne et Wabasum apparaissent aussi comme « représentants du roi » (*maškim* en) et Ibḫuri comme « *ur₄* », il est possible que les Anciens aient été chargés d'une mission par le Palais et qu'à cette occasion, ils aient reçu un nom de fonction. [30]

Des « représentants du roi » (*maškim* en) étaient, en général, invités à Ébla; tous recevaient à cette occasion, la plupart du temps, un manteau, une chemise et une ceinture, analogues aux habits destinés à leur roi. On connaît le nom de quelques uns de ces *maškim*:

- *maškim* en: *A-sa-du* (n° 170); *Bù-Na-im* (139); *Dam-da-ì* (74); *En-na-ì* (139); *Īl-ba-sa-mu* (ARET 4.6 § 34; dans 4.7 § 17 il a à son tour un *maškim*); *I-ti-^dAš-dar* (74); *Kum-na-im* (167); *UR-ne/ni* (102; 167); *Wa-bí-sum* (102; 139; 167). Et, sans nom du *maškim*: 55; 111 (4 *maškim*); 150.
- *maškim* *dumu-nita* en: n° 23
- *maškim* *Ī-mar*^{ki}, n° 81

D'autres fonctionnaires d'Imâr cités dans les documents d'Ébla, et toujours comme récipiendaires d'habits (cette fois de moindre valeur: en général, un SAL-TÚG et une ceinture, *íb-TÚG*), sont:

- *nar* = « musicien »: ARET 1.8 § 19 (un groupe de 12 *nar*)
- NE.DI = « ... »: n° 41 (5 NE.DI); 131 (AN-*ma-a wa I-ti-ì* NE.DI en); 202 (A-*mi-zi* NE.DI *lú* en) *šu-i* en = « coiffeur du roi »: n° 33
- *ugula bîr-BAR.AN* en = « chef des couples d'onagres du roi »: n° 43; 93 (A-*si*); 164 (I-*zu-kum-^dDa-gan*)
- « *ur₄* » = « ... »: n° 11; 38; 51; 68; 83; 179 (toujours: *Ba-lu-zú*); 120 et 167 (Ib-*hur-ì*).

Les formules administratives, quand apparaît aussi le nom du fonctionnaire éblaïte qui a effectué la livraison, *šu-mu-« taka₄ »*, ne sont pas toujours claires, et elles se complètent l'une l'autre. On relève les exemples suivants:

- n° 23 « 1 + 1 t. *En-na-ì Ī. šu-mu-« taka₄ » bî:'à* en: « 1 + 1 tissus (à) Ennai d'Imâr Abi (qui) a remis 'à. (pour) le roi (d'Imâr) »;
- n° 39 « 1 + 1 t. *En-na-ì Ī. šu-mu-« taka₄ » bî:'à in Du-si-gú^{ki} šu-ba₄-ti*: « 1 + 1 tissu (à) Ennai d'Imâr (qui) a remis 'à.; il (les) a reçus à Dusigu »;
- ARET 4.9 § 19 1 + 1 t. *Ī. šu-mu-« taka₄ » bî:'à áš-du Ti-ša-li-im*: « 1 + 1 tissu (à quelqu'un d')Imâr (qui) a remis 'à. pour (la reine) Tiša-lim ».

Voici les fonctionnaires d'Ébla qui ont effectué des livraisons pour Imâr: *Dar-za_x-tum* (69); *Ik-rí-su* (174); *In-gàr* (37); *Ḫa-ra-NE* (ARET 1.10 § 26); *Ḫa-rí-za-na-NE* (134); *KA-du* (17); (53); *Mu-ḫa-du* (ARET 4.20 § 12); *Na-an-ì-giš* (149); (185); *Ra-'à-tum* (ARET 1.16 § 28).

Les présents pour le roi et les Anciens, tant pour Imâr que pour les autres cités-États de Syrie, étaient fonction des exigences diplomatiques générales. Parfois, cependant, il y avait des occasions particulières comme le mariage (níg-mu-sá) d'une fille du vizir Ibrum, auquel participent six personnes d'Imâr (n° 42) ou la fête (ḥúl) du vizir Ibbi-zikir, où est présent le roi d'Imâr lui-même avec un de ses représentants (n° 170; 186), ou la cérémonie de purification: *si-in* ÉxPAP, par rapport aussi bien à Tiša-lim (n° 113) qu'à une fille du roi (n° 113; 152) et à un représentant du roi, Asadu (n° 43) (cf. de plus n° 37 et 174).

Mais c'est surtout le culte qui a créé les occasions de rapports directs entre les deux familles royales. Le serment dans le temple du dieu Kura, dans ARET 3.440 VII 1-5 (fragmentaire), fait référence sûrement à une alliance entre Ébla, Imâr et Lumnan:] nam-ku₅ ^dKu-ra Ī-mar^{ki} Lu-mu-na-an^{ki}. Aussi bien le roi que Tiša-lim font des offrandes à Kamiš (n° 72: à NI-ab^{ki}; 110). Le roi d'Imâr se rend aux sanctuaires du dieu de l'Orage, Hadda (n° 196), et d'Hadabal de Luban (n° 144) (le culte est celui qui est dû pour le mois d'AMAr; cf. n° 113; 179) et aussi dans le temple des dieux é dingir-dingir (n° 145; *in* mi-sá; cf. n° 176) et dans celui du Lord (^dBE) de Ganana (n° 136; 203; ARET 4.23 § 43). Des livraisons pour avoir reçu des nouvelles, níg-AN.AN.AN.AN, sont citées dans le n° 8; 11; 39; 204: pour la mort (ug₇) du roi d'Imâr; ARET 3.467 F. VI 15, R. III 10-12; 8.524 § 14.

Rois, reines, fonctionnaires d'Imâr reçoivent souvent des objets non à Ébla (ou au palais, SA.ZA_x^{ki}, cf. n° 28(?); 30; 160; 170; 186), mais dans d'autres lieux, à en juger par les termes administratifs: NP/NF Ī-mar^{ki} in NG šu-ba₄-ti. Voici les noms de lieux cités: 'Ā-da-ni^{ki} (n° 113; ARET 8.540 § 48; cf. 30; 191); A-te-na-at^{ki} (42; 120); 'Ā-za-an^{ki} (126); Bù-zu-ga^{ki} (106; 109); Da-NE-na-du^{ki} (192); Du-si-gu^{ki} (39); Ga-ba-ga-NE-du^{ki} (90); Gi-UR^{ki} lú Gú-ra-ra-KUL^{ki} (121); Li-a^{ki} (147); Mā-bar-du^{ki} (63); Ma-NE^{ki} lú Ī-mar^{ki} (ARET 3.323 IV 9-10); Maš-ga-du^{ki} (47; 88; ARET 3.673 II 2-6); NI-rúm^{ki} (45); [31] Sa/Su-du-úr^{ki} (144; cf. 37). La formulation suivante est analogue: *in* NG šu-du₈ « a pris possession »: Ar-mí^{ki} (164); Ma-NE^{ki} lú Ī-mar^{ki} (122); Mar-ra-du^{ki} (163); Ša-dab₅^{ki} (163; cf. 182).

Certaines de ces localités se laissent situer sûrement à l'intérieur du royaume d'Ébla: Hadani, Atenat, DaNEnadu, Dusigu, Sadur, Šadab. MaNE doit être cherchée près d'Imâr⁴⁵; les centres imariotes sont: Ba-ù^{ki} (n° 168; ARET 4.3 § 11) et I-ti-si-li^{ki} (n° 98). Martu est cité en rapport avec Imâr et cela montre que les tribus amorrites devaient être situées près du Ġebel Bišrī, déjà au XXV^o siècle av. J.-C.; cf le n° 11 : « (vêtements à NP dImâr pour) la nouvelle que Martu fut anéanti et les brebis ravagés ... lorsque Martu fut anéanti » et ARET 8.524

45 Voir n. 7.

§ 14: « (vêtements à NP dImâr pour) la nouvelle que le roi d'Imâr a anéanti Martu dans le pays des montagnes », níg-AN.AN.AN.AN(mul) en *l-mar^{ki} Martu^{ki} TIL in KUR^{ki}*.

Au total, sur la base de la documentation rassemblée ici, on peut estimer qu'Ébla a distribué environ 1.000 items vestimentaires de diverses sortes, pour une période qui devrait correspondre approximativement à 25 ans.⁴⁶ On a déjà dit que les distributions de métaux précieux pour le roi sont rares.⁴⁷ A la reine Tiša-lim, par contre, sont donnés en tout 970 sicles d'argent sous la forme de « toggle pins » (*bu-di*) et environ 71 sicles d'or pour leur décoration, ce qui fait une valeur équivalant à 355 sicles d'argent supplémentaires, pour un total de 1.325 sicles, soit 10 kilos d'argent.

En revanche, les envois depuis Imâr sont rares et de peu de valeur: un arc GIŠ-ban (n° 16; 24); de la bière, ŠE+TIN (78); des oiseaux, mušen-mušen (169); et surtout de « l'ail amer » (KASKAL-SAR Kur^{ki} = ga-ras-SAR; dans les listes lexicales l'équivalence est: *hazannu*) (35; 70; 71); en outre, quelques habits (94; 107) et des bijoux (107). Il s'agit évidemment de dons occasionnels et sans importance au point de vue économique.

Le système des échanges de biens dans la région syrienne, selon les archives éblaïtes, se présente de la façon suivante:

1. Provenaient d'Ébla (comme on le voit dans la documentation qui concerne Imâr), surtout des produits textiles et, bien plus rarement, des objets en métaux précieux. Il s'agit de biens de caractère festif puisque les destinataires étaient uniquement le roi et d'autres membres de la famille royale, les principaux représentants des structures d'État et leurs messagers; mais un même destinataire recevait, de temps à autre, plus d'une pièce d'habillement du même genre. La comptabilité de ces biens (« sorties » = è) était tenue dans des registres mensuels (ARET 1.1-17; 4.1-25), qui, quoique conservés à une centaine d'exemplaires, ne permettent pas de quantifier les envois en les appréciant d'un point de vue chronologique, dans la mesure où ils sont dépourvus de datations par années.

2. On consacrait aux biens en entrance (« apports », mu-DU) des documents cette fois annuels qui comportaient des listes de cités tributaires,⁴⁸ en partie

⁴⁶ Les archives éblaïtes couvrent une période de trois ou quatre générations de souverains tant pour Ébla que pour Imâr; mais dans la phase la plus ancienne les échanges de biens ont été plus rares à cause de la situation politique définie dans le premier paragraphe de cet article.

⁴⁷ Les destinataires d'or sont également: Abi (5 sicles, n° 195), Dubišum (40 sicles: n° 168); pour l'argent: URne (20 sicles: n° 191).

⁴⁸ Sur la structure de ces documents, cf. ARES 1: 210 sq.

les mêmes que les bénéficiaires des étoffes dans les registres mensuels dont il a été question ci-dessus. Ces « apports » consistaient en général en une mine d'argent non travaillé (460 gr.), versée parfois à deux échéances annuelles; parfois aussi en quelques habits. Imâr cependant apparaît rarement dans ces listes, à la différence des autres cités-États qui lui sont associées dans les distributions d'étoffes de la part d'Ébla, comme Dub (Tuba) et Sanapzugum (Tableau 1).

Les quelques textes (sur un total d'environ 40 documents mu-DU) où Imâr est mentionnée, sont les n° 77, 87 et 210, selon lesquels étaient attribués à Ébla des vêtements tout à fait analogues en qualité et en quantité à ceux qui lui étaient envoyés d'Ébla, et les n° 208, 209 et ARET 1.32 § 4, où les envois sont des barres d'or pour un total de seulement 100 sicles, et d'argent pour 30 sicles. On peut trouver d'autres présents comme le montrent les textes n° 138: 200 moutons attribués par Imâr, et n° 75: 32 personnes, na-se¹¹, d'Imâr (qui cependant « ne sont pas allés à Alaga », nu-du-du *si-in A-la-ga*^{ki}). [32]

Il devait certainement exister une activité commerciale. Effectivement, on a assez souvent des mentions de « commerçants », lû-kar. Mais on n'a pas de documents qui enregistrent des envois de grandes quantités de biens à échanger contre d'autres. Les envois de palais à palais, comme on l'a vu, suivaient d'autres modalités. On a souvent soutenu que la prospérité d'Ébla se fondait sur le commerce. Il n'existe pas cependant d'analyse qui ait montré de résultats obtenus à cet égard, à partir d'une documentation épigraphique d'une ampleur toute particulière. Il reste de toute façon singulier, dans le cas d'Imâr, que nous ayons si peu d'indices de réciprocité aux distributions faites par Ébla. Peut-être Imâr, vu sa situation-clef dans le contrôle de l'accès à l'Euphrate, jouissait-elle de privilèges particuliers.

5 La documentation

Les passages ici réunis sont le résultat d'une lecture préliminaire de la documentation d'Ébla. Les textes déjà publiés ne sont pas inclus. Abréviations: kb. = kù-babbar; kg. kù-gi; v. vêtements).

1. 75.217 F. II 3-4: 2 sila (î-giš-du₁₀) Ī.
2. 75.425 R. III 3'-5': (objets) *Ti-šê-li-im ma-lik-tum* Ī.
3. 75.449 F.II 2-3: 1 sila (î-giš) Ī.
4. 75.515 F. 2: 1 gir Ī.
5. 75.541 F. I 7-8: 2 sila (î-giš) Ī. (AN.ŠË.GÚ 21 sila î-giš è en-en)
6. 75.1216 F. VIII 19-IX 1: 8 + 8 + 8 v. 8 dumu-nita en Ī.; R. X 1'-XI 1: ...] v. *Sî-ti-ma-lik Du-du-lu*^{ki} *Tin-a-ĥu* Ī. *A-gi Nu-ba-du*^{ki} du-du[...

7. 75.1224 F. VII 7–9: 1 + 1 + 1 v. en *Ī*.
8. 75.1254 F. IX 25–X 9: 4 + 4 + 4 v. *A-ga-ma-lik Wa-ḥi-sa^{ki} Ga-bù-zu A-šu^{ki} níg-AN.AN.AN.AN Ib-gi Ī. Iš-du-ì Kiš^{ki}*
9. 75.1263 F. XI' 11–14: 1 + 1 v. *EN-zi-du-du Ī. GIŠ.DUG.DU*
10. 75.1298 F. XII 7–10: 1 v. *EN-zi-du-du GIŠ.DUG.DU Ī.*
11. 75.1317 F. XI 3-R. I 1: 1 + 1 + 1 v. *Ar-šum Ī. níg-AN.AN.AN.AN Mar-tu^{ki} TIL wa udu-sù GÍN.ŠÈ 1 + 1 + 1 v. Ba-lu-zú “ur₄” Ī. in u₄ Mar-tu^{ki} TIL*
12. 75.1335 F. V-5–10: 1 + 1 + 1 v. *Ma-gal Ī. du-du kaskal Ar-mi^{ki}*
13. 75.1363 F. VII 13–VIII 3: 1 + 1 v. *Ib-ti Ī. GIŠ.DUG.DU Ib-rí-um*
14. 75.1375 F. IX 10–12: 1 + 1 + 1 v. en *Ī.*
15. 75.1381 R. VI 6–16: 1 v. 2 *bu-di* 20 (gín) kb. 2 sag-sù kg. *Ti-ša-li-im 4 + 4 + 4 v. Ib-ḥur-ì UR-ne Wa-ba-sum A-i-lu ábba-sù Ī.*
16. 75.1382 F. III 13–19: 1 + 1 + 1 v. *Na-ḥa-zu Ī. šu-mu-“taka₄” 1 GIŠ-ban dumu-nita ma-lik-tum*
17. 75.1393 F. VII 17–VIII 5: 1 v. 1 *bu-di* 20 gín DILMUN kb. *ì-giš-sag ma-lik-tum Ī. 1 v. dumu-nita-sù KA-du šu-mu-“taka₄”*
18. 75.1418 R. V 7–9: 1 + 1 v. *Ib-da-mu Ī.*
19. 75.1419 R. III 6–10: 1 + 1 + 1 v. en *Ī. 2 + 2 + 2 v. ábba-sù*
20. 75.1438 F. II 6–9: 1 + 1 v. *Ib-da-mu en Ī.*
21. 75.1442 F. VIII 5–9: 1 + 1 + 1 v. en *Ī. 1 + 1 + 1 v. ábba-sù*
22. 75.1522 F. I 6–8: 1 + 1 v. *Za-ra-AN Ī.*
23. 75.1643 F. VII 6–VIII 2: 1 + 1 + 1 v. *Sur_x-si dumu-nita en Ī. 1 + 1 + 1 v. maškim-sù; F. VIII 8–13: 1 + 1 v. En-na-ì Ī. šu-mu-“taka₄” bí:’à*
24. 75.1675 F. VI 8–VII 2: 1 + 1 v. *Ī. UNKEN-ak GIŠ-ban 1 + 1 v. Ī. šu-mu-“taka₄” kaskal-sù*
25. 75.1688 F. V 3–5: 1 v. en *Ī.*
26. 75.1701 F. XI 6–8: 1 + 1 v. *Dam-da-Il Ī.*
27. 75.1703 R. III' 5–9: 1 + 1 v. maškim *Ti-ša-li-im šu-mu-“taka₄” ZA_x*
28. 75.1706 F. X 8–13: 1 + 1 + 1 v. *Ar-šum Ī. UNKEN-ak gi-tum SA.ZA_x^{ki}*
29. 75.1707 F. XI 12–XII 15: 9 + 9 + 9 v. en *Ra-’à-ak^{ki} en Du-ub^{ki} en Ī. en Bur-ma-an^{ki} en Gâr-mu^{ki} en [Ir-]i-tum^{ki} en Lum-na-an^{ki} wa ba-da-lum Ir-i-tum-ki wa ba-da-lum Sa-nap-zu-gúm^{ki} [33]*
30. 75.1730 R. V 25–VI 6: 30 gín kb. *Ti-ša-li-im ma-lik-tum Ī. in u₄ du-du mi-nu ’Ā-da-ni^{ki}; IX 27–X 3: 20 gín D. kb. 2 bu-di Ti-ša-li-im ma-lik-tum Ī. in u₄ du-du mi-nu NI-ab^{ki} si-in SA.ZA_x^{ki}; XXII 8’–13’: 1 ma-na kb. níg-sa₁₀ 1 gír mar-tu kg. en Ī. Ib-rí-um šu-mu-“taka₄”*
31. 75.1731 F. VIII 2–5: 2 + 2 + 2 v. *Ib-ḥur-ì wa UR-ni Ī.*
32. 75.1741 R. II 10–12: 1 + 1 + 1 v. *Īr-a-mu Ī.*
33. 75.1742 R. III 1–5: 1 v. *A-bù-ma-lik šu-i en Ī.*
34. 75.1743 F. VIII 17–22: 1 + 1 + 1 v. *Ga-na-na Ī. in A-ru₁₂-ga-du^{ki} šu-ba₄-ti*

35. 75.1748 F. XI 1'-4':]Engar URI *Ī. šu-mu*-"taka₄" kaskal-sar Kur^{ki}; XIV 1'-2' : [x-x-]ma-^rx^r *Ī.*
36. 75.1755 F. VII 16-VIII 3: 1+1+1 v. ú-uš-sá *I-bi-zi-kir Ī.*, R. I 9-11: 1+1+1 v. en *Ī.*
37. 75.1763 F. V 17-19: 1 v. 40 (gín) kb. 2 *bu-di* 2 sag kg. *Ti-ša-li-im ma-lik[-tum]*; VI' 1-11:] *Ī. si-in* ÉxPAP 1+1+1 v. *Ti-ša-li-im Ib-rí-um* šu-mu-"taka₄" 1+[+] 1 v. 1 níg-X 2 [...] ì-[giš-sag] en *Ī.*; R. II 10-17: 1+1+1 v. ì-giš-sag en *Ī. mi-nu Sa-du-úr^{ki} In-gâr* šu-mu-"taka₄"
38. 75.1776 R. IV 8-13: 1+1 v. *A-sa-du* dumu-nita *Ba-lu-zú* "ur₄" *Ī. šu-mu*-"taka₄"
39. 75.1781 F. I 1-3: 1+1+1 v. en *Ī.*; II 8-14: 1+1 v. maškim *Ti-ša-li-im ma-lik-tum Ī. níg-AN.AN.AN.AN bí:*'à; R. II 8-III 7: 1+1 v. *En-na-i Ī. šu-mu*-"taka₄" *bí:*'à in *Du-si-gú^{ki} šu-ba₄-ti*
40. 75.1785 F. VIII 6-10: 1 v. *Ĥa-na-ba-du* lú é en *Ī.*
41. 75.1787 F. IX 7-9: 5+5+5 v. NE.DI *Ī.*
42. 75.1793 F. I 6-9: 1+1 v. *Za-ra-AN GIŠ.DUG.DU Ī.*; R. V 1-14: 6+6 v. *Kul-ba-nu Mi-ga-ì Du-bí-zi-kir Ša-la-ša Ma-za-lu Ti-ra-ì Ī. níg-mu-sá* dumu-mí *Ib-rí-um in A-te-na-at^{ki} šu-ba₄-ti*
43. 75.1795 F. VI 6-9: 1+1+1 v. *A-sa-du Ī. ÉxPAP* [; R. I 1'-4': 1 v. ugula bìr-BAR.AN en *Ī.*
44. 75.1797 F. IX 7-9: 1+1+1 v. *Ba-lu-zu Ī.*
45. 75.1829 F. IV 6-16: 1+1+1 v. en *Ī. 2+2+2 v. ì-giš-sag UR-ne A-ĥu-Na-im Ī. in NI-rúm^{ki} šu-ba₄-ti*; V 8-15: 1+1+1 v. *Sur_x-si* dumu-nita en *Ī. in NI-rúm^{ki} šu-ba₄-ti*
46. 75.1830 F. II 1'-2':]UR-ne *Ī.*
47. 75.1833 R. V 16-20: [x t.] *I-ti-^dAš-dar Ī. in Maš-ga-du^{ki}*
48. 75.1840 R. I 2-5: 10 gín DILMUN. kb. 1 šu-ra *ma-lik-tum Ī.*
49. 75.1860 F. XVI 20-24: 1 gín DILMUN. kb. šir-za 1 zag 1 GIŠ-gigir-II en *Ī.*
50. 75.1863 R. VII 8-11: 1 v. ir₁₁ *Ti-šê-li-im ma-lik-tum Ī.*
51. 75.1867 F. IV 4-9: 1+1+1 v. 1 íb-lá 1 *si-ti-tum* 1 gír-kun GÁxLÁ 1 ma-na kb. *Ba-lu-zú* "ur₄" *Ī. in u₄ ĥúl na-rú-sù KA-ba-LUM* šu-mu-"taka₄"
52. 75.1869 R. III 1-3: 1+1+1 v. en *Ī.*
53. 75.1871 F. VIII 11-15: 1 *bu-di* kb. *ma-lik-tum Ī-mar KA-du* šu-mu-"taka₄"
54. 75.1875 R. I 5-8: 1 v. *Ī. šu-mu*-"taka₄" mušen
55. 75.1878 F. XI 3-7: 1+1+1 v. en /. 1+1 v. maskim-sù; R. II 2'-3': 1+1+1 v. *Ī.*
56. 75.1884 F. IX 16-R. I 4: 1+1 v. *Za-ra-AN Ī. GIŠ.DUG.DU Ib-rí-um*
57. 75.1885 F. VII 13-18: 1 v. dam *Íl-zi* ú-mu-sá mí *Ar-šum Ī.*; R. III 3: 1+1+1 v. *Za-ra-AN GIŠ.DUG.DU*
58. 75.1896 R. III 3'-7': 1+1+1 v. en *Ī. 2+2+2 v. ábba-sù*

59. 75.1898 R. III 4–10: 1 + 1 + 1 v. maškim *Ti-ša-li-im* Ī. šu-mu-“taka₄” nam-du₈ en
60. 75.1900 R. II 4–6: 1 + 1 + 1 v. *Īl-ba-sá-mu* Ī.
61. 75.1903 F. IV 1–6: 1 + 1 v. *Šu-a-ḥu* Ī. šu-mu-“taka₄” GIŠ-MAXGÁNA-tenû en
62. 75.1913 R. VII 7–10: 2 *bu-di* kb. 3 (gín) kg. šir-za 2 sag-sù ì-gis-sag *Ti-šê-li-im* Ī.
63. 75.1916 R. V 1–6: 1 + 1 + 1 v. en Ī. in *Má-bar-du*^{ki} šu-ba₄-ti
64. 75.1917 F. I' 5'–7': 1 + 1 + 1 v. *Ar-šum* Ī.; R. V 9–10: 8 v. [...] *Ti-ša-li-im*
65. 75.1922 R. I 16–18: 1 + 1 + 1 v. *Ar-šum* Ī.
66. 75.1923 R. VII 3–7: 2 *bu-di* kb. 3 gín DILMUN kg. šir-za 2 sag-sù ì-giš-sag *Ti-šê-li-im* Ī.
67. 75.1933 F. I 1–4: 1 + 1 + 1 v. EN-zi-da-mu en Ī.
68. 75.1935 F. II 2–6: 2 + 2 + 2 v. *Dam-da-Il wa Ba-lu-zú* “ur₄” Ī.
69. 75.1942 F. VIII 16–19: 1 + 1 v. Ī. šu-mu-“taka₄” *Dar-za_x-tum*; R. II 3–4: 1 + 1 + 1 v. Ī.
70. 75.1944 F. VII 10–18: 1 v. 2 *bu-di* 30 (gín) kb. 2 sag-sù kg. *Ti-ša-li-im ma-lik-tum* Ī. in u₄ *Ti-ša-li-im* dumu-nita tu-da; F. XI 3–7: 1 + 1 v. maškim *Ti-ša-li-im* šu-mu-“taka₄” kaskal-sar Kur [34]
71. 75.1943 F. II 23–111 5: 1 + 1 v. ÁŠ-NI-LUM maškim *Ti-ša-li-im ma-lik-tum* Ī. šu-mu-“taka₄” kaskal-sar Kur^{ki}
72. 75.1945 R. IV 2–9: 2 udu ^d*Ga-me-iš* NI-ab^{ki} en Ī. nídba in u₄ nídba
73. 75.1980 F. VI 3–7: 2 [*bu-di*...] 2 sag-sù kg. ì-giš-sag *Ti-ša-li-im ma-lik-tum* Ī.
74. 75.1988 R. II 3–10: (7 + 7 + 7 v. NP₁-NP₄) *Dam-da-ì I-ti-^dÁš-dar* Ī. (NP₇) maškim-maškim en-en UNKEN-ak gi-tum
75. 75.2012 R. V 8–VII 11: *Da-rí-su En-na-ì A-ḥa In-na-TUM A-a-GIŠ²-KA Ma-³à-ù Gú¹-ma-du Ba-wa-rúm I-zi-gú-du Ib-rí-ru₁₂-nu Šum-a-ḥu Du-bí-šum Ma-sar Ḥa-ba-da La-a Si-ir-da-mu A-UR-NI Da-NE Šê-ba-LUM Si-da-NI Du-bù-I-sar Ma-amar I-ti-ib I-ti-Na-im EN-É En-na-ì[-II] [...] [x-]ba-x-NE-NI En-na-ì-III Wa-at-ra-im Ma-ga-da EN-gi-iš AN.ŠÊ.GÚ 32 na-se₁₁ a-“ur₄” Ī. lú nu-du-du si-in A-la-ga^{ki}*
76. 75.2039 F. II 10–III 5: *wa* kb. en *Ra-³à-ak*^{ki} kb. en Ī. *an-da* (=Du-bù-ḥu-^dÀ-da) nam-ku₅ su-nu-du
77. 75.2070 R. VI 8–11: 1 + 1 + 1 v. mu-DU en Ī.
78. 75.2233 F. VIII 1–4: 1 + 1 + 1 v. *En-na-BE* Ī. lú ŠE+TIN
79. 75.2242 F. IV 1–4: 1 + 1 + 1 + 1 v. 1 níg-lá-sag en Ī.
80. 75.2245 F. VI 5–8: 1 + 1 + 1 v. *I-ti-^dÁš-dar* Ī. GIŠ.DUG.DU
81. 75.2246 F. X 2–8: [1 + 1 + 1 v. *Ib-da-mu*] 1 + 1 + 1 v. *Lá-da* 1 + 1 v. maškim Ī.
82. 75.2247 F. II 3'–7': 1 + 1 + 1 v. en Ī. 4–4–4 v. ábba-ábba-sù
83. 75.2248 F. XI 5–7: 1 + 1 + 1 v. *Ba-lu-zú* “ur₄” Ī.
84. 75.2250 R. VI 1'–5': 8 + 8 + 8 v. 2 *Ra-³à-ak*^{ki} 2 *Bur-ma-an*^{ki} 2 *Du-ub*^{ki} 2 Ī.

85. 75.2259 R. I 3–9: 1 v. dam NE.DI *Má-NE*^{ki} lú é *Ī*.
86. 75.2267 R. I 5–12: 1+1+1 v. NI-*wa-du* dumu-nita *Gu₄-du-nu Kal-zi Má-NE*^{ki} lú *En-na-’à-áš-a-ri-mu Ī*.
87. 75.2272 R. III 4–7: 1+1+1 v. 1 níg-lá-sag mu-DU en *Ī*.
88. 75.2273 R. VIII 1–5: 1+1+1 v. *Ī*. in *Maš-ga-du*^{ki} šu-ba₄-ti
89. 75.2274 F. X 1–15: 7+7+7 v. en *Ra-’à-ak*^{ki} en *Bur-ma-an*^{ki} en *Ī*. en *Du-ub*^{ki} en *Gār-mu*^{ki} en *Lum-na-an*^{ki} en *I-bu_x(NI)-bu*^{ki}
90. 75.2277 R. X 1–5:] en *Ī*. in *Ga-ba-ga-NE-du*^{ki} šu-ba₄-ti
91. 75.2279 F. II 6–10: 1+1+1 v. en *Ī*. 4+4+4 v. ábba-ábba-sù
92. 75.2280 F. XII 22–XIII 3: 1+1 v. 1 DIB 1 ma-na kg. 30 (gín) kg. 1 íb-lá 1 *si-ti-tum* 1 gír-kun en *Ī*. 3+3+6 v. 1 DIB 20 (gín) kg. ábba-sù
93. 75.2281 F. V 20–VI 2: 1 v. *A-si* ugula bîr-BAR.AN en *Ī*; VII 1–4: 1+1+1 v. ì-giš-sag UR-*ne Ī*.
94. 75.2289 F. XII 14–XIII 2: 1+1+1 v. 1 níg-lá-gaba 1 níg-lá-sag en *Ti-šè-li-im* in-na-sum
95. 75.2304: voir *supra*, texte a
96. 75.2325 R. IV 13–V 3: 37 (gín) kb. 45 <x> (!) *Šè-NI-LUM al₆ A-ga-da Ī*.
97. 75.2331 R. II 15–18: 1+1 v. NI-*bù-ul-NI* maškim *Ti-ša-li-im*
98. 75.2332 R. V 13–19: 1 v. *Ga-bù-rúm I-ti-si-li*^{ki} lú *Ī*. dul₆-du mi-nu *Ma-rí*^{ki}
99. 75.2334 F. X 14–XI 2: 1+1+1 v. en *Ī*. lú du-du ì-giš-sag en
100. 75.2336 R. VI 7–9: 1+1+1 v. en *Ī*.
101. 75.2352 F. V 7–12: 1+1 v. 1 DIB 20 (gín) *Sur_x-sa-da-mu* dumu-nita en *Ī*.
102. 75.2364 F. VII' 5–11: 1+1+1 v. en *Ī*. 2+2+2 v. UR-*ni Wa-NE-sum* maškim-sù
103. 75.2365 F. I 11–14: 1 ma-na 12 gín DILMUN kg. 1 DIB EN-*zi-da-mu* en *Ī*.
104. 75.2368 F. VI 6–8: 1+1+1 v. *Gú-rí-ù Ī*.
105. 75.2369 R. II 1–17: 7+7+7 v. en *Ra-’à-ak*^{ki} en *Du-ub*^{ki} en *Ī*. en *Lum-na-an*^{ki} en *Gār-mu*^{ki} en *I-bu_x(NI)-bu*^{ki} en *Ar²-ti-gú*^{ki} 8+8+8 v. ábba-sù-ábba-sù
106. 75.2370 F. X 2–7: 1+1+1 v. *Iš-la-ì Ī*. in *Bù-zu-ga*^{ki} šu-ba₄-ti, R. III 2–4: 1+1 v. en *Ī*.
107. 75.2375 R. VIII 16–20: 1+1+1+1+1+1 v. 30 (gín) kb. 2 *bu-di* mu-DU *Ī*; X 15–XI 2: 1+1+1 v. ì-giš-sag en en *Ī*. ì-na-sum
108. 75.2401 F. V 19–21: 1+1+1 *I-ti-^dAš-dar Ī*. [35]
109. 75.2409 R. II 9–14: 1+1 v. 1 *gú-li-lum* a-gar₅ kg. *Za-ra-nu Ī*. šu-du₈ in *Bù-zu-ga*^{ki}
110. 75.2417 R. V 4–8: 1 v. 2 *bu-di* 20 gín DILMUN kb. *Ti-šè-li-im ma-lik-tum Ī*. in u₄ nídba ^d*Ga-mi-iš* du-du
111. 75.2418 F. VII 2–16: 1 v. 2 *bu-di* 30 (gín) kb. 2 sag-sù kg. ì-giš-sag *Ti-ša-li-im ma-lik-tum Ī*. šè TIIL dumu-mí EN-*zi-da-mu A-zi* šu-ba₄-ti; X 11–14: 1+1 v. maškim *Ti-ša-li-im* šu-mu-“taka₄”; R. X 8–12: 1+1+1 v. en 7. 4+4+4 v. maškim-sù (!)

112. 75.2428 F. XVII 24–XVIII 6: 30 (gín) kb. 2 *bu-di* 15 gín DILMUN kb. šu-bal-ak 2 gín DILMUN kg. šir-za 2 sag-sù *Ti-ša-li-im ma-lik-tum Ī. in* u₄ *Ti-iš-te-da-mu* tu-da
113. 75.2429 F. I 11–18: 10 gín DILMUN kb. 1 *bu-di* dumu-mí en Ī. *si-in* ÉxPAP; II 6–17: 30 (gín) kb. 2 *bu-di* 3 gín DILMUN kg. šir-za 2 sag-sù ì-giš-sag *ma-lik-tum Ī. šè* TIL dumu-mí-sù; XV 12–24: 40 gín DILMUN kb. 2 *bu-di*... 4 gín DILMUN kg. šir-za 2 sag-sù *Ti-ša-li-im ma-lik-tum Ī. in* 'À-da-ni^{ki} lú ^dAMA-ra šu-ba₄-ti; XVII 24–XVIII 6: 30 (gín) kb. 2 *bu-di* 3 gín DILMUN kg. šir-za 2 sag-sù *Ti-ša-li-im ma-lik-tum Ī. in* u₄ *Ti-iš-te-da-mu* tu-da; R. XX 21–XXI 4: 40 gín DILMUN kb. 2 *bu-di* 4 gín DILMUN kg. šir-za 2 sag-sù *Ti-ša-li-im ma-lik-tum Ī. si-in* ÉxPAP
114. 75.2432 R. IV 9–11: 1 + 1 + 1 v. en Ī.
115. 75.2434 F. III 1–13: 6 + 6 + 6 v. en *Ra-'à-gu*^{ki} en *Bur-ma-an*^{ki} en Ī. en *Lum-na-an*^{ki} en *Du-ub*^{ki} en *Gàr-mu*^{ki}
116. 75.2435 R. II' 1–8: *ma-lik-tum Ī. in* u₄ ì-ti *I-bi-zi-kir mi-nu níg-kas₄ Ba-ga-ra*^{ki}
117. 75.2437 F. VI 10–12: 1 + 1 v. Ī. GIŠ.DUG.DU
118. 75.2441 R. IV 5–7: 1 udu en Ī.
119. 75.2447 F. V 1–8: 1 + 1 + 1 v. GIBIL-za-ì maškim en Ī. é ^dBE *Ga-na-na* šu-ba₄-ti
120. 75.2450 F. XIV 1–7: 1 + 1 + 1 v. *Ib-ḥur-ì* “ur₄” Ī. *in A-te-na-at*^{ki} šu-ba₄-ti
121. 75.2453 F. II 19–III 7: 1 + 1 + 1 v. 1 DIB 10 (gín) EN-zi-LUM lú *Ba-NE-ù Ī. šu-du₈ in* Gi-UR^{ki} lú *Gú-ra-ra-KUL*^{ki}
122. 75.2454 F. V 9–R. I 2: 1 v. 1 DIB 16 (gín) *En-na-ì* lú *Ga-ù-du Ti-in*^{ki} šu-du₈ *in Mâ-NE*^{ki} lú Ī.
123. 75.2460 F. VIII 8–13: 1 + 1 v. *I-ti-^dAš-dar* Ī. šu-mu-“taka₄” gaba *ma-lik-tum*
124. 75.2461 F. IV² 6–13: 1 + 1 + 1 v. *Áš-da-ma-NI Ti-in*^{ki} maškim *Iš₁₁-gì-bar-zu* šu-du₈ *in* Ī.
125. 75.2462 F. XIV 8–16: 20 (gín) kb. 2 *bu-di* 3 (gín) kg. šir-za 2 sag-sù *Ti-šè-li-im ma-lik-tum Ī.*
126. 75.2463 F. VI 9: 1 v. *En-na-Il* nu-GIŠ-kiri₆ *Ša-dab*₆^{ki} lú Ī.; R. VI 10–VII 1: 1 + 1 + 1 v. EN-zi-da-mu en Ī. *in* 'À-za-an^{ki} šu-ba₄-ti
127. 75.2465 F. II 15–23: 30 (gín) kb. 2 *bu-di* 4 gín DILMUN kg. šir-za 2 sag-sù níg-ba *Ti-šè-li-im ma-lik-tum Ī.*
128. 75.2467 F. XI 12–15: 1 + 1 + 1 v. Engar KINDA Ī. šu-mu-“taka₄”
129. 75.2474 F. II 2–6: 1 + 1 v. *Šu-ma-lik* Ī. šu-mu-“taka₄” 'À-bí; VI 1:] šir-za 2 sag-sù *Ti-šè-li-im ma-lik-tum Ī.*
130. 75.2484 F. III' 1'–4': *A-bù-^dKu-ra* lú *Du-bi-zi-kir* Ī. lú *Ib-dur-ì*
131. 75.2489 R. IV 5'–11: 2 *gú-li-lum* a-gar₅-gar₅ kb. GURUŠ-I AN-ma-a wa *I-ti-ì* NE.DI en Ī.

132. 75.2499 F. I 1-6: 1+1+1 v. en *Ī*. 1+1+1 v. *Ib-du-ma-lik* šeš-sù
133. 75.2502 R. IX 10-17: 1 GIŠ-KA 1 (gín) kg. šir-za 1 zag GIŠ-gigir-II en *Ī*.
134. 75.2504 F. IV 12-V 4: 1+1+1 v. *En-na-ì Ī*. šu-mu-“taka₄” *Ĥa-rí-za-na-NE*
135. 75.2505 F. I 1-3: 1+1+1 v. *Dam-da-Il Ī*.
136. 75.2506 R. IV 14-V 1: 1+1+1 v. en *Ī*. é ^dBE *Ga-na-na* [šu-ba₄-]ti
137. 75.2508 R. XVIII 33-XIX 2: 40 gín DILMUN kb. 2 *bu-di* 4 gín DILMUN kg. šir-za 2 sag-sù *Ti-ša-li-im ma-lik-tum Ī*. in u₄ al₆-dab₅-sù in-na-sum dumu-nita-dumu-nita *I-bí-zi-kir*
138. 75.2518 F. III 9-IV 2: 200 udu *Bù-za-nu Ī*.
139. 75.2524 F. X 1-10: 1+1+1 v. en *Ī*. 3+3+3 v. *Bù-Na-im En-na-ì Wa-NE-sum* 3 maškim en *Ī*.
140. 75.2526 F. VII' 4-7: 1+1+1 v. EN-zi-da-mu en *Ī*.; R. V 1'-5': EN-[zi-]da-mu en *Ī*. é en [36]
141. 75.2529 F. IV' 6'-11': 1 v. 2 *bu-di* 20 (gín) kb. 3 (gín) kg. šir-za 2 sag-sù *Ti-ša-li-im ma-lik-tum Ī*.
142. 75.2573 F. V' 13-15: 1+1+1 v. en *Ī*.
143. 75.2585 F. IV' 2-7: 1 v. *Ĥa-na-ab pa₄-šeš Tiš-li-im ma-lik-tum Ī*.
144. 75.2594 F. XI 14-18: 1 v. 1 *bu-di* 30 (gín) kb. *Ti-šè-li-im ma-lik-tum Ī*.; R. X 10-20: 1+1+1 v. níg-ba en *Ī*. in u₄ ^dAMA-ra ^dĪ-da-KUL *Lu-ba-nu^{ki} in Su-du-úr^{ki} šu-ba₄-ti*
145. 75.2608 F. VI 1-18: 1+1+1 v. en *Ī*. 1+1+1 v. maškim-sù in u₄ du-du di-ku₅ 2+2+2 v. en *Bur-ma-an^{ki} en Ī*. é dingir-dingir in mi-sá šu-ba₄-ti; VII 12-VIII 1: 1+1+1 v. en *Ī*. 1+1+1 v. ábba-sù
146. 75.2643 F. III 5-8: 1 v. *Ī*. al₆-kur₆ é ir₁₁
147. 75.2647 R. I 1-3: 1+1+1 v. *Īl-ba-sá-mu Ī*.; III 4-9: 1+1+1 v. en *Ī*. in *Li-a^{ki} šu-ba₄-ti*
148. 75.2653 F. V 8-12: 1+1+1 v. en *Ī*. 1+1+1 v. ábba-sù
149. 75.4148 II' 1'-6': <2 bu-di> šir-za 2 sag-sù *Ti-ša-li-im ma-lik-tum Ī*. *Na-an-ì-giš šu-mu-“taka₄”*
150. 75.4269 F. II' 7': 1+1+1 v. en *Ī*. 1+1+1 v. maškim-sù
151. 75.4403 I' 6'-10': 1 v. *Ĥa-na-ba-du lú é en Ī*.
152. 75.4840 I' 1'-5': dumu-mí *Na-an-da-mu en Ī*. ÉxPAP [
153. 75.4966 II' 1'-7': 4+4+4 v. *Rí-ì-da-mu* 1 dumu-nita en *Ī*. 1 dumu-nita en *Ra-'à-[ak^{ki}*
154. 75.5051 II' 4'-7': 1 v. *Ī*. šu-mu-“taka₄” *'À-bí*
155. 75.5442 R. I 1'-3': 1+1+1 v. en *Ī*.
156. 75.5898 III 1-2: en *Ī*.
157. 75.5993 I' 1-2: lú níg-sikil *Ī*.
158. 75.10016 F. II 4-8: 1+1+1 v. en *Ī*. 2+2+2 v. 2 ábba-sù
159. 75.10029 F. V 3'-5': 1+1+1 v. en *Ī*.

160. 75.10033 F. I 1-II 3: 1+1+1 v. 1 DIB 1 ma-na 15 (gín) *Du-bí* ugula *A-ba-tum*^{ki} *wa* i-na-sum i-giš-sag EN-zi-da-mu en *Ī*. GIŠ-TUM i-ti *mī-nu Lu-ba-an*^{ki} *si-in* SA.ZA_x^{ki}
161. 75.10045 F. II 3'-7': 1+1+1 v. en *Ī*. 2+2+2 v. ábba-sù
162. 75.10049 R. VI 5-7: 1+1 v. *ma-lik-tum* *Ī*.
163. 75.10069 R. II 1'-6': 1+1+1 v. *Gú*-[x-]*sa-an* *Ī*. *šu-du*₈ in *Mar-ra-du*^{ki}; VIII 11-19: 1+1+1 v. EN-*sa-gi-su* lú *An-na-ba* maškim *I-bí-zi-kir* *šu-du*₈ in *Ša-dab*₆^{ki} lú *Ī*.
164. 75.10072 F. VIII 1-7:]*I-zu-kum*-^d*Da-gan* ugula *bīr-BAR.AN* en *Ī*. *šu-du*₈ in *Ar-mi*^{ki}
165. 75.10074 F. XVI 18-22: 30 (gín) kg. 2 *bu-di* *Ti-ša-li-im* lú *tu-da ma-lik-tum* [i-na-sum]
166. 75.10076 F. X 5-7: 1+1+1 v. en *Ī*.
167. 75.10079 F. III 10-IV 10: 1+1+1 v. en *Ī*. 1+1+1 v. *Ib-ḥur-i* “*ur*₄” 1+1+1 v. *Wa-NE-sum* 2+2+2 v. UR-NE *wa Kum-na-im* maškim-maškim-sù 1 v. 2 *bu-di* 30 (gín) kb. 2 sag-sù kg. níg-ba *Ti-šè-li-im* ama-gal-sù
168. 75.10083 R. III 16-22: 1+1+1 v. DIB 40 (gín) *Du-bi-šum* lú *Iš*₁₁-*gi-bar-zú* tuš; LÚxTIL in *Ba-ù*^{ki} lú *Ī*.
169. 75.10121 F. X 8-12: 1+1 v. *Bù-da-i* *Ī*. *šu-mu*-“*taka*₄” mušen-mušen
170. 75.10124 F. VII 1-12:] en *Ī*. 1+1+1 v. *A-sa-du* maškim-sù in *u*₄ *du-du si-in* SA.ZA_x^{ki} *mī-nu ḥúl* *I-bí-zi-kir*
171. 75.10128 R. I 1-2: 2+2+2 v. 2 *Ī*.
172. 75.10129 F. VII 29-VIII 4: 1+1+1 v. en *Ī*. 3+3+3 v. ábba-sù
173. 75.10130 R. I 3-7: 1+1+1 v. EN-zi-da-mu en *Ī*. é ^dBE *Ga-na-na* *šu-ba*₄-ti
174. 75.10131 F. VI 1-6:]*Iš*₁₁-*gi-da-mu* en *Ī*. ÉxPAP *Ik-rí-su* *šu-mu*-“*taka*₄”
175. 75.10132 F. VI 6-8: 1+1+1 v. ^rUR^r-*ni* *Ī*.
176. 75.10137 R. VI 2-8: 1 v. AN.ŠÈ-sù en *Ī*. in *mī-sá* *šu-ba*₄-ti
177. 75.10139 R. V 1-7: 1+1 v. *Ī*. *šu-mu*-“*taka*₄” ^rĀ-bí in *Sum-BAD*^{ki} *šu-ba*₄-ti
178. 75.10140 R. IV 1'-5': 1+1+1 v. en *Ī*. 1 v. 20 (gín) kb. 2 *bu-di* 2 sag kg. *Ti-ša-li-im* [37]
179. 75.10143 F. XII 2-4: 1 [...] kg. *Ba-lu-zú* “*ur*₄” *Ī*., XIII 13-16: 30 (gín) kg. 1 DIB i-giš-sag; XV 18-XVI 7: 30 (gín) kb. 2 *bu-di* 3 gín DILMUN. kg. šir-za 2 sag-sù níg-ba *Ti-šè-li-im ma-lik-tum* *Ī*. in *u*₄ *du-du si-in* SA.ZA_x^{ki} “*taka*₄” AMA-ra
180. 75.10150 F. IX 4-6: 1+1 v. Engar KINDA *Ī*.
181. 75.10153 F. VI 5-8: 1+1 v. *Za-ra-AN* *Ī*. GIŠ.DUG.DU
182. 75.10159 F. VI 13-VII 6: 3 v. *dumu-mí-dumu-mí* géme-géme *ma-lik-tum* *du-du si-in* *Ša-dab*₆^{ki} lú *Ī*. *dub-zu-zu* *túg-nu-tag*
183. 75.10163 F. II 6-8: 1+1 v. NI-*ba-II* *Ī*.
184. 75.10164 F. I 13-11 6: 1+1+1 v. i-giš-sag en *Ī*. 1 v. 2 *bu-di* sag kg. i-giš-sag *Ti-šè-li-im* *Ī*.

185. 75.10182 F. XIII 4–14: 20 gín DILMUN kb. 2 *bu-di* 2 gín DILMUN kg. šir-za 2 sag-sù *Ti-ša-li-im ma-lik-tum* Ī. *Na-an-ì-giš* šu-mu-“taka₄”
186. 75.10183 R. II 1–13: 2 + 2 + 2 v. en Ī. *wa* en *Bur-ma-an*^{ki} lú du-du *si-in* ħúl *I-bí-zi-kir in* SA.ZA_x^{ki} šu-ba₄-ti
187. 75.10184 R. IV 2–3: 1 + 1 + 1 v. Ī.
188. 75.10191 R. II 5–6: 1 + 1 v. Ī.
189. 75.10199 F. IV 4–6: 1 + 1 + 1 v. en Ī.
190. 75.10201 F. III 21–27: 20 gín DILMUN kb. 2 *bu-di* 2 gín DILMUN kg. šir-za 2 sag-sù *Ti-šè-li-im*
191. 75.10210 F. II 4–7: 10 gín DILMUN kb. lú nu-GIŠ-kiri₆ Īr-a-mu Ī.; R. VII 3'–9': 20 gín DILMUN. kb. lú *I-šar UR-ne* Ī. in Ī-ab^{ki} šu-ba₄-ti; VIII 11–19: 20 gín DILMUN kg. 2 *bu-di Ti-šè-li-im ma-lik-tum* Ī. in u₄ du-du *mì-nu* 'À-da-ni^{ki}
192. 75.10229 F. X 7–18: 2 + 2 v. *En-na-ì Īr-maš-ì* Ī. ħi-mu-DU udu-udu *wa* geštin *ma-lik-tum in* Da-NE-na-du^{<ki>} šu-ba₄-ti
193. 75.10252 F. V 6–9: 1 + 1 + 1 v. 2 *bu-di* 20 (gín) kg. *Ti-šè-li-im ma-lik-tum* Ī.
194. 75.11333 II' 1'–4: [Ti-]ša-li-im *ma-lik-tum* Ī. in u₄ [
195. 75.11502 R. III' 1'–6': 1 + 1 v. 1 DIB 5 (gín) 'À-bí lú *I-ti*^dAš-dar maškim en Ī.
196. 75.11656 II 1'–8': 1 + 1 + 1 v. en Ī. in u₄ ì-ti é ^dÀ-da ^dAMA-ra
197. 75.11723 R. II 7–III 1: 2 + 2 + 2 v. Mar-tu^{ki} 2 v. *Kir-su-ut wa* Da-ħu-šum dam en Ī.
198. 75.11724 II' 1'–3': 1 + 1 v. en Ī.
199. 75.11752 II' 1'–6': 4 + 4 + 4 v. en-en *Ra-'à-ak*^{ki} *Bur-ma-an*^{ki} Ī. *Lum-na-an*^{ki}
200. 75.11805 II' 1'–4': EN-zi-da-mu en Ī. é[
201. 75.12011 III 1'–6': *Ti-[šè-]li-im ma-lik-tum* Ī. šè tu-ra *Dab*₆-du-da-mu
202. 75.12105 III' 3'–7': 1 v. *A-mi-zi* NE.DI lú en Ī.
203. 75.12209 R. II 1'–5': 1 + 1 + 1 v. en Ī. é ^dBE *Ga-na-na*
204. 75.12408 II' 1'–9': *Zi-mi-sa Ur-sá-um*^{ki} Īl-zi lú Ī-am₆-da-mu níg-AN.AN.AN.AN TIL en Ī. *Lu-a*^rx^r
205. 75.12413 F. IV 2'–5': 3 + 3 + 3 v. 3 dumu-nita en Ī.
206. 75.12542 III' 1'–4': 1 v. 1 dumu-nita en Ī.
207. 82.265 F. II 6–8 et R. IV 9–11: 1 dug geštin en Ī.

5.1 Addendum

208. 75.11696 F. I 1'–12': *en-ma* ugula uru^{ki} níg-sa₁₀ Sig₄^{ki} Ī-mar^{ki} áš-da *Ib-la*^{ki} še *en-ma Dur-ti ì-na* ugula [...; II 2'–10': *sa-kum* 60 *na-se*₁₁ NI-a-ra-NE-gú^{ki} 60 gír mar-tu-sù kù-gi in NE-a-lu^{ki} *sa-kum Dur-ti Ī-mar*^{ki} [...

Noms de personne d'Imar

- A-a-GIŠ[?]-KA* (*na-se₁₁*) 75
A-bù-^dKu-ra (?) (*A. lú Du-bí-zi-kir Ī.*) 130
A-bù-ma-lik (*šu-i en*) 33
A-ga-da 96
A-ḥa (*na-se₁₁*) 75
A-ḥu-na-im (*ábba? A. UR-ne*) 45
A-i-lu (*ábba*) 15
A-mi-zi (*NE.DI lú en*) 202
AN-ma-a (*NE.DI en*) 131
Ar-šum 11; 28; 57; 64; 65; ARET 3.471 r. II 2; 861 III 4; 4.3 § 11 [38]
A-sa-du 43; ARET 3.467 v. III 8; (*dumu-nita Ba-lu-zú « ur₄ »*) 38; (*maškim en*) 170
A-si (*ugula bîr-BAR.AN en*) 93
Áš-ì-lum (*maškim Tì-ša-li-im*) 71
A-UR-NI (*na-se₁₁*) 75
A-zi (*d'Imâr*) 111
Ba-lu-zú(/zu) (*-zu*) 44
(*« ur₄ »*) 11; 38; 51; 68; 83; 179
Ba-NE-ù 121
Ba-wa-rúm 75
BÍL-za-ì ARET 8.521 § 4; (*maškim en*) 119
Bù-da-ì 169; ARET 1.16 § 28
Bù-na-im (*maškim en*) 139
Bù-za-nu 138
Da-ḥu-šum (*dam en*) 197
Dam-da-Il/ì (*-Il*) 26 et 135; (*« ur₄ »; -Il*) 68; (*maškim en; -ì*) 74
Da-NE (*na-se₁₁*) 75
Da-rí-su (*na-se₁₁*) 75
Du-bí-šum (*na-se₁₁*) 75; (*lú IŠ₁₁-gi-bar-zú ... in Ba-ù^{ki}*) 168
Du-bí-zi-kir 42; 130
Du-bù-I-sar (*na-se₁₁*) 75
EN-É (*na-se₁₁*) 75
Engar-KINDA 35; 128; 180
EN-gi-iš (*na-se₁₁*) 75
En-na-'à-áš-a-rí-mu 86
En-na-BE 78
En-na-ì 23; 39; 192; (*maškim en*) 139; (*na-se₁₁; I-III*) 75
En-na-Il (*nu-GIŠ-kiri₆ Ša-dab₆^{ki}*) 126
EN-zi-da-mu (*en*) 67; 95; 103; 111; 126; 140; 160; 173; 200; ARET 4.7 § 17; 4.24 § 1

EN-zi-du-du 9; 10
 EN-zi-lum (lú Ba-NE-ù Ì.) 121
 Ga-bù-rúm (G. I-ti-si-li^{ki} lú Í.) 98
 Ga-na-na 34
 Gú¹-ma-du (na-se₁₁) 75
 Gú-rí-ù 104
 Gú-[x]-sa-ar 163
 Ĥa-ba-da (na-se₁₁) 75
 Ĥa-na-ab (pa₄-šeš Tišalim) 143
 Ĥa-na-ba-du (lú é en) 40 et 151
 Ib-da-mu 18; (en) 20; 208 (cfr. ARET 4.17 § 1 ?)
 Ib-du-ma-lik (šeš en) 132 et ARET 3.331 III 1
 Ib-gi 8
 Ib-ĥur-ì 31; (ábba) 15; (« ur₄ ») 120 et 167
 I-bí-zi-kir 36
 Ib-rí-ru₁₂-nu (na-se₁₁) 75
 Ib-ti 13
 Íl-ba-sá-mu 60; 147 (cfr. ARET 4.7 § 16)
 In-na-tum (na-se₁₁) 75
 Ĭr-a-mu 32; 191
 Ĭr-maš-ì 192
 Ĭr-NI-ba ARET 4.9 § 11
 Iš₁₁-gi-da-mu (en) 174
 Iš-la-ì 106
 I-ti-^dAš-dar 47; 80; 108; 123; ARET 1.1 § 76; (maškim en) 74 et 195
 I-ti-ì (NE.DI en) 131
 I-ti-ib (na-se₁₁) 75
 I-zi-gú-du (na-se₁₁) 75
 I-zi-kum-^dDa-gan (ugula bîr-BAR.AN en) 164
 Kîr-su-ut (dam en) 197
 Kul-ba-nu 42
 Kum-na-im (maškim en) 167
 La-a (na-se₁₁) 75
 Lá-da 81
 Ma-AMAR (na-se₁₁) 75
 Ma-'à-ù (na-se₁₁) 75
 Ma-ga-da (na-se₁₁) 15
 Ma-gal 12
 Ma-sar (na-se₁₁) 75
 Ma-za-lu 42
 Mi-ga-ì 42

Na-an-da-mu (en) 152

Na-ḥa-zu 16

NI-ba-Il 183

NI-bù-ul-NI (maškim Tišalim) 97

Puzur₄-ra-ba-a₄ ARET 3.469 r. III 10

Puzur₄-ra-a-ḥu ARET 1.8 § 89

Puzur₄-ra-ma-lik ARET 2.15 § 16; 4.23 § 44

Rí-ì-da-mu (dumu-nita en) 153; ARET 8.540 § 48

Rí-ì-ma-lik ARET 8.524 § 14

Si-da-NI (*na-se₁₁*) 75

Si-ir-da-mu (*na-se₁₁*) 75

Sur_x-sa-da-mu (dumu-nita en) 101

Sur_x-si (dumu-nita en) 23; 45

Ša-la-ša 42

Šè-ba-LUM (*na-se₁₁*) 75

Šu-a-ḥu 61

Šum-a-ḥu (*na-se₁₁*) 75

Šu-ma-lik 129

Tin-a-ḥu 6

Ti-ra-ì 42

Ti-ša(/šè)-li-im 15; 27; 59; (-šè-) 62; 64; (-šè-) 66; (-šè-) 94; 95; 165; (-šè-) 167; 178; (-šè-) 184; (-šè-) 190; ARET 3.277 II 4; 340 r. II 4; 460 v. V 7, VI 7; 772 III 1; 4.9 § 15

(*ma-lik-tum*) (-šè-) 2; 30; 37; 39; (-šè-) 50; 70; 71; 73; (-šè-) 110; 111; 112; 113; (-šè-) 125; (-šè-) 127; (-šè-) 129; 137; 141; (*Tiš-li-im*) 143; (-šè-) 144; 149; (-šè-) 179; 185; (-šè-) 191; (-šè-) 193; 194; 201; ARET 1.1 § 57, § 64; (-šè-) 1.15 § 29; 3.326 II 3

Ti-ša-lum (*ma-lik-tum*) (?) ARET 4.23 r. I 13

UR-ne (/ni) 45; 46; 93; (-ni-) 175; 191; ARET 3.439 II 8; 4.18 § 91; 8.522 IX 16 (cfr. 75.1986+, section 8: verdict d'Irkab-damu)

(*ábba*) 15; (<*ábba*>; -ni-) 31

(maškim en) (-ni-) 102; 167; (-ni-) ARET 3.63 r. I 13;

Wa-at-ra-im (*na-se₁₁*) 75

Wa-ba-sum (*ábba*) 15

Wa-bí-sum (maškim en) 102; 139; 167; ARET 3.63 r. I 14 (cfr. ARET 1.10 § 12: *Wa-<bí->sum*)

Za-ra-an(/nu) 22; 42; 57; (-nu) 109; 181; (maškim *I-ti-ib*) ARET 3.743 III 4'

Zé-bù ARET 3.659 r. I 1

[x-]ba-^rx^r-NE-NI (*na-se₁₁*) 75

-]ma-^rx^r 35

28 Tuttul-sur-Baliḥ à l'âge d'Ébla

Jean-Robert Kupper, l'auteur des *Nomades* – un des premiers ouvrages traitant d'une façon accomplie de la géographie historique du Proche-Orient ancien¹ – est aussi l'interprète des quelques tablettes du II^e millénaire provenant de Tell Mardikh ² Un sujet de géographie éblaïte me paraît donc bien être à sa place dans l'hommage que nous lui rendons.

Bien qu'elle soit rarement attestée dans les archives éblaïtes,³ Tuttul, *Du-du-lu*^{ki}, était déjà à cette époque (XXIV^e siècle) une des villes les plus importantes du Moyen Euphrate.⁴ Elle faisait partie de l'aire contrôlée par Mari, l'autre grand centre qui partageait avec Ébla l'hégémonie sur la Syrie centrale et septentrionale; c'est pourquoi, la chancellerie éblaïte préférait avoir des rapports directement avec Mari. Pour s'en convaincre, il suffit de procéder à la comparaison numérique des attestations de Tuttul et de celles de Mari et d'Emar, une ville indépendante mais liée à Ébla, située à Meskéné, sur l'Euphrate, environ 100 km en amont de Tuttul-sur-Baliḥ:

Pp. 197–207 in *De la Babylonie à la Syrie, en passant par Mari. Mélanges offerts à Monsieur J.-R. Kupper à l'occasion de son 70^e anniversaire*, ed. Önhân Tunca. Liège: Université de Liège. 1990.

1 Kupper 1957.

2 Kupper 1980 et 2005.

3 Les 70 passages cités ici en annexe 2 ne constituent pas un ensemble important à Ébla au contraire des archives mésopotamiennes où un tel nombre d'attestations paraîtrait exceptionnel. Les chiffres en caractères gras dans le texte renvoient à l'annexe 2.

4 Autres graphies: *Du-du-lum*^{ki}: (19); *Du-du-la*^{ki}: (8, 22, 57); *Du-du-a*^{ki}: (70). Le texte 75.410, une longue liste de GIŠ et ì-giš, se termine par la phrase, v. IV 5–9: DIŠ mu BE DU-DU-A *Ar-mi*^{ki} mu-DU é en, où DU-DU-A pourrait être une graphie pour Tuttul, « L'année (où) (le dieu ?) BE de Tuttul (fut amené) à Armi; apport de la maison du roi », puisque /l/ a à Ébla une articulation faible. Le cas oblique s'exprime donc par -a; voir aussi *Du-du-la-a*^{ki}: (10, 11, 21, 45), peut-être /DuDulla/; cf. *Du-du-la-lu*^{ki}: (9, 20), /Dudullu/ (l'identité avec Tuttul est prouvée par le texte 20, où se trouve Išmai, le commerçant u₅ bien connu).

Dans les inscriptions de Sargon d'Akkad, on a les graphies suivantes: *Tu-tu-li*^{ki}, *Du₈-du₈-li*^{ki}-a, Edzard, Farber, Sollberger 1977: 161; mais dans RTC 250, 4', on utilise le signe DU comme à Ébla: *Du-du-ul*^{ki}. L'inscription sur hache publiée par M. A. Morrison 1984: *Îl-e-li-im* en *Tu-tu-li*^{ki}, pour le titre: en, est à dater au moins de l'âge sargonique.

	Emar	Tuttul ⁵	Mari
ARET 1	22	2	26
ARET 2	1	6	17
ARET 3	22	1	32
ARET 4	13	3	35
ARET 7	0	2	82
ARET 8	12	1	50

Une confirmation de cette situation est fournie par le cas de Terqa, *Ter_x*(BAN)-*ga^{ki}*, aujourd'hui Tell-al-Ashara, 55 km en amont de Mari (Tuttul est distante de Mari de 250 km); il s'agit certainement d'une ville importante même au III^e millénaire (comme l'indique le grand mur d'enceinte identifié au cours de fouilles récentes),⁶ qui n'est pourtant que très rarement mentionnée dans les archives éblaïtes.⁷

La limite entre l'aire d'influence éblaïte et de celle de Mari doit être par conséquent située entre Meskéné et Raqqa. Cela est prouvé aussi par le fait qu'Enna-Dagan, roi de Mari, en racontant les entreprises de son prédécesseur Iblul-II, rappelle qu'Emar fut conquise plus d'une fois mais il ne mentionne pas Tuttul, sans doute parce que cette ville était déjà fidèle à Mari.⁸

Puisque le roi de Nagar (une importante ville-état du haut Ḫabur) reçoit des cadeaux d'Ébla à Tuttul et que c'est là, dans le temple de Dagan, qu'il prête serment (34; 49),⁹ la ville de Tuttul mentionnée à Ébla ne peut être que celle des textes de Mari, identifiée par Georges Dossin avec Tell-al-Biya', près de Raqqa, à quelques km du confluent du Baliḫ et de l'Euphrate.¹⁰ D'ailleurs des hommes de Tuttul et d'Emar sont mentionnés ensemble (18) et Tuttul est

⁵ On ne considère pas ici les attestations de ^dBE *Du-du-lu^{ki}*.

⁶ Voir Buccellati *et al.* 1979: 75–86.

⁷ Je connais seulement trois citations de cette ville, voir Archi 1987c: 136–137; à cela il faut ajouter 75.2236 r. X 3–8: 25 (gín) babbar:kù *Iš-dub-ud* níg-AN.AN.AN *Ma-ri^{ki}* *Ter_x*(BAN)-[g]*a^{ki}* GÍN.ŠÈ.

⁸ 75.2367 [= ARET 13.4]: translitération de Pettinato 1980b: 238–242; interprétation de Edzard 1981c.

⁹ Comme on a déjà remarqué par Archi 1984b: 231 sq.

¹⁰ G. Dossin 1974. Pour les problèmes de l'identification de Tuttul, voir Hallo 1964: 79; Strommenger 1977. Les résultats des fouilles archéologiques sont publiés par Eva Strommenger et par son équipe dans *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*; premier rapport: no. 113 (1981) 23 sqq. À souligner l'analyse pédologique de W. Schirmer 1987.

Une autre Tuttul, attestée dans les documents de Ur III, est localisée par A. Goetze (1953a) entre le Tigre et le Zagros. Pour Tuttul-sur-Baliḫ dans un texte d'Ur III, voir Sollberger 1959/60: 121.

souvent associée à Mari, ce qui s'expliquerait facilement si elle se trouvait à l'ouest de Mari. Au-delà de Mari, vers la Babylonie, les textes d'Ébla ne signalent qu'un très grand centre comme Kiš (et deux fois seulement, semble-t-il, Adab).¹¹

La documentation d'Ébla prouve que Tuttul qui avait déjà une grande importance au cours du III^e millénaire était celle qui se trouvait près du Baliḥ. C'est dans cette ville qu'il faut donc situer le siège du très célèbre culte de Dagan, à qui même Sargon d'Akkad rendit hommage: « Sargon, le roi, se prosterna en prière à Tuttul devant Dagan. (Dagan) lui donna le pays supérieur: Mari, Yarmuti, Ébla, jusqu'à la Forêt de Cèdres et aux Monts d'Argent ». ¹² Il semblait logique que Sargon eut reçu l'assentiment de Dagan à ses conquêtes en occident avant d'arriver à Mari, donc dans cette Tuttul qui a été localisée près de Hit, sur l'Euphrate.¹³ Mais la logique d'un récit ne coïncide pas forcément avec la succession des événements. Dagan de Tuttul est une divinité importante même selon la documentation éblaïte, c'est pourquoi son sanctuaire ne pouvait se trouver que dans Tuttul connue par Ébla.¹⁴

Les textes d'Ébla ne mentionnent jamais un roi ou un haut fonctionnaire de Tuttul. Loin de prouver que la ville n'avait pas de roi ou que ce n'était pas une ville-état, cette absence de mention révèle la particularité des rapports qui la liaient à Ébla. Tuttul ne faisait pas partie des villes syriennes avec lesquelles Ébla entretenait des relations d'amitié en envoyant régulièrement des vêtements aux rois et aux Anciens, et en recevant d'elles en échange de petites quantités d'argent.¹⁵ Etant donné que Tuttul gravitait dans un autre système politique, les rapports avec Ébla étaient confiés surtout à un messager u₅(MÁ.ḪU),¹⁶ nommé *Iš-má-ì*. Celui-ci remettait des « apports », mu-DU, considérables tels que 27 mines de lapis-lazuli (KUR.KUR)¹⁷ et beaucoup d'autres biens, d'après le texte 31, qui pouvaient consister même en quelques vêtements

11 Archi 1981a; Id. 1987c; Id. 1987e. Pour Adab, voir Archi 1987c: 133, n. 43.

12 Traduction de E. Sollberger et J.-R. Kupper 1971: 99 = *Sargon* b 2. 14–28 = b 13. 17–31: Hirsch 1963: 38 et 49. Dagan de Tuttul est une des principales divinités du panthéon de Narām-Sîn, un autre roi conquérant d'Akkad, voir l'inscription de la statue Bassetki, Farber 1983: 68–69.

13 Voir Landsberger 1924: 233; Kupper – Sollberger 1971: 99. Une liste lexicale tardive situe une Tuttul près de Hit, *MSL* XI: 35, 23. Mais le rôle de cette Tuttul demeure tout à fait obscur; dans *ARM* XVII, 1: 36, on lui attribue trois citations (attribution mise en doute par W. Mayer 1987: 141; et D. Charpin 1989).

14 Voir *infra*.

15 Voir *ARET* 1: 219–25.

16 Pour l'interprétation de l'idéogramme, voir Steinkeller 1984a: 34 n. 8. Sur le u₅(MÁ.ḪU) à Ébla, cf. Waetzold 1984: 419–22.

17 Cf. Civil 1987b: 145.

(36). A son tour, il recevait en « cadeau », níg-ba, de la part de l'administration éblaïte, des quantités d'argent: 10 et 5 mines (1 mine = 470 g) dans **53**: « 5 mines d'argent, cadeau pour Išma-I(l), messenger de Tuttul, ce (cadeau à l'occasion de quand) Ibbi-zikir alla (à Tuttul) pour l'offrande »; 3 mines dans **46** et **47**. 3 mines reçoit aussi un autre messenger, u₅: 'Ā-sum, dans **62**. Dans **20**, il semble qu'Išma-I(l) demande du bois. Les vêtements donnés à Išma-I(l) dans **25** et **30** sont peut-être des remises personnelles; dans **46**, on lui rembourse 5 sicles et demi pour du vin reçu à Mari.

Un « commerçant », ga-raš, nommé *Wa-ba-rúm*, reçoit lui aussi 4 mines d'argent en « cadeau », níg-ba, (**41**). Ses « représentants », maškim ga-raš, sont mentionnés plus souvent. Ils reçoivent des quantités beaucoup plus modestes: *Iš-dub-Il/i*, (**24** et **59**); *Āš-da-ma-ni* et *Šu-a-ḥa*, (**59**); *U-rí-rí* de Mari, (**33**); par contre, dans **48**, les noms de personne ne sont pas donnés.

D'autres personnages de Tuttul reçoivent quelques vêtements ou des objets: *En-na-Da-gan* (**65**); *I-da-ì*, prêtre pa₄-šeš de ^dAš-dar, (**26**); *Si-ti-ma-lik*, (**18**); et même des personnes d'autres centres, qualifiées comme LÚxTIL.KU ou šu-du₈ à Tuttul: (**19**, **26** et **67**). Des remises d'objets ou de petites quantités d'argent à des personnes de Tuttul dont les noms ne sont pas mentionnés sont enregistrées dans **8**, **15** et **69**.

On pourrait donc démontrer l'existence d'une pratique d'échange – effectuée par un messenger, u₅, et parallèlement par un « commerçant », ga-raš (aidé par ses représentants), tous les deux de Tuttul – où Ébla se chargeait de la remise d'argent non travaillé et Tuttul de l'envoi de biens de valeur (lapis-lazuli) et de produits finis. On ne fait pas mention de biens de prestige échangés entre les souverains (mais à Tuttul des fonctionnaires éblaïtes remettent 1 mine d'or pour le roi de Mari !); des cadeaux personnels (vêtements et objets précieux) étaient donnés à des hommes de Tuttul qui se rendaient à Ébla ainsi qu'à des individus qui résidaient à Tuttul. Un seul texte signale une opération commerciale conduite sur une évaluation directe du bien acquis: dans **11**, 3,5 mines d'argent sont destinées à l'achat, níg-sa₁₀, de tissus à Tuttul (et à Mari).

Dans les documents, rédigés uniquement en fonction des mouvements de biens, on ne spécifie pas les raisons des voyages des fonctionnaires éblaïtes à Tuttul. Des rations d'huile sont assignées à un certain *Gú-gi-a-nu* pour aller (DU) à Tuttul (**16** et **17**); d'autres personnes, pour aller en « voyage » ou en « expédition militaire » (DU.DU; kaskal; níg-kas₄), reçoivent au contraire des vêtements (**8** et **28**). On signale aussi des voyages d'Ibrium (kaskal) et de son fils Ibbi-zikir (DU.DU, níg-kas₄), respectivement selon **33** et **4**, **35**, **38**; il s'agit cette fois de deux personnages qui furent, l'un après l'autre, à la tête de l'administration éblaïte. Le roi (en) d'Ébla lui-même se rend une fois à Tuttul (**60**).

Vraisemblablement une des raisons des voyages de ces hauts personnages (et peut-être la plus importante) est de rendre hommage à Dagan dans son

sanctuaire le plus célèbre. Les listes des divinités auxquelles le Palais rendait des sacrifices incluent plusieurs fois un ^dBE, un terme qui n'est que l'abréviation de *bēlum* « seigneur », épithète de Dagan.¹⁸ Les hypostases les plus fréquentes de Dagan sont ^dBE *Kalam/ma-tim* « du pays » et ^dBE *Ga-na-na*.¹⁹ Mais Dagan était vénéré à Ébla même dans l'hypostase de ^dBE *Du-du-lu*^{ki}, qui apparaît dans quatre listes d'offrandes (les textes **43**, **54**, **56** et **61**). Parfois, en simplifiant la graphie, on a ^d*Du-du-lum*^{ki}, (**56**) ou en supprimant aussi le déterminatif divin: *Du-du-lum*^{ki} (**27** et **63**), qui sont à mettre en parallèle avec **51**: ^dBE *Du-du-lu*^{ki}.²⁰

Une grande partie des actes de culte mentionnés dans les textes se déroulent certainement à Ébla, comme dans **22** et **68** où ils concernent l'acquisition d'animaux (chevreaux et boeufs) dédiés au dieu, ou dans **27**, **51** et **63** où Dagan de Tuttul est cité avec d'autres divinités éblaïtes. Les cadeaux, *níg-ba*, offerts par *Îr-'à-ak-da-mu*, le prince qui s'acquittait de tant d'obligations de culte (dans **12**, **14** et **53**), devaient concerner le simulacre vénéré à Ébla; d'ailleurs dans **12**, on cite le Palais, *SA.ZA_x*^{ki}. Par conséquent, tous les autres cadeaux, *níg-ba*, (dans **3**, **8**, **23**, **24**, **29**, **49**, **50**, **51**, **55**, **58** et **62**), pourraient aussi avoir été offerts non pas à Tuttul mais à Ébla. Il en va de même pour les offrandes, *níd-ba*, enregistrées dans **2**, **7**, **32**, **37** et **43**. Les « filles (et) servantes », *dumu-mí* gême, de **8** et **23**, la « vierge », *sikil*, dans **64**, font peut-être partie du personnel chargé du culte. Dans **35**, on cite deux « forgerons », *simug*. On mentionne aussi souvent des décorations pour statues, comme dans **8**, **15** et **69**.

Dans **24**, on enregistre de l'argent pour décorer une statue féminine, *an-dùl-mí*, dont la tête, les mains et les pieds sont recouverts d'or, pour ^d*Sa-a-ša* « pour Tuttul »; il s'agit peut-être du simulacre d'une parèdre de Dagan devant être envoyée dans cette ville.²¹

En ce qui concerne les villes liées à Tuttul, on a déjà rappelé que Nagar considérait le temple de Dagan à Tuttul comme un sanctuaire d'importance régionale (**34** et **49**). Parfois, au cours de leurs voyages, *níg-kas₄*, (**4**, **24** et **48**), et des missions pour des achats, *níg-sa₁₀*, (**11**), à Tuttul, les envoyés arrivaient

18 Pettinato 1985: 237, a démontré que ^dLugal *Du-du-lu*^{ki}, (75.2075 r. II 14–15, voir Pettinato 1979a: 147) est le même que ^dBE *Du-du-lu*^{ki}; il faut ajouter: ^dLugal-gal *Du-du-lu*^{ki} (texte **54**). Pour BE, voir aussi Archi 1987e: 38 sq. [] n. 14.

19 Voir Pettinato 1979a: 103. Mais *Ga-na-na* n'est pas *Cana'an* ! Dans la lettre d'Enna-Dagan de Mari (75.2367 v. II 8, il s'agit d'une ville vers Gasur (pour l'édition du texte, voir n. 8).

20 Par conséquent, même d'autres passages où *Du-du-lu*^{ki} n'est pas précédé de ^dBE, pourraient concerner non pas le toponyme mais la divinité.

21 Pour cette déesse, cf. ARET 3.540 I 2–6: ^d*Wa-da-'à-an wa* ^d*Sa-a-sa lú Ga-ra-mu*^{ki}.

jusqu'à Mari. À Tuttul résidaient des personnes de *Aḥ-za-ne-gú^{ki}* et *Si-da-mu^{ki}* (19), et de *Sa-nap-zu-gú^{ki}* (67). Même un personnage de Kiš, *Iš-du-bù*, y reçoit des vêtements (39). Un homme de Tuttul, *Ba-ba*, résidait à *Mar-tu^{ki}* (13). Avec Tuttul, on mentionne (peut-être en tant qu'appartenant à la même région): *A-šu^{ki}*, *DU^{ki}*, *Zu-na-mu-an^{ki}*, *Zu-wa-ti-ru¹²^{ki}*, (1); *Iš¹¹*/Saḥar^{ki}, (3).²²

Annexe 1 Noms de personnes de Tuttul

<i>'À-sum</i> u ₅ 62	<i>Iš-la-ì</i> maškim ga-raš 59
<i>Áš-da-ma-NI</i> maškim ga-raš 59	<i>Iš-ma-ì</i> u ₅ 20, 30, 31, 36, 46, 47, 52, 53
<i>Ba-ba</i> 13	<i>Ku-wa-ma-NI-lum</i> 40
<i>En-na-da-gan</i> 65	<i>Mi-na-lum</i> 5
<i>Ib-gi-tum</i> maškim ga-raš 59	<i>Si-ti-ma-lik</i> 18
<i>I-da-ì</i> pa ₄ -šeš ^d Aš-dar 26	<i>Šu-a-ḥa</i> 59
<i>Iš-dub-Il/ì</i> maškim ga-raš 24, 59	<i>Wa-ba-rúm</i> ga-raš 41

Ces noms ne diffèrent pas des noms de personnes d'Ébla; remarquons simplement que les noms dont un élément est formé par *šaṭāpu* « sauver », sont caractéristiques de l'aire de Kiš et de Mari.²³

Annexe 2 La documentation²⁴

1. ARET 1.5 r. X 6–12: 13 + 13 + 13 T. 2 DU^{ki} 3 A-šu^{ki} 2 Zu-na-mu-an^{ki} 2 Na-ḥi^{ki} 2 Du-du-lu^{ki} 2 Zu-wa-ti-ru¹²^{ki}
2. ARET 1.10 r. II 6–12: 1 + 1 + 1 T. 1 gú-li-lum a-gar₅-gar₅ kg. 10–I Ì-lum GIŠ.DUG.DU du₁₁-ga nídba ^dBE Du-du-lu^{ki}
3. ARET 2.12 I 1–7: 5 ma-na kb. lú Gú-rí-ù in lam:ki Du-du-lu^{ki} A-bu ì-na-sum; II 7–12: 1 (gín) 3 NI kg. 2 íb-lá 2 si-ti 2 gír-kun 2 kù-sal níg-ba Ru₁₂-zi-ma-lik ^dBE Du-du-lu^{ki}

²² *Ša-da₅^{ki}* est associée à Tuttul à l'occasion d'un « cadeau », níg-ba, (8). Le rapprochement des deux toponymes n'est peut-être pas dû à une proximité géographique, puisqu'on connaît une *Ša-da₅^{ki}* en territoire éblaïte: ARET 7.155 r. I 6.

²³ Cf. Archi 1984b: 239; pour Mari, voir Id. 1985b: 57; pour Kiš, Id. 1987c: 131.

²⁴ Abréviations: D.: DILMUN; kb.: kù-babbar; kg.: kù-gi; T.: tissu.

4. ARET 2.15 IV 11–V 5: 1 níg-lá-gaba 1 T. AN.ŠÈ túg-túg en *I-bí-zi-kir si-in Du-du-lu^{ki} I-ti-^dĪ-LAM* šu-mu-«taka₄» lú níg-kas₄ *Ma-rí^{ki}*; V 1–4: 1 GIŠ-gigir-II *I-bí-zi-kir in Du-du-lu^{ki}*
5. ARET 2.29 IV 5–V 2: 4 gu₄ lú SAL.TÚG.DÙ *Mi-na-lum Du-du-lu^{ki} wa* šu-ba₄-ti-sù *áš-da KU-tu SAL.TÚG.DÙ Mi-na-lum Du-du-lu^{ki} wa* ì-na-sum-sù *Gi-da-Na-im si-in 2 šu Mi-na-lum Du-du-lu^{ki}*
6. ARET 3.316 II 1'–3': *Du-du-lu^{ki} níg-AN.AN.AN.AN Ak-x-x*
7. ARET 3.530 II 2'–3': [níd]ba ^dBE *Du-du-lu^{ki}*
8. ARET 4.15 r. V 1–13: 1+1+1 T. *Rí-ì-Ḥa-lab_x dumu-nita [l]-gì níg-AN.AN.AN.AN Du-si-gú Ib-rí-um* igi-du₈ *wa Ib-la^{ki} [igi]-du₈ [DU.]DU [Du]-du-[l]a^{ki}*; VII 15–VIII 3: 1+2 T. 3 dumu-mí-dumu-mí níg-ba ^dBE *Du-du-la^{ki} Ib-rí-um* GÁ.DU; VIII 4–6: 1 T. kur₆ 1 an-dùl kb. ^dBE *Du-du-la^{ki}*; VIII 10–IX 1: 4 gín D. kb. kù-sal buru₄-MUŠEN níg-ba *in Ša-da₅^{ki} wa in Du-du-la^{ki}*; XII 1–9: 1+1 T. *Ga-sa-nu* maškim *Za-ba-rúm* šu-du₈ ì-na-sum *in kaskal Du-du-la^{ki}*
9. ARET 4.25 r. VIII 3–7: 1+1+1 T. 1 *gú-li-lum a-gar₅-gar₅ kg. 10–I Ī-lum* GIŠ.DUG.DU *Du-du-la-lu^{ki}*
10. ARET 7.1 r. VI 8–VII 2: 1 ma-na kg. *Īr-da-ma-lik Ti-ti-na* lugal *Ni-zi* šu-mu-«taka₄» *Du-du-la-a^{ki}*
11. ARET 7.79 r. I 1–II 7: 3 ma-na 30 (gín) kb. níg-sa₁₀ [x+]21 T.[x-]x-KI *Du-du-la-a^{ki} En-na-Il Na-zi* níg-sa₁₀ 9 T. *Ib-dur-I-šar En-ba-um Il-da-mu* šu-ba₄-ti *Ma-rí^{ki}*
12. ARET 8.524 XVII 7–15: 1+1 T. *Dab₆-ba-^dKu-ra ĩl Īr-'^a-ak-da-mu* ^dBE *Du-du-lu gaba-ru₁₂ SA.ZA_x^{ki}*
13. ARET 8.533 XVII 5–10: 1+1+1 T. 1 *gú-li-lum a-gar₅-gar₅ kg. sa-ḥa-wa-II Ba-ba Du-du-lu^{ki} dab₅:LÚXTIL in Mar-tu^{ki}*
14. ARET 8.541 IV 7–12: 2 T. 2 dumu-nita ĩl níg-ba *Īr-'^a-ak-da-mu* ^dBE *Du-du-lu^{ki}*
15. 74.110: 3 T. *šu-kešda an-dùl si-in Du-du-lu^{ki}*
16. 75.400 v. III 2–5: [2 sila] (ĩ-giš-du₁₀) [*Gú-gi-a-nu*] DU *Du-du-lu^{ki}*
17. 75.441 v. IV 12–V 1: 2 sila (ĩ-giš-du₁₀) *Gú-gi-a-nu* DU *Du-du-lu^{ki}*
18. 75.1216 v. X 1'–XI 1: [x] T. *Si-ti-ma-lik Du-du-lu^{ki} Tin-a-ḥu ĩ-mar^{ki} A-gi Nu-ba-du^{ki}* DU.DU [...]
19. 75.1251 v. VII 19–VIII 4: 1+1+1 T. 1 *gú-li-lum a-gar₅-kg. Ma-da-nu Si-da-mu^{ki} šu-du₈ in Du-du-lum^{ki}*; VIII 5–9: 1+1+1 T. *gú-li-lum a-gar₅ -kg. Šu-du₈-gàr-ru₁₂ Aḥ-za-ne-gú^{ki} šu-du₈ in Du-du-lum^{ki}*
20. 75.1356 r. VI 7–VII 5: 20+20+20 T. *nar-nar wa ḤÚB.ḤÚB lú Iš-má-i u₅ Du-du-la-lu^{ki} al₆-du₁₁-ga* giš-giš
21. 75.1376 (= MEE 2.48) v. II 7–III 5: 9 ma-na 36 gín D. kb. UNKEN-ak 1 GIŠ-gígir-II ^dBE *Du-du-la-a^{ki} Īr-ib-da-mu* šu-mu-«taka₄»

22. 75.1441 v. VII 5–VIII 2: 1 ½ « KIN » siki níg-sa₁₀ sila₄ ^dBE *Du-du-la*^{ki}
23. 75.1464 r. II 5–8: 1 kù-sal níg-ba *Ib-rí-um* ^dBE *Du-du-lu*^{ki}
24. 75.1771 r. V 1–9: ...]) šub *si-in* UNKEN-ak-sù lú ì-na-sum SA.ZA_x^{ki} *in Du-du-lu*^{ki} *in níg-kas*₄ *Ma-rí*^{ki}; X 1–15:...) *Ib-rí-um* níg-ba ^dBE *Du-du-lu*^{ki} 40 gín D. kb. šir-za 1 an-dùl mí 1 ma-na 25 gín D. kb. [šu-]bal-ak 17 gín D. kg. sag-sù 2 šu-sù 2 du-sù níg-ba ^d*Sa-a-ša si-in Du-du-lu*^{ki} *Ib-rí-um* šu-mu-« ta-ka₄ »; v. XIII 20–27: 10 gín D. kb. níg-ba *Iš-dub-ì* maškim raš:ga *Du-du-lu*^{ki} ħi-mu-DU *Ĥu-ud*
25. 75.1775 r. V 14–17: 1 + 1 T. *Iš-má-ì* u₅ *Du-du-lu*^{ki}
26. 75.1833 v. IV 15–23: 2 + 2 + 2 T. 1 *gú-li-lum* a-gar₅-gar₅-kg. 30–II A-LUM dab₅:LÚxTILwa *Ir-NE* šu-du₈ *in Du-du-lu*^{ki} šu-ba₄-ti; VII' 1–6: 1 T. *I-da-ì* šeš:pa₄ ^d*Aš-dar in Du-du-lu*^{ki}
27. 75.1860 v. III 3–12: 13 gín D. kb. níg-sa₁₀ 33 ba-ba lam:ki ^d*Ga-mi-iš iš*₁₁-*ki* ^d*Āš-da-bil* lam:ki *Du-du-lu*^{ki} lam:ki ^d*Ā-da*
28. 75.1923 r. II 2–9: 7 gín D. kb. níg-ba *Ĥu-NE-du* wa *Gur-tum-a-ĥu Sag-gar*^{ki} kaskal níg-kas₄ *Du-du-lu*^{ki}
29. 75.1950 v. IV 6–10: 1 + 1 + 1 T. 1 *gú-li-lum* a-gar₅-kg *Ì-lum* GIŠ.DUG.DU ^dBE *Du-du-lu*^{ki}
30. 75.2070 v. m 14–19: 1 + 1 T. mu-DU *Iš-má-ì* u₅ *Du-du-lu*^{ki} *Ma-rí*^{ki}
31. 75.2072 v. II 13–III 2: 27 ma-na KUR-KUR 70 *ra-'à-tum* 15 ba 2 níg-anše-ak mu-DU [*Iš-má-ì*] u₅ *Du-du-lu*^{ki}
32. 75.2075 r. II 13–19: 1 udu ^dLugal *Du-du-lu*^{ki} *in sikil* en nídba
33. 75.2166 v. II 4–7: 3 + 1 T. 4 dumu-mí géme ^dBE *Du-du-lu*^{ki}; II 13–III 4: 1 T. ì-giš-sag *Du-bí* šu-ì *Ib-rí-um* kaskal lú *Ib-rí-um* DU.DU *si-in Du-du-lu*^{ki} 2 T. *Ū-rí-rí Ma-rí*^{ki} maškim raš:ga *Du-du-lu*^{ki}
34. 75.2233 v. III 10–15: 5 + 2 T. níg-ba *Na-gâr*^{ki} *in Du-du-lu*^{ki} šu-ba₄-ti
35. 75.2240 r. II 10–III 9: 2 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 2 T. 1 gír mar-tu ... 1 *gú-li-lum* ... 5 (gín) kb. níg-kaskal EN-zi-ma-lik dumu-nita *Ì-lum-bal* DU.DU *si-in Du-gú-ra-su*^{ki} kur₆(?) 2 simug ^dBE *Du-du-lu*^{ki}; V 1–5: 3 + 3 + 4 T. *I-bí-zi-kir x-ma* ^d*Ku-ra* šu-ba₄-ti lú DU.DU *si-in Du-du-lu*^{ki}
36. 75.2244 v. V 10–15: 1 + 1 + 1 T. 1 níg-lá-gaba 1 níg-lá-sag mu-DU *Iš-má-ì* u₅ *Du-du-lu*^{ki}
37. 75.2268 v. V 22–VI 7: *Ma-an-'à-ù* SA.ZA_x^{ki} *si-in Du-du-lu*^{ki} DU.DU nídba *in* u₄ dumu-nita lugal nídba é ^dBE *Du-du-lu*^{ki}
38. 75.2273 r. X 4–11: 2 + 2 + 2 T. *I-b[í-z[i-kir]* x[...] šu[-ba₄-t]i lú DU.DU *si-in Du-du-lu*^{ki}
39. 75.2277 v. VI 5–10: 1 + 1 + 1 T. *Iš-du-bù* Kiš^{ki} *in Du-du-lu*^{ki} šu-ba₄-ti
40. 75.2325 r. I 6–10 : ...]x *in Du-du-lu*^{<ki>} šu-du₈-ma ir₁₁-sù; VI 3–VII 2: *'Ā-du*^{ki} GÍN.ŠĒ 2 guruš *Ma-rí*^{ki} lú NE-e *in sa-kum Ku-wa-ma-NI-lum Du-du-lu*^{ki} *si-in Ĥáb-rí*^{ki} lú-kar [...]

41. 75.2359 r. III 1–4: (...) *Du-du-lu*^{ki} níg-AN.AN.AN.AN *Ak-sa-gú*^{ki} šu-ba₄-ti; V 15–VI 9: 1 ½ gín kg. 2 kù-sal [ní]g-ba ^dBE *Ga-na-na-im* [w]a(?) [...]x *Gi-rí wa Ni-ir-da-mu* dumu-nita *Ib-rí-um* in-na-sum gi₄ *mi-nu Du-du-lu*^{ki}; VI 10–14: 4 ma-na kb. níg-ba *Wa-ba-rúm* raš:ga *Du-du-lu*^{ki}
42. 75.2375 v. II 14–18: 1 + 1 T. lú u₅ *Du-du-lu*^{ki} in *Ḫa-lab*_x^{ki}
43. 75.2397 r. VII 21–31: 1 udu il šu é ^dBE *ma-tum Gú-gú-a-nu* šu-du₈ in u₄ è-sù *si-in Du-du-lu*^{ki}; v. IV 19–24: 13 udu ^dBE *Du-du-lu*^{ki} *Gú-gú-a-nu* nídba i[n] *Ū²-du-ḫu-du*^{ki}
44. 75.2401 r. II 11–16: 5 T. géme-géme AN-babbar:kù in *Du-du-lu*^{ki} šu-ba₄-ti
45. 75.2410 v. IV 8–9: 10 gín D. kb. *Du-du-la-a*^{ki}
46. 75.2428 v. VI 11–15: 3 ma-na kb. níg-ba *Iš-má-ì* u₅ *Du-du-lu*^{ki} ...; VI 21–VII 1: 5 ½ gín D. kb. níg-sa₁₀ geštin *Iš-má-ì* u₅ šu-ba₄-ti *Ma-rí*^{ki}
47. 75.2429 v. VI 11–15: 3 ma-na kb. níg-ba *Iš-má-ì* u₅ *Du-du-lu*^{ki}
48. 75.2462 r. XVIII 1–6: 3 kb. níg-ba *Sa/’Ā²-ni-gú* maškim raš:ga lú *Du-du-lu*^{ki}; v. VIII 19–29: 20 (gín) níg-ba *I-ku-NI wa Īr-du-mu Ma-rí*^{ki} [šu-mu-]« taka₄ » [igi-]du₈ lugal *Ma-rí*^{ki} *mi-nu Du-du-lu*^{ki}; X 5–12 : 30 (gín) níg-ba *Wa-ru*₁₂-tum *Ma-rí*^{ki} šu-mu-« taka₄ » igi-du₈ *mi-nu Du-du-lu*^{ki}; XVIII 5–10 : 4 (gín) kb. níg-ba maškim raš:ga *Du-du-lu*^{ki} *Ma-rí*^{ki}
49. 75.2465 r. V 25–VI 8: 5 ma-na kb. níg-ba en-en lú *áš-ti* en *Na-gàr*^{ki} DU.DU nam-ku₅ é ^dBE *Du-du-lu*^{ki}; VI 9–15: 10 gín D. kb. níg-ba *Ḫu-ra-NE Na-gàr*^{ki} in *Du-du-lu*^{ki}; v. X 25–29: 1 kù-sal níg-ba *Ib-rí-um* ^dBE *Du-du-lu*^{ki}
50. 75.2501 r. IV 11–V 2: 1 + 1 + 1 T. 1 *gú-li-lum* a-gar₅-gar₅ kg. 15–1 *Ì-lum* GIŠ.DUG.DU nídba ^dBE *Du-du-lu*^{ki}
51. 75.2502 v. XIII 8–16: 4 ma-na 44 (gín) kb. níg-sa₁₀ 340 siki na₄ *Ma-rí*^{ki} iš₁₁-ki ^dGA-mi-iš wa ^dĀš-da-bíl wa ^dBE *Du-du-lu*^{ki}; XV 6–13: 6 (gín) an-na šub *si-in* 40 a-gar₅-gar₅ 1 GIŠ-banšur 1 gir mar-tu-sù níg-ba ^dBE *Du-du-lu*^{ki}
52. 75.2507 r. XVI 13–17: 3 ma-na kb. níg-ba *Iš-má-ì* u₅ *Du-du-lu*^{ki}
53. 75.2508 r. VIII 22–26: 10 ma-na kb. níg-ba *Iš-má-ì* u₅ *Du-du-lu*^{ki}; XXI 20–26: 1 ma-na 16 gín D. kg. wa ½ kb. šir-za 1 an-dùl níg-ba *Īl-’à-ak-da-mu* ^dBE *Du-du-lu*^{<ki>}; XXIII 43–XXIV 8: 5 ma-na kb. níg-ba *Iš-má-ì* u₅ *Du-du-lu*^{ki} šè *I-bí-zi-kir* DU.DU nídba
54. 75.2516(+) r. IV 24–V 5: 1 udu ^dgal:Lugal *Du-du-lu*^{ki} *Īr-’à-ak-da-mu* nídba in GIŠ-nu-ki[ri₆]
55. 75.2596 v. V 12–VI 1: [x] ma-na kg. níg-ba šir-za[-sù] níg-ba ^dBE *Du-du-lu*^{ki}
56. 75.2598 r. III 22–31: 2 udu *Ib-bí-šum* ^d*Du-du-lum*^{ki} wa kur₆-sù 10 udu ^d*Du-du-lu*^{<ki>} en nídba in u₄; V 8–11: 1 udu ^d*Du-du-lum*^{<ki>} *Īr-’à-ak-da-mu* nídba
57. 75.4403 r. II’ 1’–2’: *mi-]nu Du-du-la*^{ki}
58. 75.5820 I’ 1’–3’: en níg-ba ^dBE *Du-du-lu*^{ki}
59. 75.10144 r. II 18–23: 5 gín D. kb. níg-ba *Šu-a-ḫa* maškim raš:ga *Du-du-lu*^{ki}; III 12–21: 10 gín D. kb. [ní]g-ba *Iš-[l]a-ì wa Ib-gi-tum* maškim raš:ga *Du-du-*

- lu*^{ki} šu-mu-«taka₄» *bíl:*’à; VIII 5–9: [x] gín D. kb. *Áš-da-ma-NI* maškim raš:ga *Du-du-lu*^{ki}; XX 1–7: [x] kb. *Iš-dub-Il* maškim raš:ga *Du-du-lu*^{ki} šu-mu-«taka₄» NE-’à; v. IV 1–6: [x] kb. níg-ba *Iš-dub-Il* maškim raš:ga *Du-du-lu*^{ki}
60. 75.10151 r. V 3’–11’: 1 gada-TÚG túg-mu 1 gada-TÚG Sig₄^{ki} 2 gada-TÚG šu-dag 2 gada-TÚG lú 2 šu en *in* u₄ DU.DU *si-in Du-du-lu*^{ki}
61. 75.10169 r. IV 8–15: 2 udu ak-lú *Du-du-lu*^{ki} *Ír:*’à-ak-da-mu nídba *in* sá-gan dab₆-sum-dab₆-sum; v. III 3’–6’: 17 udu ^dBE *Du-du-lu*^{<ki>} *I-bí-zi-kir* [
62. 75.10182 v. XI 5’–10’: 5 gín D. kb. é-gír-sù an-dùl níg-ba en ^dBE *Du-du-lu*^{ki}; XI 11’–15’: 3 ma-na kb. níg-ba ’À-sum u₅ *Du-du-lu*^{ki}
63. 75.10201 v. XVIII 14–15: siki *Ma-rí*^{ki}... lam:ki *Du-du-lu*^{ki}
64. 75.10251 r. IX 13–20: 1 T. sikil ^dBE *Du-du-lu*^{ki} al₆ tu-ra *Ib-rí-um* en sikil
65. 75.10252 r. VIII 16–IV 5: 1 + 1 T. 1 gú-li-lum a-gar₅ kg. 10–I *En-na-Da-gan Du-du-lu*^{ki} GIŠ.DUG.DU en
66. 75.11331 II’ 1: *Du-du-lu*^{ki}
67. 75.11864 r. IV 7–12: 1 + 1 + 1 T. *Sa-nap-zu-gú*^{ki} šu-du₈ *in Du-du-lu*^{ki} šu-ba₄-ti
68. 76.223 v. II 8–9: 2 gu₄ ^dBE *Du-du-lu*^{ki}
69. 76.661 r. I 1–II 2: 1 *dub-ti-SAL* lú 1 an-dùl al₆ *si-in Du-du-lu*^{ki} šu-mu-«taka₄»
70. 77.730 v. XI 5–6: 5 gín D. kb. *Du-du-a*^{ki}

29 Harran in the III Millennium BC

The city of Ḫarran belongs to that geographic area whose known history – thanks to the discovery of the Ebla archives – today dates back to the 24th century BC¹. At that time, Ḫarran was an independent city, ruled by a local dynasty, but which gravitated around Ebla. Its territory, although not comparable to that controlled by the two major Syrian cities of the period, Ebla and Mari, was scarcely small. Its western limit was marked by the city-state *Ir-ittum*^{ki}, the Irrita/e of the Mari (2nd millennium) and the Hittite documents, which probably corresponds to the present Ordî, slightly to the north of the Karkamiš – Ḫarran line (cities that were about 85 km in a straight line from one another).² Since Karkamiš was part of the kingdom of Ebla³, Ḫarran – to the south-west – bounded directly with it, and its territory extended in Ebla's direction for over 30 km.

Some monthly accounts of cloth deliveries include rather regularly at their beginning lists of city-states, recorded (at least in part) according to geographic criteria. For the upper Euphrates and the upper Ḫabur (moving from west to east) the following sequence occurs: Ursa'um (i.e., Uršum: north of Karkamiš and west of the Euphrates), Utigu, Dulu, Iritum, Ḫarran, Sanapzugum and Gudadanum.⁴ *Sa-nap-zu-gúm/gú-um*^{ki}, if we consider a metathesis, could correspond to the Šapanazum of the Mari-texts, located east of Ras-el-Ain (Guzana), about 90 km east of Ḫarran.⁵ *Gu-da-da-núm*, considering that the writing *-da-da-* may express the reduplication of the consonant, could be Qattunā(n) [2] (Mari-texts; nA Qatni, Qatun) on the middle Ḫabur.⁶

Ugarit Forschungen 20 (Festschrift für Claude F. A. Schaeffer zum 80. Geburtstag) (1989) 1–8.

1 For a general plan of Ḫarran, see Lloyd and Brice 1951: 85. For an evaluation of the III mill. material, see Prag 1970: 75 f. Archaeological investigations at Ḫarran have been resumed recently by Nurettin Yardimci.

The Eblaite writing for Ḫarran is: *Ḫa-ra-an*^{ki}. Very rare are: *Ha-ra-nu*^{ki}, 75.2330 rev. IV 3; 77.730 rev. XI 1; *Ḫar-ra-nu*^{ki}: 75.309 obv. II 4, see Archi 1979a: 111; ARES 2: 261–263.

2 The location of Irrite at Ordî was suggested by Weidner 1923: 26, nt. 1; cf. Falkner 1957–58: 19 f.

3 This is deduced from the fact that no king (en) is attested for Karkamiš.

4 See ARET 1: 224 f.

5 Its location is at Tell Abu Rasen, according to Hallo 1964: 75 (anomalous writing: Panahzu); at Tell Hanafez, according to Anbar 1973: 27, nt. 83. See the archaeological map of van Liere 1954–55: in front of p. 147.

6 For the proposed locations, see Groneberg 1980: 189; Nashef 1982: 221.

The lists of fabric deliveries also furnish, indirectly, information about the organization of these city-states. The deliveries are standardized and consist of: a) 1 cloak, 1 tunic and 1 girdle (*'ā-da-um-TÚG aktum-TÚG íb(+II/III)-TÚG(-sa₆-dar)*) to the king, en (*mal(i)kum*)⁷; b) a variable number of the same articles of clothing to the Elders, *ábba-ábba*; c) sometimes less valuable clothing for the “agents; representatives”, *maškim*, and the “guardians/messengers”, *ma-za-lum*⁸. Alongside the king, then, we have the Elders, who have become by now part of the palace organization, where they represent the large family groups, followed by the palace officials.⁹

But in Ḫarran's case, instead of en “king” *ba-da-lum* occurs regularly.¹⁰ This peculiarity, besides Ḫarran, is also characteristic of other cities in the same area (between the Euphrates and the Ḫabur, more or less along the present Syrian-Turkish border): Ursa'um, Iritum, Sanapzugum, Gudadanum, Ḫalsum and Abarsal.¹¹ The term *badalum* appears also in a different kind of documents for those same cities when one would expect to find en: (TM.)75.(G.)2507 rev. XIV 33–XV 5: 5 an-zam_x 30 (gín kù-gi) ... níg-ba en *Ra-'ā-ak*^{ki} en *Ir-i-tum*^{ki} *ba-da-lum* [*Ḫa-r*]*a-an*^{ki} *ba-da-lum* *Sa-nap-zu-gúm*^{ki} *ba-da-lum* *Ur-sá-um*^{ki} “5 vases *a.* (of gold of) 30 (shekels) ... gifts for the king of Ra'ak, the king of Iritum, the *badalum* of Ḫarran, the *badalum* of Sanapzugum, the *badalum* of Ursa'um”; 75.2241 rev. II 4–III 1: (fabrics) *ì-giš-sag ba-da-lum wa* (fabrics) *ì-giš-sag Zu-ga-lum ma-lik-tum Ḫa-ra-an*^{ki} “fabrics (and) cosmetic oil for the *badalum*, and fabrics (and) cosmetic oil for Zugalum, queen of Ḫarran”; 75.1381 obv. I 13–II 5: *ba-da-lum Ḫa-ra-an*^{ki} ... *Zu-ga-lum ma-lik-tum Ḫa-ra-an*^{ki}. Despite this evidence, we cannot conclude that *badalum* in that city-state was the title of the highest authority¹², inasmuch as (even if very rarely) this term appears in opposition to en, 75.2358 rev. V 2–5: en *Ḫa-ra-an*^{ki} *wa ba-da-lum-sù* “the king of Ḫarran and his *badalum*” (75.1862 rev. III 12 f.: en *Ḫa-ra-an*^{ki}).¹³

Therefore, the term *badalum* indicates a function that: 1. is peculiar to the organization of some city-states situated in a certain region, or is common to other cities but it is called there in that way; 2. is given to only one person in each of those cities; 3. ranks lower than kingship, but the person holding the

7 For en meaning “king” at Ebla, see Archi 1987e* [123–131].

8 See ARET 1: 219–25. The most convincing interpretation for *mazalum* is: /maššar-um/; but it is possible also: /mazzāl-um/, see Fales 1984.

9 On this tripartition also in Mari, see Archi 1981b: 131.

10 The reading *-lum* is proved by gen. šeš *ba-da-li-im* (Iritum), ARET 4.16 obv. III 13.

11 ARET 1: 221.

12 This was proposed by Archi 1979d: 71, nt. 29. *Contra*: Pettinato, MEE 2: 70.

13 For en – *badalum* in others cities, see ARET 1: 221 f.; ARET 3: 340.

title acts in the king's stead. Inasmuch as the root **bdl* means “to substitute; separate”, *badalum* /baddāl-um/ indicates the position of the person acting as the king's representative, [3] like a “vizier”.¹⁴ When the Eblaite scribes had to equate *badalum* with a Sumerian term, they used: *ugula* (75.1252 obv. V 3–8, ARET 1: 222), which means “overseer” of a group of people or of a town belonging to the Ebla kingdom.

In addition to the fabrics mentioned above (see especially 1.4), the *badalum* of Harraṇ received also gifts in precious metals (1.1), such as gold ingots of 50 shekels (75.2365; 10074), and of 40 shekels on the occasion of a journey to Ebla (75.2428); as well as daggers worth 60 and 40 shekels of silver (75.10143, 10074). He received small gifts for oath taking and the offering of oil in the temple of the god Kura at Ebla, ceremonies that surely confirmed the friendly relations between the two states (75.2462; 10079).

The name of a *badalum* of Harraṇ seems to be *Īr[-az-II]*, ARET 8.524 (1.1). Other destinies of gifts are the children (1.2; in 75.2465, one of them receives an ingot of 20 shekels of gold) and the wife of the *badalum* (1.3; 75.2462: a pair of earrings of 20 shekels of silver).

The number of fabrics sent to the Elders, *ábba*, is usually four of each type (1.4); larger quantities occur for a few other cities, such as Dulu and Ursa'um.¹⁵ It is probable that this number corresponds in fact to the Elders that the Eblaite chancellery knew about.

Rarely is there mention of a “guardian/messenger”, *ma-za-lum*, of Harraṇ (1.4: ARET 1.6; 1.5: 75.1899); a few “agents”, *maškim* (1.5); other officials, such as a trader, *u₅(MĀ.ĤU)*, an overseer of onagers, a NE.DI (1.6).

The queen of Harraṇ, *Zu/Zú-ga-lum* (1.7), played an important role in relations with Ebla because she belonged to the Eblaite royal family. After Tiša-lim of Emar, she is the queen of another state who is most frequently mentioned.¹⁶

¹⁴ The grand vizier of Mari is called in Sumerian: *sukkal-gal*, see Archi 1985a: 81; ARET 7: 233.

The translation previously given to *badalum* was based on the technical meaning “to barter” derived in Arabic from **bdl*, and on *ug. bdl, bi-da-lu*, explained as “trader(s)” by several interpreters; see Archi, loc. cit. in n. 12; Id. 1980a: 3; Fronzaroli 1984c: 156 f.; Pettinato 1979c: 185; Id., MEE 2: 69 f.; Archi – Biga, ARET 3: 340: “(chief-)trader”. Waetzold 1984: 423–25 gives not up the connection with “trade”, and proposes: “Handels-/Wirtschaftsberater”, but also: “etwa ‘Grossvezier’ des en”. Sanmartín 1988: 171–74, translates: “Vertreter, Statthalter”, basing himself on the general meaning of **bdl*. Against the meaning “trader” for *Ug. bdl*, see Heltzer 1978: 122 f., n. 10, and, following him, Sanmartín, quoted above.

¹⁵ See ARET 1: 224 f., Table A.

¹⁶ I am able to quote just the name of two other queens, both of *Lum-na-an^{ki}*: *Dag-mul-da-mu*, 75.2261 rev. II 8; *Da-ti-^dTU*, 75.2333 obv. III 11.

Zugalum received large quantities of gifts in precious metals when she went to the palace at Ebla, SA.ZA_x^{ki}, and on one occasion she also received objects for the Elders of Ḫarran from the king, the minister Ibbi-zikir, and the Elders of Ebla (75.1330, 1381, 1860). Five daughters were included in her train (75.1330). The reason for one of her journeys was the birth of a child to the queen of Ebla (75.10074). When Zugalum gave birth [4] to a child, she was sent gifts (75.10127), just as when she went to Ašdar-LUM (75.1979, 2429). A son of Zugalum (75.2241, 10201) was also the destinee of precious objects. If the *badalum* were not an official known to be part of the organization of several city-states in a precise region, it could almost be said that at Ḫarran, and for a rather long period, power had been assumed by the queen and by an official who acted as the king's substitute (**bdl*).

These goods (1.1–1.7) were all delivered by Ebla to Ḫarran in two ways: 1. yearly shipments of clothing to officials (the documents recording fabric deliveries are monthly accounts); 2. gifts (*nīg-ba*) of objects in precious metals for special occasions. There are no recorded transfers of large quantities of goods for trade, but there are of gifts, sometimes very valuable ones, whose scope it was to formalize diplomatic relations and to establish personal ties.

This outflow of goods was balanced by one coming from the opposite direction, mostly of unwrought metals (2.). Silver was the metal most frequently delivered, in amounts that varied between 2 and 1 mina (c. 940–470 gr.): 2.54 minas: 75.2351; 2: 2351; 1.58: 2350; 1.56: 2244 (twice), 2289; 1: 1261 (twice), 1297, 1556, 2070, 2341, 10200; 0.59: 2360; 0.57: 1587, 10188. Gold was given in the form of objects: 3.20 minas: 75.1556; 2.53: 2509. Bronze, in casted shapes, *NE-li*, whose weights are not given, was preferred to copper (only 1 mina: 75.2172): ARET 2.13, 75.1261, 1462, 1527, 1556, 2017, 2172, 10200.¹⁷ Rarely are fabrics included: 75.1261, 1556, 2375.¹⁸

These entries are taken from tablets that are certainly annual accounts of the goods received by the Palace, and are divided into three sections: 1. deliveries, *mu-DU*, of the vizier; 2. deliveries of the “lords”, *lugal-lugal*; and 3. deliveries from the independent cities, whose total is defined as “competence of the king”, *nīg-ki-za en* (cf. 75.1261 = MEE 2.1, 1st section: obv. I 1–IV 9; 2nd: IV 10–VIII 12; 3rd: VIII 13–rev. VIII 4). In some documents there are two deliveries from the cities at two different times of the year: *in ir-mi* (month IX ?), *in ma-*

¹⁷ It does not seem that *NE-lu/li* had a more or less fixed weight. A *NE-li* could also be in gold or silver, and in that case its weight was low: 45 shekels, 75.10182 rev. XI 19 f.; 14 and 7: 2462 rev. XVI 22 f.

¹⁸ Clothes made in Ḫarran: 2 *sal-TÚG Ḫa-ra-an*^{ki}, are registered in 75.1365 (= MEE 2.41) obv. V 4.

wa-tim (75.1261, 1556, 2072, 2172, 2244, 2351, 10200). In two cases, to the silver delivered by the cities is added other silver from “his brother”, *šeš-mu-sù* (75.2351), and from a certain *Ḫuḫada-NAM* (75.10188). It is certain that in the succinct language of these texts, where the name of the city appears a title is understood: “(delivery from the king of) GN”, or, in *Ḫarran*’s case: “(from the *badalum*)”. So in 75.2351 it is the *badalum*’s brother, perhaps the same *Ḫuḫada-NAM*, who is the male personage from *Ḫarran* most frequently mentioned (see below § 3; in 75.10074 rev. VIII 9–12, he received a gold ingot of 40 shekels: 40 gín DILMUN kù-gi 1 DIB *Ḫu-ḫa-da-NAM Ḫa-ra-an*¹⁹).

The two dates for the deliveries common to many city-states seem to indicate that they are tributes. However, other details are sometime not missing, as in 75.2350: “for the oath-taking in the temple of the god Kura”, certainly a reference to a ceremony consecrating the alliance between the two cities. [5] Periodically, *Ḫarran* consigned as a delivery, *mu-DU*, some cattle *gu*₄, 75.1547 (= Archi 1984a: 49) obv. IV 4–5: 40 head; 1570 rev. II 3–4: 1 head. An official of Ebla gave, *ì-na-sum*, to Mari 260 sheep from *Ḫarran*, ARET 2.29 § 1. Workers of *Ḫarran*, as of other cities, were present at Ebla: 10 people, *na-se*₁₁ of *Ḫarran* were received by the Palace administration, *šu-du*₈, together with 82 people of Ibal and 20 of Martu, 75.309 (= *Seb* 1, 111 f.).

Ḫarran’s politic-economic relations with Ebla were no different from those with other city-states. After Iblul-Il, who had conquered Emar and then pushed up the Euphrates valley to *Ḫazuwan* (= *Ḫaššum*)¹⁹, Mari was not able to maintain an expansionistic policy. A period of balance of power followed, and Ebla exercised its hegemony from the plain of Antioch up to Emar, and to the north as far as the *Ḫabur* River. The territory controlled by Mari began in the west with Tuttul at the *Baliḫ*. In the area belonging to it, Ebla maintained friendly ties through regular shipments of clothing and, on special occasions, gifts in precious metals. The other cities consigned mostly silver and other unwrought metals, usually twice a year. Certainly, the value of what Ebla received was higher than what it sent²⁰, but the tributes these cities were required to pay were not in the least heavy. Those paid by *Ḫarran* were about average, and sometimes less than those paid by Dub, Iritum and Ursaum.

The general picture is therefore characterized by a relatively certain economic balance, in which trade had very little importance.

¹⁹ 75.2367 [= ARET 13.4], in the interpretation given by Edzard 1981c.

²⁰ For the value of some kind of clothes, see ARET 1: 228.

1 Documentation

1.1 The officials

1.1.1 *badalum* Ḫarran

- ARET 3.63 obv. III 10–12: (1 + 1 + 1 fabrics) *badalum* (= b.) Ḫaran (= Ḫ.)
 ARET 3.367 II 2'–6': (2 + 2 + 2 fabrics) b. Ḫ. wa x[
 ARET 8.524 § 46: (1 + 1 + 1 fabrics) 1 íb-lá 1 *si-ti-tum* 1 gír-kun Ír[-az-II] b. Ḫ.
 ARET 8.531 § 15: (1 + 1 + 1 fabrics) b. Ḫ.
 75.1335 obv. VII 6–10: (2 + 2 + 2 fabrics) *ba-da-lum Ir-i-tum*^{ki} wa Ḫ.
 75.1381 obv. I 9–14: 1 aktum-TÚG AN.ŠÈ túg-túg *I-bí-zi-kir* b. Ḫ.
 75.2365 rev. X 4–7: 50 gín DILMUN kù-gi 1 DIB níg-ba b. Ḫ.
 75.2462 obv. XIV 20–25: 2 (gín) kù-babbar nam-ku₅ b. Ḫ. e ^d*Ku-ra*
 75.2428 obv. VIII 33–36: 40 gín DILMUN kù-gi 1 DIB b. Ḫ.
 75.2465 rev. XIV 2–5: 30 (gín) kù-gi 1 íb-lá 1 *si-ti-tum* gír-kun níg-ba b. Ḫ.
 75.10074 rev. II 25–30: 50 gín DILMUN kù-gi 1 DIB 1 ma-na kù-babbar níg-sa₁₀
 1 gír mar-tu kù-gi b. Ḫ.
 75.10079 obv. XVII 10–18: (2 + 2 + 2 fabrics) <*ba-da-lum*> *Ir-i-tum*^{ki} wa Ḫ. in u₄
 nídba ì-giš X kalam-*tím* é ^d*Ku-ra* [6]
 75.10143 obv. X 15–XI 1: 40 gín DILMUN kù-babbar níg-sa₁₀ 1 gír mar-tu b. Ḫ.

1.1.2 *dumu-nita badalum* Ḫarran

- ARET 3.868 I 1'–6': 1 NE-*lu* zabar *dumu-nita* b. Ḫ. ÉxPAP
 75.2399 obv. II 5–8: (1 fabric) *dumu-nita* b. Ḫ.
 75.2465 rev. XVIII 21–24: 20 (gín) kù-gi 1 DIB *dumu-nita* b. Ḫ.

1.1.3 *dam badalum* Ḫarran

- 75.2462 rev. II 22–27: 20 (gín) kù-babbar 2 *bu-di* ì-giš-sag *dam* b. Ḫ.

1.1.4 *badalum + ábba* Ḫarran

- ARET 1.1 § 13: (1 + 1 + 1 fabrics) b. Ḫ. (4 + 5 + 4 fabrics) ábba-sù
 ARET 1.3 § 15: (1 + 1 + 1 fabrics) b. Ḫ. (4 + 4 + 4 fabrics) ábba-sù
 ARET 1.4 § 12': (1 + 1 + 1 fabrics) b. Ḫ. (4 + 4 + 4 fabrics) ábba-sù
 ARET 1.5 § 15: (1 + 1 + 1 fabrics) b. Ḫ. (4 + 4 + 4 fabrics) ábba-sù
 ARET 1.6 § 14': (1 + 1 + 1 fabrics) b. Ḫ. (4 + 5 + 5 fabrics) ábba-sù wa *ma-za-lum-sù*

- ARET 1.7 § 14: (1 + 1 + 1 fabrics) *b. Ḫ.* (5 + 5 + 5 fabrics) ábba-sù
 ARET 1.8 § 15: (1 + 1 + 1 fabrics) *b. Ḫ.* (2 + 2 + 2 fabrics) ábba-sù
 ARET 4.1 §§ 109–110: (1 + 1 + 1 fabrics) *b. Ḫ.* (2 + 2 + 2 fabrics) ábba-sù
 ARET 4.6 §§ 1–2: (2 + 2 + 2 fabrics) *b. Ḫ. wa Ḫu-ḫa-da-NAM* (8 + 8 + 8 fabrics) ábba-sù
 75.1436 rev. V 12–VI 5: (1 + 1 + 1 fabrics) *b. Ḫ.* (1 + 1 + 1 fabrics) ábba-sù (1 + 1 + 1 fabrics) maškim-sù
 75.1442 obv. X 1–2: (2 + 2 + 2 fabrics) 2 *Ḫ.* (= <*b. wa ábba-sù*>)
 75.2273 rev. II 1–6:] *b. Ḫ.* (3 + 3 + 3 fabrics) ábba-sù lú DU.DU [...] é-é dingir-dingir
 75.2280 rev. II 18–III 1: (1 + 1 fabrics) 1 DIB 40 (gín) kù-gi 30 gín kù-gi 1 íb-lá 1 *si-ti-tum* 1 gír-kun <*b.*> *Ḫ.* (2 + 2 + 4 fabrics) 1 DIB 20 <gín> kù-gi ábba-sù

1.1.5 badalum + maškim Ḫarraṇ

- ARET 4.6 §§ 37–38: (1 + 1 + 1 fabrics) *b. Ḫ.* (2 + 2 + 2 fabrics) 2 maškim-sù
 75.1418 obv. IV 14–V 3: (1 + 1 + 1 fabrics) *b. Ḫ.* (3 + 4 fabrics) maškim-sù
 75.1899 obv. X 6–12: (1 + 1 + 1 fabrics) *b. Ḫ.* (1 + 1 + 1 fabrics) maškim (1 + 1 fabrics) *ma-za-lum-sù*
 75.2233 obv. VIII 7–11: (1 + 1 + 1 fabrics) *b. Ḫ.* (1 + 1 + 1 fabrics) *Ar-ru₁₂-gúm* maškim-sù
 75.2450 obv. IX 3–8: (1 + 1 fabrics) *Gul-zé Ib-1a^{ki}* maškim *b. Ḫ.*

1.1.6 other officials

- ARET 3.193 obv. V 4–11: (1 + 1 + 1 fabrics) 1 guruš *Ar-mi^{ki}* u₅ *Ḫ.* gibil *ma-za-lum* šu-mu-“taka₄”
 ARET 3.860 VII 1’–3’: -]ḫu NE.DI *Ḫ.*
 75.2450 obv. XIV 13–16: (1 + 1 fabrics) *Zu-zu-ba* ugula bîr-BAR.AN *Ḫ.*

1.1.7 Zu/Zú-ga-lum maliktum Ḫarraṇ

- 75.1330 obv. I 1–VI 3: (71 fabrics) 2 ma-na 48 (gín) kù-gi (for several objects) 3 ma-na 15 gín DILMUN kù-babbar (for several objects) *Zu-ga-lum ma-lik-tum Ḫ.* (1 + 1 fabrics) 2 *bu-di Ì-lum-ma-gi-im* (7 + 5 fabrics) 2 *bu-di* zabar 5 dumu-mí DU.DU *áš-ti Zu-ga-lum* ... VI 16–VIII 10: (12 + 12 + 12 fabrics) 2 gír mar-tu kù-gi 5 *gú-li-lum* šu-ul níg-ba en *wa I-bí-zi-kir wa ábba-ábba níg-ba níg-ba ábba-ábba Ḫ.* lú *Zú-ga-lum* šu-mu-“taka₄” *si-in Ḫ.* (3 + 3 + 3 fabrics) *A-bir₅ wa* maškim-sù *Ḫ. in SA.ZA_x^{ki} šu-ba₄-ti [7]*
 75.1381 obv. I 15–II 8: (1 + 1 + 1 + 10 fabrics) 1 *gú-li-lum* kù-gi 20 (gín) 30 (gín) kù-babbar 2 *bu-di* 2 sag-sù kù-gi *Zu-ga-lum ma-lik-tum Ḫa-ra-an^{ki}* lú DU.DU *si-in SA.ZA_x^{kl}*

- 75.1860 obv. XII 5–XIII 21: (many silver and gold objects) *Zú-ga-lum ma-lik-tum* *Ḫ. šu-mu*–“*taka₄*” 10 gín DILMUN *kù-babbar* 2 *bu-di* *Mi-kum-NI-a ábba-sù* (objects of 90 shekels silver and 10 shekels gold) *šu-ul níg-ba Ḫ. ...* 20 gín DILMUN *kù-babbar* 2 *bu-di šu-ul níg-ba Taš-má^d* *Utu dam I-bí-zi-kir wa šu-ul níg-ba dam-dam Ḫ. Zú-ga-lum šu-mu*–“*taka₄*”
- 75.1979 rev. X 8’–13’: 1 *b[u-di]* 20 (gín *kù-babbar ... kù-gi*) *šir-za* 2 *sag-sù Zu-ga-lum ma-lik-tum Ḫ. níg-kas₄ Aš-dar-LUM^{ki}*
- 75.2241 obv. VIII 1–10: (1 + 1 + 1 fabrics) 1 *gú-li-lum babbar-kù-gi* 10 (gín) *dumu-nita Zu-ga-lum ma-lik-tum Ḫ. si-in ÉxpAP Da-zi-ma-ad šu-mu*–“*taka₄*”
- 75.2429 rev. II 23–III 5: 20 gín DILMUN *kù-babbar* 2 *bu-di ...* 2 gín *kù-gi ...* 2 *sag-sù ma-lik-tum Ḫ. lú níg-kas₄ Aš-dar-LUM^{ki}*
- 75.10074 obv. XXVIII 32–XXIX 2: 20 gín DILMUN *kù-gi* 1 *gú-li-lum Zú-ga-lum ma-lik-tum Ḫ. šè DU.DU tu-da ma-lik-tum*
- 75.10127 obv. IV 9–V 5: (1 + 1 + 1 fabrics) *Zu-ga-lum ma-lik-tum Ḫ. in u₄* 1 *dumu-nita tu-da* (1 + 1 + 1 fabrics) 1 *gú-li-lum a-gar₅ kù-gi* 15 (gín) *níg-AN.AN.AN.AN Zu-ga-lum tu-da*
- 75.10201 obv. VII 16–20: 1 *íb-lá dumu-nita Zu-ga-lum lú DU.DU nídba*

1.2 The deliveries, mu-DU, from Ḫarran

- ARET 2.13 § 27: 2 *NE-li sipar mu-DU Ḫ.*
- 75.1261 (= MEE 2.1) obv. X 3–5: 1 *ma-na kù-babbar mu-DU Ḫ.*; rev. V 9–VI 1: (2 + 2 + 2 fabrics) 2 *NE-li zabar mu-DU Ḫ.* 1 *ma-na kù-babbar mu-DU Ḫ. (níg-ki-za en)*
- 75.1297 obv. VIII 5–7: 1 *ma-na kù-babbar mu-DU Ḫ. (níg-ki-za en)*
- 75.1462 rev. II 9–10: 1 *NE-li zabar <mu-DU> Ḫ.*
- 75.1527 rev. I 11–II 3: 2 *NE-li zabar mu-DU Ḫ. (mu-DU kalam^{tim})*
- 75.1556 obv. X 8–10: 1 *ma-na kù-babbar mu-DU Ḫ.*; rev. VI 3–8: 1 *ma-na* 50 gín DILMUN *kù-gi níg-su₄-sag* 1 *ma-na* 30 (gín) *kù-gi* 1 *Glš-su₄* 1 *níg-tur* (1 + 1 fabrics) 1 *NE-li zabar mu-DU Ḫ.*
- 75.1587 rev. II 4–6: 57 gín DILMUN *kù-babbar mu-DU Ḫ.*
- 75.2017 obv. IV 3–v. I 3: (1 fabric) 1 *NE-li zabar mu-DU Ḫ. (1 fabric) Iš₁₁-da-mu lú ĩr-kab-ar šu-ba₄-ti Ḫ.*
- 75.2070 rev. I 14–18: 1 *ma-na kù-babbar mu-DU Ḫ. (níg-ki-za en)*
- 75.2072 obv. IX 15–17: 1 *ma-na* 56 gín DILMUN *kù-babbar mu-DU Ḫ. (níg-ki-za en)*; rev. X 11–13: 58 (gín) *kù-babbar Ḫ. (iti XI)*
- 75.2172 rev. III 4–6: 1 *ma-na urudu mu-DU Ḫ.*; VII 4–6: 1 *NE-li zabar mu-DU Ḫ.*
- 75.2244 obv. VII 15–VIII 2: 1 *ma-na* 56 (gín) *kù-babbar*; rev. III 5–6: 1 *ma-na* 56 (gín) *kù-babbar*
- 75.2289 obv. XI 6–7: 1 *ma-na* 56 (gín) *kù-babbar (níg-ki-za en)*
- 75.2341 obv. XIII 2–3: 1 *ma-na kù-babbar <mu-DU> Ḫ.*

- 75.2350 rev. I 6–10: 1 ma-na 58 (gín) kù-babbar mu-DU *Ḫ. in* u₄ nam-ku₅ é ^d*Ku-ra*
- 75.2351 obv. VI 12–VII 2: 2 ma-na kù-babbar <mu-DU> *Ḫ. 17* (gín) kù-babbar an-zam_x šeš-mu-sù (mu-DU en *in ir-mi*); rev. IV 1–3: 2 ma-na 54 (gín) kù-babbar mu-DU *Ḫ. (mu-DU ma-wa-tim)*
- 75.2360 rev. II 10–III 1: 59 (gín) kù-babbar mu-DU *Ḫ. [8]*
- 75.2375 rev. XII 1–8: (1 + 1 + 1 fabrics) (1 + 1 + 1 fabrics) ì-giš-sag en (1 + 1 + 1 fabrics) ì-giš-sag *ma-lik-tum Ḫ. ì-na-sum*
- 75.2509 obv. IV 7–17: (1 + 1 + 1 + 1 fabrics) 1 ma-na kù-gi 1 ìb-lá 1 *si-ti-tum* 1 gír kun wa 1 ma-na 53 (gín) kù-gi 1 níg-lá-sag mu-DU *Ḫ.*
- 75.10188 obv. X 12–rev. I 2: 57 (gín) kù-babbar mu-DU *Ḫ. 58* (gín) kù-babbar *Ḫu-ḫa-da-NAM Ḫ.*
- 75.10200 rev. III 10–12: 1 NE-*li* zabar mu-DU *Ḫ. (mu-DU ir-mi)*; IV 13–V 2: 1 ma-na kù-babbar 1 NE-*li* zabar mu-DU *Ḫ.*; VI 8–10: 1 NE-*li* zabar mu-DU *Ḫ.*
- 77.730 rev. 14–XI 1: 4 gín DILMUN kù-babbar <mu-DU> *Ḫ.*

1.3 Personal names from Ḫarran²¹

- A-bir*₅ 75.1330 obv. VIII 3
- AN-mu-tum* ARET 4.12 § 28
- Ar-ru*₁₂-*gúm* (a representative, maškim, of the *badalum* of Ḫ.) 76.2233 obv. VIII 8
- Ar-si/šè-a-ḫu* (“ur₄”) 75.2356 rev. I 8; 10273 rev. VI 1
- En-na-ni-NI* ARET 8.527 § 14
- Ga-na-NE* 75.2357 rev. V 11
- Ga-nu-um* ARET 3.629 II 1’
- Gu-gàr/ga-ar* ARET 4.19 § 36; 75.2357 rev. V 9
- Ḫu-ḫa-da-NAM* ARET 4.6 § 1; 75.1781 obv. XIV 11; 10074 rev. VIII 11; 10188 rev. I 1
- Ìr-az-Il* ARET 8.524 § 46: *badalum*; 75.1407 obv. VI 7
- La-sa-nu* 75.2486 rev. III 2; 10163 obv. II 10
- Mi-kum-NI-a* (abba_x) 75.1860 obv. XII 11
- Mi-na-ì* 75.2352 obv. IV 2; 2432 obv. IV 15
- Šu-a-ḫu* 75.1757 obv. V 5
- Zu/Zú-ga-LUM* (*maliktum*) see 1.7
- Zu-zu-ba* (ugula bîr-BAR.AN) 75.2450 obv. XIV 14

²¹ For an evaluation of these names in relation with the personal names from the other Syrian cities, see Archi 1984b.

30 La ville d'Arbasal

C'est avec un certain embarras que je présente ici des données nullement conclusives concernant Abarsal. Je compte pourtant sur la compréhension d'André Finet qui au cours de sa longue activité a rencontré des problèmes semblables, même si sur un terrain plus sûr, celui de la géographie historique de la Syrie du II^e millénaire av. J.-C.

TM.75.G.2420 est un traité entre Ébla et A-BAR.SÎLA^{ki}, une ville identifiée à Assur (A-šur_y^{ki}) par G. Pettinato qui le premier signala le document.¹ Il s'agit d'une tablette médio-grande (21,00 × 23,30 cm.), soigneusement cuite, la seule qui soit inscrite même sur les côtés gauche et droit et sur le bord inférieur (pour un total de 31 colonnes; le bord supérieur est manquant); elle présente de grandes cases et une écriture espacée et élégante, presque calligraphique et semblable à certains textes lexicaux unilingues sumériens de tradition mésopotamienne.² Le caractère exceptionnel de ces éléments, qui font de TM.75.G.2420 la plus belle tablette des archives d'Ébla, montre qu'il s'agit là d'un original et non d'une rédaction préliminaires.³

L'hypothèse d'après laquelle A-BAR.SÎLA^{ki} est Assur est séduisante⁴ et permet de justifier tant l'aspect extérieur que la structure élaborée du document, unique en son genre articulée comme elle est en un préambule, en plus de vingt clauses et en une malédiction finale. Des accords politico-commerciaux, dub *ù-su-ri*, non seulement avec une ville comme *Ib-al*₆^{ki}, puissante même si inférieure à Ébla,⁵ mais même avec Mari,⁶ sont rédigés sur des tablettes médio-petites, qui ne présentent ni des particularités extérieures ni une formalisation des normes comparables à celle de TM.75.G.2420. A-BAR.SÎLA^{ki} ne peut pourtant pas être lu A-šur_y^{ki} car les deux signes BAR.SÎLA « form a séquence and

Pp. 15–19 in *Reflets des deux Fleuves, Mélanges André Finet*, eds. Marc Lebeau, and Philippe Talon, Leuven: Peeters. 1989.

¹ Pettinato 1976: 48; Id. 1979b: 109–11 = 1981a: 103–105.

² Texte édité par E. Sollberger 1980 [= ARET 13.5].

³ Lors d'un congrès à l'Université de Heidelberg (novembre 1986), B. Kienast a soutenu au contraire qu'il s'agissait d'une ébauche préparatoire, en se fondant sur des critères extérieurs (par ex. l'absence d'impression de sceaux) et intérieurs, déduits cependant de documents plus tardifs [Kienast 1988].

⁴ Moi-même je n'ai pu m'y soustraire, voir Archi 1980a: 4–5.

⁵ TM.75.G.2290 (VII + V col.) [= ARET 13.13]; *Ibal* est une des villes syriennes liées à Ébla par des échanges réguliers de dons, cf ARET 1: 224–225.

⁶ TM.75.G.2268 (VIII–IX col.) [= ARET 13.15]; sur les rapports d'Ébla et de Mari, voir Archi 1985a.

are not a single compound sign as his transliteration implies »; d'ailleurs, dans la « Liste géographique » d'Abū Ṣalābīh, Assur « is written AŠ-LĀL+RIN, using the well attested spelling for /šur/. Now, the corresponding entry in the geographical list from Ébla is not spelt *A-bar-sal₄* but *A-^rsu^r-x-ur* ». ⁷ Il faut donc transcrire *A-bar-sal₄^{ki}* et distinguer cette ville de celle d'Assur.

Même si certaines clauses du traité sont paritaires, c'est Ébla qui se trouve dans une position de force et qui impose donc l'accord. Mais dans une phase précédente, Abarsal fut d'une quelque façon soumise à Mari. Dans la lettre d'Enna-Dagan, roi de Mari, TM.75.G.2367 r. V 14–VII 1, on lit: *ù Ga-la-la-NE-NI^{ki} [ù] [x-x]^{ki} 'ù^r ga-nu-um šu-du₈ Ib-lul-Il en Ma-rī^{ki} 'ù A-bar-sal₄^{ki} GÍN.ŠÈ in Za-ḫi-ra-an^{ki} 'ù 7 du₆-kiri₆ [(x)] gar*, un passage dont la syntaxe n'est pas évidente mais qui peut être rendu comme suit: « Puis de NG et NG ... Iblul-Il, roi de Mari, *a pris possession*; puis il a gagné Abarsal près de NG, et il a érigé 7 tas de ruines abandonnées ». ⁸ L'interprétation: « Iblul-Il, roi de Mari et d'Abarsal » ⁹ serait à écarter puisque ni ailleurs dans ce texte, ni dans aucun autre document d'Ébla ou de Mari du III^e millénaire, Mari n'est associée à un autre pays dans un titre royal. Dans la campagne précédente, Iblul-Il s'était dirigé vers l'occident et avait conquis Emar (r. IV 13–V 13); dans celle qui suivit la victoire sur Abarsal, il vainquit les pays (*kalam^{tim}-kalam^{tim}*) de Burman (r. VI 2–VIII 4), une ville-état qui dans les listes des destinataires de dons de la part d'Ébla suit généralement Emar, ¹⁰ et qu'il faudra localiser entre l'Euphrate et le Balih (elle est suivie par Dub / Tuba, Ursa'um, Iritum, et Ḫarran). [16]

Cela ne veut pas dire qu'Abarsal aussi doit être cherchée dans cette aire: Iblul-Il peut avoir quitté le secteur nord-occidental pour se diriger momentanément vers l'orient. D'autre part, le fait que dans une campagne suivante Iblul-Il affronte des pays dépendants de Gasur (r. X 9–v. II 11) prouve qu'à cette époque-là Mari contrôlait aussi le territoire vers le Tigre: « Iblul-Il, roi de Mari, a vaincu ensuite Naḫal [et] Nubat et Šada, pays (*kalam^{tim}-kalam^{tim}*) de Gasur, à Ganane ». ¹¹ La défaite des forces de cette coalition à *Ga-na-ne^{ki}* semble indi-

7 Sollberger 1980: 129–30. En effet, dans beaucoup de cas, SĪLA et BAR sont écrits séparément; il n'est donc pas possible de penser qu'ils forment un signe unique composé; cf. les passages suivants cités dans la liste qui clôt cette étude: (1), (11), (12), (13), (36).

8 Transcription du texte de Pettinato 1980b [= ARET 13.4]; mais voir l'interprétation de Edzard: 1981b.

9 Cf. Pettinato 1980b: 240, qui lit: « Assur, Iblul-Il sovrano di Mari e di Assur ». Le fait qu'à l'époque paléo-babylonienne une seule dynastie a dominé pendant un certain temps sur Assur et Ébla, n'est pas naturellement un argument en faveur de cette interprétation.

10 Cf. ARET 1: 224–225.

11 Pour l'identification de *Ga-sur_x(ŠĀRxMAŠ)^{ki}* à Gasur, voir Pettinato 1981: 297–304. Elle est prouvée par les graphies *Ga-su-lu^{ki}* dans les passages (6) et (9) rapportés par Pettinato, et *Ga-su-ru₁₂^{ki}* dans le passage (15), ici dans l'Appendice. Dans ARET 2.4 = passage (5) dans Petti-

quer que cette bataille a eu lieu du côté de la vallée de l'Euphrate: *ga-na-na(-um/im)*, *ga-na-núm* (sans le déterminatif géographique KI)¹² est l'épithète de ^dBE, c'est-à-dire du dieu Dagan, dont l'autre grand centre de culte était à Tuttul du Baliḫ.¹³

Le point de départ pour une localisation d'Abarsal est le préambule du traité, où l'on définit la zone d'influence d'Ébla, et donc — même si c'est indirectement — celle d'Abarsal. Il est divisé en deux sections qui s'achèvent respectivement par une formule où l'on confirme que « les forteresses, *bàd^{ki}-bàd^{ki}*, et toutes les localités, *ki*, qui sont en la possession du roi d'Ébla, (restent) en la possession du roi d'Ébla; celles (qui sont) en la possession du roi d'Abarsal, (restent) en la possession du roi d'Abarsal ».

I [X] et ses forteresses; *Kab-lu₅-ul^{ki}* et ses forteresses; *Za-'à-ar^{ki}*, *Û-zi-la-du^{ki}* et leurs forteresses; *Gú-da-da-núm^{ki}* [et ses forteresses].

II *Gâr-gâr-mi-iš^{ki}*, *Ti-in-nu^{ki}* et ses forteresses; *Ar-ga^{ki}*, *La-da-i-nu^{ki}*, *Tar_x-ru₁₂-la-ba^{ki}*, [Y]; *Da-za-ba^{ki}*, *Ga-ra-mu^{ki}*, *Gír-ra-da-a^{ki}* et ses forteresses; *'À-la-šu-NE^{ki}*, *Ra-ás^{ki}*, *'À-du^{ki}*, IGI^{ki}.

Parmi elles, *'À-du^{ki}*, *Gú-da-da-núm^{ki}* et *Kab-lu₅-ul^{ki}* étaient des villes-états indépendantes, gouvernées par un souverain, en; elles étaient pourtant incluses dans un circuit de dons organisé par Ébla, et faisaient donc partie de sa zone d'influence.¹⁴ D'autres villes semblent appartenir au même territoire éblaïte:

Ar-ga^{ki} est un des lieux du culte de ^dNI-*da-KUL* (Hadabal), TM.75.G.2377 r. III 5 = 2379 r. III 6 (voir Archi 1979a: 108); ARET 3.183 r. I 5–6 rapporte une « maison », é, comme pour d'autres centres éblaïtes; 494 V 1–3 la relie à Abarsal (voir texte (7), fragmentaire); 7.156 v. II 8: c'est un centre éblaïte, voir aussi 151 r. I 3.

On ne peut rien dire sur *'À-la-šu-NE^{ki}*, *Gír-ra-da-a^{ki}*, *Tar_x-ru₁₂-la-ba^{ki}* et *Û-zi-la-du^{ki}*. On trouve des séquences de ces toponymes dans les textes économiques. ARET 8.523 §§ 14–15: Arga, Karkamiš, Dulu, § 33: IGI, Ar'amū, Tin,

nato, comme le remarque Edzard ARET 2: 115, on a *Ga-KAM*(ŠÁRxBAD)^{ki} qui n'est qu'une variante graphique, malgré *Ga-kam₄^{ki}* dans ARET 8.534 r. X 17.

12 Cf. ARET 1: 260; 3: 310.

13 Pour l'équivalence de ^dBE et de ^dDagan, voir Pettinato 1985: 236–39; à la page 239 n. 24, il fait équivaloir *ga-na-na* à la Canaan du II^e millénaire, ce qui est exclu justement par le passage en question de la lettre d'Enna-Dagan. Pour Dagan, caractérisé comme divinité syrienne même à l'époque paléo-akkadienne, voir Waetzold 1985b: 248.

14 Voir ARET 1: 224–25 et l'index des noms de lieux. TM.75.G.2561 documente les tentatives de Mari pour prendre la place d'Ébla dans l'alliance avec Adu, v. VI 1–10, cf. Fronzaroli 1981: 173–174.

<i>Da-za-ba^{ki}</i>	cf. les index d'ARET 3 et 8.
<i>Ga-ra-mu^{ki}</i>	ARET 7.156 r. II 6: c'est un centre éblaïte.
<i>Gâr-gâr-mi-iš^{ki}</i>	Karkamiš appartient au territoire d'Ébla.
<i>IGI^{ki}</i>	ARET 2.20 v. II 3: centre de production des céréales.
<i>La-da-i-nu^{ki}</i>	cf. TM.75.G.1353 v. V 5 (Archi 1980a: 14); cette ville équivaut peut-être à <i>La-da-NE-NI^{ki}</i> , TM.75.G.1558 r. III 5 (Archi 1984a: 64).
<i>Ra-ās^{ki}</i>	cf. ARET 3.429 II 3: <i>Ra-za^{ki}</i> .
<i>Ti-in-nu^{ki}</i>	ARET 7.153 r. I 4: <i>Ti-na^{ki}</i> , c'est un centre éblaïte; voir aussi TM.75.G.1964 r. V 3 (Archi 1981c: 9).
<i>Za-'â-ar^{ki}</i>	ARET 7.152 r. IV 3 et 153 v. I 3: <i>Za-ar^{ki}</i> ; c'est un centre éblaïte; II v. II 2: un fonctionnaire possède là des champs (<i>Za-ar^{ki}</i>).

Arga, Muru, 'Adu, IGI, Kakmium, Gudadanum; 529 § 28: Dašaba, [...], Tin, Arga.

Même en tenant compte de quelques homonymies éventuelles, le territoire ainsi défini ne peut s'étendre de beaucoup à l'orient de l'Euphrate; 'Adu, ville indépendante, pourrait se trouver dans l'aire du Ḫabur.¹⁵

Lu-a-tim^{ki}, située entre Ébla et Abarsal (l. 256 du traité), est une ville « dans les mains du roi d'Ébla », TM.75.G.2136; et TM.75.G.1975 fait la liste de ses 52 forteresses.¹⁶ Parmi les trois autres villes citées dans le traité (ll. 240–242), qui occupent une position susceptible d'influencer les rapports entre Ébla et Abarsal, *Ḫa-zu-wa-an^{ki}* doit sûrement être identifiée à Ḫaššum, dont le territoire, selon les textes de Mari du II^e millénaire, arrivait jusqu'à l'Euphrate.¹⁷ *Ni-ra-ar^{ki}* et *Kak-mi-um^{ki}* ouvrent la liste des villes-états liées à Ébla par des échanges réguliers de dons.¹⁸ Si Kakmium doit être véritablement identifiée à la Kakmum de la documentation paléo-babylonienne, à l'est du Ḫabur et peut-être même du Tigre,¹⁹ Abarsal aussi pourrait être alors localisée dans cette direction.

Les textes économiques, qui enregistrent surtout des assignations sans aucune autre spécification, indiquent génériquement des rapports d'Abarsal avec des villes de l'aire entre l'Euphrate et le Baliḫ, mais aussi avec Kiš (les numéros entre parenthèses renvoient aux passages cités à la fin de cette étude): des hommes d'Abarsal reçoivent des vêtements à Ursa'um (12), [17] ou dans deux centres qui ne seraient pas connus autrement: *Sa-la-mu-nu^{ki}* et *Zi-mi-[(x-)]šu^{ki}* (50), ou aussi ils résident à Kiš (30) et (48). Un personnage d'Armium va à

¹⁵ Cf. Archi 1984b: 232.

¹⁶ Archi 1981c: 1–3.

¹⁷ ARM XVI, 1, 15.

¹⁸ Voir ARET 1: 224–25.

¹⁹ Groneberg 1980: 129–30; cf. Archi 1984b: 233 et 240–42.

Abarsal (27); un autre de Burman y réside (39); le roi de Gudadanum et son représentant (15), de même que les personnes de Sanapzugum, NaḥI, Iritum, Ḥarran et Zumunan (14), reçoivent des vêtements à Abarsal de la part d'envoyés éblaïtes. Que l'on remarque ensuite la séquence: *Ū-si-gú^{ki}*, Abarsal, *Su-ne-im^{ki}*, *Gú-ḥa-ti^{ki}* dans (37).

Au royaume d'Abarsal pourraient appartenir *A-ba-lá^{ki}* et *Zú-rí-gi^{ki}*, qui semblent avoir été conquises par un commandant de cette ville (10); tout comme *Zi-ba-na-ba^{ki}* (11) et *A-ri-mu^{ki}* (24), qu'il faut apparemment distinguer d'une localité homonyme située dans le territoire éblaïte.²⁰

Tous ces éléments font penser qu'Abarsal se situait dans l'aire du Ḥabur. En tout cas, les clauses du traité qui réservent le commerce fluvial à Ébla et qui le défendent à Abarsal, ne peuvent concerner que le Ḥabur ou une partie du Moyen-Euphrate, certainement pas le Tigre; ll. 378–385: « Ébla commercera par voie d'eau (ga-raš) avec Abarsal; Abarsal ne commercera pas par voie d'eau (nu-ga-raš) avec Ébla. Abarsal ... les grands bateaux (má-gal) ... ».

Abarsal était gouvernée par un roi, en (16) et (34), auprès duquel il y avait un *ba-da-lum* (6), (16) et (34) et un lieutenant, *ugula* (10) et (49). Parmi ses fonctionnaires, les documents économiques mentionnent les courriers, *kas₄* (31), les jardiniers, *nu-kiri₆* (35) et les NE.DI (45).

Ébla remet généralement des vêtements, à l'occasion des dons aux dieux, (11), (21) et (36), et en relation aussi avec l'offrande d'huile de la part des forteresses, *bād^{ki}-bād^{ki}*, d'Abarsal (26). On donne une certaine quantité d'argent pour la moisson (30) et pour la remise d'ex-voto (20); un commandant d'Abarsal reçoit pour une victoire des vêtements et des objets en or valant plus de 70 sicles (10). Des hommes d'Abarsal résidant peut-être à Ébla, obtiennent des terrains agricoles, (4) et (28). On donne de l'or à un représentant d'Abarsal à Kiš, (30) et (48).

Arrukum, un important fonctionnaire éblaïte, reçoit des vêtements et des objets précieux à l'occasion d'un séjour à Abarsal (17). Le roi d'Ébla lui-même est allé, semble-t-il, à Abarsal, et il a offert en cette occasion plusieurs pièces d'habillement (44). Par contre, les enregistrements d'apports, *mu-DU*, de la part d'Abarsal sont peu nombreux (2), (19) et (38).

Les noms de personne attestés, en ce qui concerne Abarsal, sont:

- *A-a-lu* (28)
- *AN-mu^{l?}-ti* (50)
- *Ba-du-rí* (50)
- *Da-ša* (50)

²⁰ Voir ARET 7.155 r. II 12; 156 v. IV 11. Un Arimu est cité aussi dans le texte d'où l'on a tiré le passage (24), TM.75.G.1451 r. IV 7 (Archì 1981c: 6).

- *Da-WA-du* (?) (21), (36)
- *Du-bí* (50)
- *Du-ḥu* (50)
- *Gi-ir-a-ḥu* (ugula) (49)
- *Ḥu-a* (50)
- *Îl-gú-uš-ti* (?) (30), (48)
- *I-sar* (3), (23), (29), (43), (46)
- *KA-sa-NE-NAM* (20)
- *Ma-a-bar-zú* (13)
- *Puzur₄-ra* (12)
- *Zi-ir-[(x-)]ḥu* (10)
- *Zi-i-sar* (50)

La plupart de ces noms sont aussi bien connus pour Ébla. *Ba-du-rí*: voir *Ba-du-rúm*, ARET 2 et 3 (index); *Da-ša*: ARET 1 et *passim* (aussi: *Da-šè*); *Du-bí*: ARET 1 et *passim*; *I-sar*: ARET 1 et *passim*; *Puzur₄-ra*: ARET 4 (*Puzur-rí*: 1 et *passim*); *Zi-i-sar*: ARET 1 et *passim*.

A-a-lu est attesté dans ARET 3 pour les villes d'Ibal et Kakmium, et sous la forme *A-'à-lu* pour Ébla, ARET 2 et 7; *Du-ḥu*: voir *Du-ḥu-na-se₁₁/zi*, ARET 3, 4, 8, et *Du-ḥi-a*, ARET 7; *Gi-ir-a-ḥu*: pour le premier élément, cf. peut-être *Gi-rí*, ARET 1 et *passim*, et *Gi-ra.ma-lik*, ARET 3 et 4; *Ḥu-a*: voir *Ḥu-la*, ARET 3 et 4; *Îl-gú-uš-ti*: *Îl-gú-uš-* est un élément très productif, ARET 1 et *passim*; *Ma-a-bar-zú*: *Ma-a/'à-* est un élément dans des noms de personnes provenant des villes de Gudadanum et Manuwat, ARET 4.

Ces données confirment qu'Abarsal appartenait à la même aire linguistique qu'Ébla.²¹

Passages concernant Abarsal

1. ARET 1.14 § 44: 1 gu-mug-TÚG 1 íb+III-TÚG an-dùl A.
2. ARET 1.30 § 25: (1 + 1 vêtements) 1 NE-li zabar mu-DU A.
3. ARET 3.73 II 5–7: (1 vêtement) *I-sar* A. NE.DI
4. ARET 3.111 r. I 2': A. (liste de champs)
5. ARET 3.210 I 1': A.
6. ARET 3.423 I 1'–2': [*ba*]-*da-lum* A.
7. ARET 3.494 V 1'–3': *Ar-ga*^{ki} lú A

²¹ Comme on l'a déjà remarqué dans: Archi 1988b: 225–42.

8. ARET 3.529 I 1'–5': *Ba-ti Ar-si-a-ḥa* lú-kar al₆-dab₅ A.
9. ARET 3.548 II 1': A.
10. ARET 4.13 § 1 (1 + 1 + 1 vêtements) 1 íb-lá 1 gír-kun babbar:kù MAŠ.MAŠ kù-gi LAGABxLÁ-sù ša-pi gín DILMUN 1 DIB TAR kù-gi 1 gír mar-tu kù-gi *Zi-ir-[x-]ḥu* ugula A. in u₄ *Zú-rí-gi*^{ki} *wa A-ba-lá*^{ki} šu-ba₄-ti
11. ARET 8.529 § 2: (1 + 1 + 1 vêtements) *Lu-a-NI* maškim *Du-bù-ḥu*-d'À-[da] níg-AN.AN.AN.AN *Du-bù-ḥu*-d'À-da *Zi-ba-na-ba*^{ki} lú A.
12. ARET 8.540 § 52: (1 + 1 + 1 vêtements) *Puzur*₄-ra A. šu-du₈ in *Ur-sá-um*^{ki}
13. ARET 8.541 § 15: (1 + 1 + 1 vêtements) *Ma-a-bar-zú* A. maškim EN-ár-Ar-mi^{ki} šu-du₈ in *Si-a-mu-nu*^{ki}
14. TM.75.G.1249 v. IV 28'–V 4: (6 + 6 + 6 vêtements) 1 *Sa-nap-zu-gúm*^{ki} 1 *Na-ḥi*^{ki} 1 *Ir-i-tum*^{ki} 1 *Ḥa-ra-an*^{ki} 1 *Zu-mu-na-an*^{ki} in A. šu-ba₄-ti
15. TM.75.G.1324 v. III 14–IV 5: (1 + 1 + 1 vêtements) <en> *Gu-da-da-núm*^{ki} (1 + 1 vêtements) maškim-sù in A. šu-ba₄-ti
16. TM.75.G.1336 (= MEE 2.25) r. III 6–IV 5: (1 + 1 vêtements) (vide) *ba-da-lum* A. (1 vêtement) en A. **[18]**
17. TM.75.G.1348 r. IV 9–15: (1 + 1 + 1 vêtements) 1 íb-lá 1 ma-na kù-gi *Ib-rí-um* in-na-sum *Ar-ru*₁₂-LUM in u₄ dab₅:LÚxTIL A.
18. TM.75.G.1370 (= MEE 2.44) v. II 8–III 4: 10 'à-da-um-TÚG 9 gu-dùl-TÚG 31 *gu-zi-tum*-TÚG 5 íb+III-dar-TÚG A.
19. TM.75.G.1373 (= MEE 2.47) r. II 3–6: 2 *bu-di* babbar:kù 1 ma-na 2 gín DILMUN babbar:kù mu-DU A. (... Ambar^{ki})
20. TM.75.G.1376 (= MEE 2.48) r. VIII 8–IX 6: 4 ma-na babbar:kù UNKEN-ak an-dùl-an-dùl dumu-nita-dumu-nita KA-sa-NE-NAM A. níg-ba^{d'}À-da
21. TM.75.G.1401 v. V 4–9: *Da-WA-du* (1 + 1 vêtements) maškim-sù níg-AN.AN.AN.AN TIL A.
22. TM.75.G.1414 r. VI 1–6: (1 + 1 t.) 2 *gú-li-lum* a-gar₅-gar₅ kù-gi A. ḥi-mu-DU udu-udu *áš-ti Ib-dur-II* r. XIII 2: (*Gu-da-da-núm*^{ki} ... 1 + 1 vêtements) A. (... *I-bu_y(NI)-bu*^{ki})
23. TM.75.G.1418 r. V 4–5: (*Ḥa-ra-an*^{ki} ... 1 vêtement) *I-sar* A.
24. TM.75.G.1451 (= Archi 1981c: 8) v. VI 7–9: 5 (gín) babbar:kù *A-rí-mu*^{ki} A.
25. TM.75.G.1453 r. VII 11–13: (1 vêtement) *A-ti-aš-dar* šu-du₈ máš A. v. IV 2–11: *Du-si Kak-mi-um*^{ki} in u₄ kas₄-kas₄ *áš-ti Ib-la*^{ki} *i-na Mu-ur*^{ki} TIL A.
26. TM.75.G.1535 v. II 9–15: (1 + 1 + 1 vêtements) *I-bí-zi-kir* lú *En-na-il* níg-AN.AN.AN.AN bàd^{ki}-bàd^{ki} A. ì-giš nídba
27. TM.75.G.1560 r. V 2–4: (1 + 1 vêtements) *Ar-mi-um*^{ki} DU A.
28. TM.75.G.1632 v. VII 1–3: 400 (gána-)ki *A-a-lu* lú A.
29. TM.75.G.1757 r. III 9–10: (1 + 1 vêtements) *I-sar* A.
30. TM.75.G.1832 v. I 3–9: [...] babbar:kù ì-ti *mi-nu* níg-kas še-gur₁₀ še A. v. II 4–9: 1 DIB GÁxLÁ TAR kù-gi *Íl-gù-uš-ti* lú *I-gi* dab₅:LÚxTIL Kiš^{ki} lú A.

31. TM.75.G.1911 v. IX 4–11: á-MUŠEN zabar *En-na* guruš-guruš SA.ZA_x^{ki} 2 kas₄-kas₄ A. šu₇-KI šu-ba₄-ti
32. TM.75.G.1915 v. II 7'–9': TAR (gín) a-gar₅-gar₅ <1> *gú-li-lum* A.
33. TM.75.G.1928 v. IV 1–3: 1 ma-na 40 gín DILMUN babbar:kù *gú-li-lum* A.
34. TM.75.G.1935 r. XV 11–12: (1 vêtement) *ba-da-lum* A. v. I 5'–6': (1 vêtement) en A.
35. TM.75.G.1940 v. VI 11–12: (1 vêtement) lú nu-kiri₆ A. v. VII 6–11: níg-AN.AN.AN.AN en *Du-ub*^{ki} dab₅:LÚxTIL *mi* A.
36. TM.75.G.2029 v. I 3–II 3: *Da-WA-du* (1+1 vêtements) maškim-sù níg-AN.AN.AN.AN TIL A.
37. TM.75.G.2031 v. V 6–8: (NP ugula *Û-si-gú*^{ki}) 1 ma-na babbar:kù A. (... *Su-ne-im*^{ki} ... NP ugula *Gú-ḥa-ti*^{ki})
38. TM.75.G.2160 r. V 2–4: (1+1+1 vêtements) *Ar-mi*^{ki} mu-DU A.
39. TM.75.G.2161 v. III 2–5: (2+2 vêtements 1 íb-lá babbar:kù) *Bur-ma-an*^{ki} dab₅:LÚxTIL *in* A.
40. TM.75.G.2165 r. X 18–XI 1: (2 vêtements) šu-du₈ A.
41. TM.75.G.2248 r. XIV 8–9: (1+1+1 vêtements) *ba-da-lum* A.
42. TM.75.G.2280 v. IX 13–17: (1+1 vêtements) A. lú *áš-da* dumu-nita *A-šum*
43. TM.75.G.2281 r. VIII 5–6: (1+1 vêtements) *I-sar* A.
44. TM.75.G.2361 r. X 1–9: (19+1+2 vêtements) *Za-nu-rúm* ì-na-sum níg-ba en *in* u₄ en DU.DU *si-in* A.
45. TM.75.G.2417 r. IX 5–7: (1 vêtement) *ul-ki* NE.DI A.
46. TM.75.G.10145 r. VIII 7–8: (1+1 vêtement) *I-sar* A.
47. TM.75.G.10146 r. II 2–4: (1 vêtement) šu-mu-«taka₄» kú A.
48. TM.75.G.10148 r. VII 15–19: (TAR gín kù-gi 1 DIB) *Íl-gù-uš-ti* lú *I-gi* dab₅:LÚxTIL Kiš^{ki} lú A.
49. TM.75.G.10149 v. VII' 15–VIII' 3: TAR (gín) babbar:kù níg-sa₁₀ 1 gír mar-tu kù-gi *Gi-ir-a-ḥu* ugula A. *in* u₄ šu-du₈
50. TM.75.G.10156 v. I' 2''–5'': (1+1 vêtements) *Du-bí* A. šu-du₈ *Zi-mi*-[(x-)]šú^{ki} V' 4–11: *En-na-ì Mu-ru*₁₂^{ki} *Du-ḥu* *Da-ša* *Zi-i-sar* *Ba-du-rí* AN-mu^{1?}-*ti* A. III' 15–18: (1+1 vêtements) *Ḥu-a* A. šu-du₈ *Sa-la-mu-nu*^{ki}
51. TM.75.G.10192 v. VII 2: (2+2 vêtements) A.
52. TM.75.G.1531 v. IV 12–V 6: níg-sa₁₀ nu-gál a nídba ì-giš *Ga-sur*_x^{ki} maškim-e-gi₄ *an-da wa* ..., 15–VI 2: [nídba ì]-giš [*Ga*]-sur_x^{ki} ì-ti *an-da* ...
53. TM.75.G.1784 rev. II 5–7: (1 vêtement) *I-sar* NE.DI A.
54. TM.75.G.1867 rev. III 9–17: (4 *bu-di* ...) 2 dumu-mí en *Ra-'à-ak*^{ki} *ma-lik-tum* A. *ma-lik-tum* *Ir-i-tum*^{ki} EN-mar šu-mu-«taka₄»
55. TM.75.G.1875 rev. IV 9–11: (2 vêtements) šeš en A.

2 Appendice

Additions au dossier de Gasur.²²

- 1 TM.75.G.2236 r. II 12–14: 10 gín DILMUN babbar:kù *A-ba-a Ga-sur_x^{ki}*
- 8 TM.75.G.2013 r. V 7–VI 2: 10 *na-se₁₁ Kab-lu-ul^{ki} dab₅ Ga-sur_x^{ki}*
- 11 ARET 3.447 I 3–7: 2 dūl-TÚG *Ga-sur_x^{ki} Zi-lu^{ki} in Ši-a-NE-du^{ki}*
- 12 ARET 7.77 r. I 1–5: 47 gín DILMUN babbar:kù níg-sa₁₀ mušen-UD-mušen-UD *áš-ti Ga-sur_x^{ki}*
- 13 TM.75.G.1866 r. I 4–II 3 (Archi 1981b: 139): 30 (gín) babbar:kù EN-zi-lum u₅ *Ga-sur_x^{ki}*
- 14 TM.75.G.10004 r. IV 4–12: *wa udu GÍN.ŠÈ udu-udu Ga-sur_x^{ki} in gi₄-sù 'à-lu-nu ap [19]*
- 15 TM.75.G.1945 r. XI 19–21: 4 udu kú *Ga-su-ru₁₂^{ki}*
- 16 TM.75.G.2397 v. I 19–23: 4 udu kú *Ga-sur_x^{ki} al₆-dab₅ Du-lum^{<ki>}*
- 17 TM.75.G.2516+ v. II 11–15: 4 udu kú *Ga-sur_x^{ki} ĩ-lum-mu šu-du₈*
- 18 TM.75.G.2598 v. I 3–7: 4 udu kú *Ga-sur_x^{ki} ĩ-lum-mu šu-du₈*
- 19 TM.75.G. 10167 r. X 27–XI 3: 4 udu kú *Ga-sur_x^{ki} al₆-dab₅ Du-lum^{<ki>}*
- 20 TM.75.G.10168 r. X 3–10: 3 udu kú *Ar-mi^{ki} wa Ga-sur_x^{ki} lú ĩ-lum-mu šu-du₈*

Dans 15–19, de même que dans 9, il faut comprendre: «4 moutons pour la nourriture (de messagers, kas₄-kas₄) de Gasur», comme le montrent les sections parallèles de ces passages.

²² Les passages (1)–(10) dans: Pettinato, *Studies Lacheman*, 299–303; deux sont complétés dans cet Appendice.

31 **Ḫaššum/Ḫassuwan and Uršum/Urša'um from the Point of View of Ebla**

1 Introduction

Many years ago, at about the time I met for the first time my dear friend and colleague Muhibbe Darga, I wrote, together with Paolo Emilio Pecorella and Mirjo Salvini, a book on the region of Gaziantep in which we proposed identifying Uršum with Tilbeşar, a large tell that still presents the evident morphology of a Middle Bronze Period settlement (despite the presence of imposing Medieval constructions; Honigsmann 2002: 180). We also suggested an alternative location at Antep (Archi – Pecorella – Salvini 1971: 44–45, with the plan of Tilbeşar at p. 96).

For Ḫaššum we suggested a location north of Uršum at Araban, dominating the valley of the Karasu (a tributary of the Euphrates) and with a tell that has quite imposing walls that could date to the Middle Bronze Period. Hattusili I (according to his Annals), first conquered Alalaḫ, and then turned against Uršum and Ikakali(š). Uršum, therefore, could not have been far from Alalaḫ, nor did we think it could be in the valley of Islahiye since, otherwise, Hattusili would have risked being attacked from the rear whilst he was moving against Alalaḫ (Archi – Pecorella – Salvini 1971: 42–44, with the plan of Araban at p. 50). Instead, against Ḫaššum, Hattusili led a separate expedition. This and the mention of crossing the Puruna river suggest another area.

Falkner (who did not then know the Annals of Hattusili I) had already placed Uršum in the region of Gaziantep and Ḫaššum further north, close to the Euphrates (see also Smith 1956). Our contribution was to put forward two precise identifications based on the results of our survey. [88]

2 Hassuwan in the earliest period of Ebla (until the 6th year of king Irkab-damu)

Ebla and its archives of the 24th century provide us with another viewpoint, and one that is geographically closer than those already known. These show

Pp. 87–102 in *Muhibbe Darga Armağanı*, eds. Taner Tarhan, Aksel Tibet, and Erkan Konyar. Istanbul: Sadberk Nanım Müzesi yayını. 2008.

that Uršum and Ḫaššum were flourishing centres already in the middle of the Third millennium. The documents, which are mainly administrative texts (records of incoming and outgoing goods), include a wide range of place names but, unfortunately, no much information enabling us to determine their geographical position. A list of the passages containing the names of these two cities is to be found in ARET 2: 264–267, 465–471.

One fact is clear: Ḫassuwan (*Ḫa-su/zu-wa-an^{ki}*) bordered with the territory controlled by Ebla. From the fact that Ebla was not involved in any direct rivalry of conflict with Urša'um (*Ur/Ūr-sá/sa-um^{ki}*), one of the most important city-states on the geographical horizon, we can deduce that this latter was more difficult to reach.

From the Mari archives of the 18th century it can be seen that the territory of Ḫaššum/Ḫassuwan had access to the Euphrates. This is confirmed by a letter that Enna-Dagan, king of Mari, sent to the king of Ebla Irkab-damu, reminding him of his predecessors' undertakings in the region of the Middle Euphrates. The northernmost point reached by Iblul-il of Mari during his military campaigns was the land of Ḫassuwan, ARET 13.4 §§ 16–17: “Iblul-il, king of Mari, went out against the city of Nerad and against the house ... (é-na / 'À-na / 'A-as^{ki}) of Ḫassuwan; he received the tribute from Ebla within its territory: at Mane” (Fronzaroli, ARET 13: 37). Nerad was a small centre that was to fall under Ebla's control a few years later. It should be noted that Iblul-il did not reach either Ebla or Ḫassuwan. Ebla paid a fairly hefty tribute (the amounts of silver and gold are listed in Archi 1981b: 132) that it delivered at Mane, Ebla's port on the Euphrates not far from Emar. The lands of Ḫassuwan were hardly touched.

The Treaty with Abarsal (Tell Chuera ?), perhaps a few years later Iblul-il's campaign, foresaw that Ḫassuwan (together with other cities) could enter into an alliance with Ebla and would, in any case, enjoy favourable treatment in commercial exchanges, ARET 13.5 § 39: “(If) the cities of Kakmium, Ḫassuwan and Nlrrar enter into alliance (with Ebla) ...” (Fronzaroli, ARET 13: 49).

These three cities are found together again in ARET 13.10, a letter that Enna-damu, king of Manuwat, wrote to a king of Mari to confirm that he had sworn to the alliance established between them. Manuwat, therefore, lay on the margin of the territory controlled by Mari, in the valley of the Euphrates. Ḫassuwan was further to the north. Kakmium bordered with Ḫassuwan. TM.75.G.10192 obv. VII 2–7 records the news that a man from Kakmium had killed someone from Ḫassuwan (níg-mul K. guruš Ḫ. ug₇).

The first of the three texts (ARET 13.4) relates to an early period, when Igriš-Ḫalab was king of Ebla. The other two probably date to the first years of his successor, [89] Irkab-damu. Urša'um is not mentioned in the chancery

documents collected in ARET 13. We have to deduce, therefore, that the territory of Urša'um lay beyond the area reached by the kings of Mari in the valley of the Euphrates and not in the immediate sphere of Ebla.

3 Ḫassuwan in the period of minister Arrukum (last five years of king Irkab-damu)

Irkab-damu, the penultimate king, reigned for roughly 10–11 years. During his sixth year, the administration began drawing up three types of document on a regular basis: a) monthly accounts of garments issued by the palace; b) annual accounts of outgoing metal objects; c) annual accounts of incoming garments and metals. It is, therefore, possible to trace relations between Ebla and the other cities within the limitations inherent in this kind of documentation which simply registers goods and their destination but rarely; the reasons for such movements.

Of the 50 or so monthly documents relating to the delivery of garments during the period of Arrukum, 40 mention Ḫassuwan, sometimes more than once (these documents are published by Pomponio in ARET 15). This city had a king (en = *mallum*). We know that his son travelled to Ebla a number of times. Frequent mention is made of merchants (*lú-kar*) and workers (*guruš*) from Ḫassuwan present at Ebla (ARES 2: 265–66). Three young scribes were sent to Ebla to learn their trade (TM.75.G.2232).

Some documents from this period mention various military defeats suffered by Ḫassuwan which must relate to different episodes in a single war in which this city was involved against Ebla.

- a) According to TM.75.G.1340 obv. II 5–8, an Eblaite messenger, Arsi-aḫa, “brought the news that Ḫassuwan had been defeated” (*níg-mul Ḫ. til*). However, a little further (III 4–7), the document records that “Zami, the son of the king of Ḫ. received a gold dagger”, and then (rev. II 4–5) “(the same?) son of the king of Ḫ. received a piece of clothing”. We must presume that it was Ebla that inflicted the defeat and that, immediately afterwards, peace was agreed upon and the son of the king of Ḫassuwan’s right to succession.
- b) TM.75.G.1441 records a defeat of Abarsal (not that which led to the drawing up of the political treaty ARET 13.5, mentioned above, but most probably the defeat which marked the definitive destruction of this city). One of the messengers who brought the news of the defeat of Abarsal was, once again, Arsi-aḫa (obv. IV 5–17: *níg-mul til-til A.*). Immediately afterwards we

have the taking of a fortress of Ḫassuwan, that is to say [90] Manutium (obv. VII 1–9, M. 1 *bād^{ki}* Ḫ.). Lastly there is the news that Ḫassuwan itself has been defeated (*in ud til-til* Ḫ., obv. XII 17–XIII 4). Ma/unutium was, in fact, an independent city ruled by a king (en) who, on that occasion, was allied with Ḫassuwan. According to TM.75.G.2246 rev. III 1–11, the king of Manutium, following the defeat, went to swear the peace in Ebla in the temple of the god Kura, together with four of his brothers and five officials (*maškim*). On another occasion, TM.75.G.10219 obv. XI 9–18, it was Ruzidamu, the son of the king, and his representative (*maškim*), who swore in the temple of Kura.

- c) News of another defeat suffered by Ḫassuwan, in TM.75.G.1535 obv. I 1–4, was brought by a certain Ibduru (*níg-mul til* Ḫ.). This document appears to follow the previously cited one chronologically, since “the fortresses of Abarsal offered oil (for peace with Ebla)” (rev. II 12–16: *níg-mul bād^{ki}-bād^{ki} A. ì-giš nídba*). Peace was reached also with the fortresses of Ibubu (obv. II 13–17: *níg-mul bād^{ki}-bād^{ki} I. ì-giš nídba*). The document, therefore, tells of a war and diplomatic activity relating to the area northeast of Ebla. We have said that Abarsal was located without doubt beyond the Euphrates, and Ibubu is also to be placed northeast of Ebla. The following texts in ARET 1, to be dated to 25–35 years later, register the delivery of garments to the kings of various friendly cities, listing the following clusters of toponyms:

nr. 3: Garmu – Lumnan – Ibubu – Urša’um – Utigu;

nr. 4: Garmu – Lumnan – Ibubu – Utigu – Dulu – Iritum – Ḫarran;

nr. 5: Garmu – Kakmium – Lumnan – Urša’um – Dulu – Iritum – Gudadanum – Ibubu – Ḫarran;

nr. 7: Garmu – Lumnan – Ibubu – Urša’um – Iritum – Ḫarran;

nr. 8: Utik – Ibubu – Urša’um.

Although these lists do not refer to itineraries, the fact that Ibubu generally appears alongside Urša’um, together with Iritum and Ḫarran, confirms that these cities are to be sought north and northeast of Ebla.¹

¹ According to Fronzaroli, the writing *Ir-i-TUM^{ki}* should point to the reading *Ir-i-ib^{ki}* (ARET 13: 114). It is true that Irrite is written *Ir-ri-...* in all the different sources of the Second millennium (Hawkins 1976–80: 171). The geographical lists from Ebla leave, however, no doubt, that this toponym has to be located in the direction of Ḫarran. According to the Hittite sources, Irrite was east of the Euphrates, at the same latitude of Karkamiš; from Irrite prince Piyassili reached Ḫarran (del Monte-Tischler 1978: 144).

- d) Another defeat suffered by Ḫassuwan is recorded twice in TM.75.G.1929. A certain “[x]-zium, brother of Iba-zinu, brought the news of the defeat of Ḫassuwan” (obv. VI 11–14: níg-mul Ḫ. til); also “Ibiu of the city of Munutium, brought the news of the defeat of Ḫassuwan” (rev. X 18–XI 3: níg-mul Ḫ. til).
- e) TM.75.G.1560 records a delivery of garments to a person from Ḫassuwan (obv. IV 7–9), and another to the son of the king of this city (rev. III 1–3); two young workers (guruš) from Ḫassuwan are consigned to Ebla (obv. VI 9–11). According to rev. VI 14–VII 3, garments were delivered to two people from Armium (a city probably north-east [91] of Karkamiš), in relation to a defeat suffered by Ḫassuwan at the hands of Armium (?) (2 + 2 garments Armium^{ki} til Ḫ.).

A document from this period records gifts for the kings of Kakmium, Munutium, Ḫassuwan and Ibubu (ARET 1: 189, no. 31), all cities that appear in the texts mentioned above. This confirms the fact that they all belonged to the same area.

Ursa'um appears far less frequently in documents recording the deliveries of garments for the period of the minister Arrukum (ten or so times); in TM.75.G.1869 its king is mentioned.

Ḫassuwan appears in another nine documents of the minister Arrukum, those relating to deliveries of metal objects. One of these, TM.75.G.1928 obv. III 8–12, mentions “the king of Kakmium and the king of Ḫassuwan”. Urša'um only appears in one of these, and in an interesting context: “20 shekels of silver (for) the statue of the god of Ebla (i.e. Kura?) to Urša'um” (an-dùl dingir *Ib-la*^{ki} 'a₅-na Ūr-sá-um^{ki}).

A third group of documents, regarding goods delivered to Ebla, mentions only once the king of Ḫassuwan and the king of Ursa'um (respectively ARET 14.14 (TM.75.G.1769) and 25 (TM.75.G.1374). The former delivers several garments, the second 33 shekels of silver (258 g).

4 Ḫassuwan in the period of king Išar-damu and the ministers Ibrium and Ibbi-zikir

On the death of Arrukum, king Irkab-damu chose Ibrium as minister, A few months later, Irkab-damu himself died. He was succeeded by his infant son, Išar-damu, who ruled for 35 years until the fall of Ebla. Ibrium was minister

for 18 years and was succeeded by his son, Ibbi-zikir, who was minister for 17 years until the final catastrophe.

It is easier to follow relations between the city-states during this lengthy period in the annual documents.

Ḫassuwan only appears in the annual documents recording outgoing quantities of metals for the first three years of Ibrium. In TM.75.G.1705 obv. VIII 8–11 the son of the king of Ḫassuwan (Ibrium 1) is mentioned. TM.75.G.10077 obv. V 20–VI 2 registers “1;10 minas of silver (for) 6 pendants (for) three women of Ibrium (from) Ḫ.” (3 dam *Ib-ri-um Ḫa-zu-wa-an*^{ki}; not “(for) three women of Ibrium of H.”, as understood in Archi 1984b: 236) (Ibrium 2). In TM.75.G.2333 rev. I 6–8 e XI 4–8 four merchants, lú-kar, of Ḫassuwan are mentioned (Ibrium 3).

Hassuwan appears only rarely in the monthly documents of Ibrium. Some passages are: TM.75.G.1938 (of the first year of Ibrium) “6 smiths (simug) of H.”; TM.75.G.2520 rev. I 14–II 1: “the queen (*ma-lik-tum*) of Ḫ.”; TM.75.G.1319 rev. VIII 20–21: “the son of the king of. Ḫ.”

[92] In the following period, including that of the minister Ibbi-zikir, it would seem that Ḫassuwan had lost any importance since it is mentioned quite rarely and there is no further news of a king of this city. All of these facts lead us to believe that Ḫassuwan lost its independence during the mandate of the minister Ibrium and was included in the reign of Ebla.

However, a text like TM.75.G. 10067, relating to deliveries of barley, cannot be used to support this thesis. In obv. IV 9–V 6 we read:] ugula *Ḫa-zu-wa-an*^{ki} [...] (4.000 measures of barley of Ingar) *I-ri-ik-i* ugula *NI-ra-ar*^{ki}. Generally, an ugula was “the overseer” of a village or small city belonging to the reign of Ebla, whilst an independent city had a king and its own officials. For this particular passage, however, we know that Nlra was an independent city since its king is also mentioned in the texts dating from the last years of the archives (Archi ARET 1: 224–225, 269, s.v. *Î-ra-ar*^{ki}).

Further mention of an “overseer” of Ḫassuwan (*Ḫa-zu-wa-nu*^{ki}) is to be found in TM.75.G.1452 obv. II 2–4, a document which inserts this toponym in a list of small settlements so we may presume that this is a homonymous centre (Fronzaroli 1980a: 34, 48–49). The following two documents could also refer to a center belonging to Ebla: TM.75.G.2033 is a list of deliveries of calves (amar), ten of which come from Ḫassuwan (obv. I 5–6). TM.75.G.2340 rev. VII 13–15 records that a certain Irniba from Ḫassuwan received a modest plot of land (100 measures) in the territory of Ebla.²

² Astour distinguishes between Eblaite Ḫassuwan and later Ḫaššum/Ḫaššuwa, because the writing *Ḫa-zu-wa-an*^{ki}, more rarely *Ḫa-su-wa-an*^{ki}, points in fact to the sibilants /z/ or /s/. He proposes, therefore that the Eblaite name was originally a phytonym, comparing this toponym

5 Ursa'um in the period of king Išar-damu and his ministers Ibrium and Ibbi-zikir

The case of Urša'um is quite different. We have shown earlier how, during the five years of minister Arrukum, this city was mentioned only rarely and deduced that its lands did not border on those of Ebla. The monthly accounts of deliveries of garments of the last minister, Ibbi-zikir, show that in this period Urša'um was one of the most important cities to be allied with Ebla.

5.1 Urša'um and the monthly documents of garment expenditures (è)

Once a year (usually in the 9th month, *iti za-lul*; sometimes in the 12th) the administration of Ebla sent the kings (en) of friendly cities which recognised the hegemony of Ebla, a set of garments, and two or more similar sets to their elders (ábba); ARET 1.1 § 9: “1 cloak, 1 tunic, 1 skirt (to the) king of Urša'um; 8 cloaks, 8 tunics, 1 garment ..., 9 skirts (to the) elders of Urša'um”. These gifts, always boringly the same, were not particularly valuable. What was significant was the act of giving itself, by which the pact of fidelity between Ebla and its vassals was reconfirmed every year. This political system based on the hegemony of one king and a coalition of kings subordinate to him, lasted until halfway through the Second millennium, when super-regional states came into being. [93] A letter from Mari of the Amorite Period proclaims: “There is no king who, if alone, is strong; ten or fifteen kings follow Hammurabi of Babylonia, as many again Rim-Sin of Larsa, Ibal-pi-el of Ešnunna, and Amud-pi-el of Qatna; twenty kings follow Yarim-lim of Yamhad” (Lafont 2001: 222–224).

Texts ARET 1.1–9 (no. 2 joins ARET 4.23) relate to the last years of Ebla. These show that more than twenty cities with kings (en) belonged to Ebla's area of influence. Often there were only two sets of garments for the elders

with Ugaritic *hswn* “lettuce” (Astour 1997: 40–42; the etymology was already proposed by Fronzaroli 1984–86: 143). We will never know if Ḥassuwan has been originally a luxuriant field of lettuce. We know, instead, that the syllabic series with S, Š, and Z alternate in the writings of the Eblaite toponyms (ARES 2: 18). The series with S stays usually for /š/, therefore *Ur/Ūr-sa/sá-um*^{ki} should be Urša'um. Notice, however, that in the Mari texts of the Second millennium the name of Uršum is written with the signs of the S series (Groneberg 1980: 250). In conclusion, we cannot exclude that a village with this name belonged to Ebla. The Ḥassuwan mentioned in the older documents of the Ebla archives has, however, to be identified with Ḥaššum of the Second millennium.

(âbba) of each city, as in the case of Emar. For Ḫarran and Burman there were four; Kakmium: two – four; Tub(a): three – four; Iritum: three – five; Nîrar: four – seven; Urša'um: six – eight (see the tabulation in ARET 1: 224–25). Urša'um was undoubtedly the most important city in the coalition supporting Ebla.

Although, as already noted above, these lists do not constitute itineraries, they do help indicate the geographical positions of the cities:

- nr. 1: Emar – Tub(a) – Garmu – Lumnan – Urša'um – Utigu – Dulu – Iritum – Ḫarran – Sanapzugum – Gudadanum
- nr. 3: Emar – Burman – Tub(a) – Garmu – Lumnan – Ibubu – Urša'um – Utigu – Dulu – Iritum – Ḫarran – Sanapzugum – Gudadanum
- nr. 5: Burman – Emar – Tub(a) – Garmu – Kakmium – Lumnan – Urša'um – Dulu – Iritum – Gudadanum – Ibubu – Ḫarran – Sanapzugum
- nr. 6: Emar – Garmu – Lumnan – Ibubu – Urša'um – Utigu – Kakmium – Nîrar – Dulu – Iritum – Ḫarran – Sanapzugum – Gudadanum
- nr. 7: Burman – Tub(a) – Emar – Garmu – Lumnan – Ibubu – Urša'um – Utigu – Kakmium – Dulu – Iritum – Ḫarran – Sanapzugum – Gudadanum
- nr. 8: Burman – Tub(a) – Utigu – Ibubu – Urša'um – Kablul
- nr. 9: Burman – Tub(a) – [] – Lumnan – Ibubu – Urša'um – Gudadanum.

In order to celebrate Ebla's victory over Mari by the minister Ibbi-zikir (three years before the fall of Ebla), the kings of the allied cities (who numbered twelve) received a plate of gold weighing 1 mina (470 g), as well as a set of garments. Other sets of garments were delivered for the elders (âbba). The list is the following (TM.75.G.2426 and TM.75.G.2335, Archi – Biga: 40–42):

en Nîrar (âbba: 6 sets) – en Ra'ak (âbba: 2 sets) – en Burman (âbba: 2 sets) – en Tub(a) (âbba: 3 sets) – en Emar (âbba: 3 sets) – en Garmu (âbba: 2 sets) – en Lumnan (âbba: 2 sets) – en Ibubu (âbba: 2 sets) – en Urša'um (âbba: 3 sets and 1 plate of gold of 50 shekels [391 g]) – en Utik (âbba: 2 sets) – en Kakmium (âbba: 1 set and 1 plate of gold of 1 mina) – en Iritum (âbba: 1 set and 1 plate of gold of 50 shekels).

In this list too, Urša'um is one of the cities receiving the greatest number of set of garments for the elders, to which is also added a plate of gold. This list is immediately [94] followed by another, where only Urša'um is still represented. This time, it is the officials, *ba-da-lum*, who receive a plate of gold of 50 shekels:

badalum Ḫarran – *badalum* Sanapzugum – *badalum* Urša'um – Enna-malik of Nîrar – *badalum* Gudadanum.

There then follow three great states which supported Ebla in the war against Mari: Nagar, Haddu ('A-du^{ki}) and Kiš.

5.2 The *badalum* “minister”

Ba-da-lum is a term indicating the authority immediately below the king in certain cities that lay in an area to the north-east of Ebla, that is to say Abarsal (Tell Chuera?), Gudadanum, Ḫarran, Ḫalsum, Iritum, Sanapzugum and Urša'um. This is the region which stretches from Gaziantep (e.g. Urša'um) to Urfa (e.g. Ḫarran). This term has been derived from **bdl*, Arabic “to substitute, to barter” (Sanmartín 1988: 171–74, *badalum* “Vertreter”; for Ugaritic *bdl* “substitute”, see del Olmo Lete – Sanmartín 1996: 105–106). *Badalum* indicated the “minister, vizier” of those city-states (Archi 1989a: 2–3 [402–403]). In some lists, the *badalum* follows the king of his city and precedes the elders (see ARES 2, for each of these toponyms). The Eblaite scribes considered the term *ugula* as the Sumerian equivalent of *badalum* (see below). The term *ugula* was sometimes equated also with *lugal*, which at Ebla means “lord” (Archi 2000d: 24); therefore, the *lugal* of Iritum stands for its *badalum* (quotation in ARES 2: 308–309). At Nagar (Tell Brak) the position of minister was indicated with the Sumerogram *ur₄*, which had a different meaning at Ebla. Nizi *ur₄* of Nagar preceded even the son of the king in the consignment of ceremonial gifts (Archi 1998b: 6).

ARET 1.9 §§ 8–10 lists: “the king of Urša'um, his elder, ... Zimisu (the *badalum*) of Urša'um”. Occasionally the *badalum* substituted even his king in the lists of gifts, TM.75.G.2507 rev. XIV 35–XV 5: (5 cups of gold for) the king of Ra'ak, the king of Iritum, the *badalum* of Ḫarran, the *badalum* of Sanapzugum, the *badalum* of Urša'um”.

Kun-tisu, who appears in several documents, had to be the *badalum* for some years of the period of minister Ibrium until the second or the third year of Ibbi-zikir. He is mentioned in three annual documents: TM.75.G.1923 obv. XVI 14–15 (Ibrium 18); TM.75.G.2350 rev. II 12–13 (Ibbi-zikir 1); TM.75.G.2462 rev. VI 28–29, XVIII 2–3 (Ibbi-zikir 2). In TM.75.G.1375 obv. VIII 10–11 (a monthly document concerning textiles of Ibrium's period), he is qualified as “overseer” of his city: K. *ugula* Urša'um.

The links between the royal house of Ebla and Urša'um were consolidated when a son of Kun-tisu was sent to serve at Ebla as the king's valet, TM.75.G.2462 rev. VI 26–31 and XVII 34–XVIII 4: Gībar-guNE *dumu-nita* Kun-tisu Urša'um *pa₄-šeš* en. The same wording is in TM.75.G.2356 rev. IV 7–12, TM.75.G.10136 obv. IX 1–6, TM.75.G.10159 obv. XI 7–11, TM.75.G.10273 rev. VIII 17–IX 1 (all monthly documents concerning distribution of textiles during Ibbi-zikir's period). [95]

Kun-tisu was succeeded by Za/imisu (/ Simisu). He appears already in a yearly account dated to the 4th year of minister Ibbi-zikir, TM.75.G.10201 obv. VII 25–27: Z. *badalum* Urša'um. TM.75.G.2428 (Ibbi-zikir 8) obv. VIII 24–45 men-

tions the gift of a gold plate of 40 shekels (313 g) for both the *badalum* of Ḫarran and the *badalum* of Urša'um for having taken part in a military expedition against the city of Ibal. Zimisu of Urša'um is mentioned also in TM.75.G.2508 obv. VI 4–5, rev. IX 32–33 (Ibbi-zikir 9); he appears with the title *badalum* also in the fragment ARET 12.317).

5.3 Urša'um and the yearly documents of deliveries (mu-DU) to Ebla

The yearly accounts concerning deliveries of metals and textiles to the central administration register small quantities of silver (in a few cases, of gold) from cities belonging to the Eblaite kingdom together with a few city-states under the hegemony of Ebla. Urša'um appears for the first time in the document for the last year of the minister Ibrium:

ARET 14.71 (TM.75.G.1261; Ibrium 19) §§ 16–19: Utigu (2;50 m[inas] of silver) – Ibubu (3 m. silver, 30 m. of copper) – Urša'um (1 m. silver) – Iritum (1 m. silver) – Ḫarran (1 m. silver).

In the documents of Ibbi-zikir, who succeeded his father Ibrium as minister, the number of city-states delivering silver increases. Urša'um regularly appears amongst these (the documents are published in ARET14).

nr. 2350: (Ibbi-zikir 1) (15)–(25): Ḫarran (57 s[hekels] of silver – Utig (1;56 m. silver) – Iritum (3 m. silver) – Sanapzugum (1;50 m. silver) – Urša'um (8 m. silver) – Ibubu (4 m. silver, 40 m. copper) – Kablul (5 m. gold) – Tub(a) (1 m. gold). Kun-tisu, the *badalum* of Urša'um, appears in section (40).

nr. 2519: (Ibbi-zikir 2) (40): 1;52 m. silver are delivered by Kun-tisu.

nr. 2519: (Ibbi-zikir 3) (16)–(21): Urša'um (2 m. silver) – Ibubu (3 m. silver, 30 m. copper) – Tub(a) (59 s. gold) – Kablul (5 m. gold) – Iritum (1 m. silver) – Sanapzugum (1;50 m. silver).

nr. 2375: (Ibbi-zikir 5) (13)–(20): Ibubu (3 m. silver, 30 m. copper) – Kablul (5 m. gold) – Tub(a) (3;55 m. silver) – Utigu (2 m. silver) – Iritum (2;04 m. silver) – Sanapzugum (1;45 m. silver) – Urša'um (1;56 m. silver) – Hutimu (1;06 m. silver). The *badalum* of Urša'um is Simisu, who delivers 1 mina of silver, section (44).

nr. 2289: (Ibbi-zikir 7) (19)–(23): Kablul (5 m. gold) – Ibubu (4 m. silver, 30 m. copper) – Urša'um (2;55 m. silver) – Ḫarran (1;56 m. silver) – Sanapzugum (1;46 m. silver).

nr. 2244: (Ibbi-zikir 8) (14)–(19): Kablul (4;50 m. gold) – Tub(a) (4 m. silver) – Urša'um (3 m. silver) – Utigu (1;56 m. silver) – Ḫarran (1;56 m. silver) – Sanapzugum (1;48 m. silver).

- nr. 10236: (Ibbi-zikir 9) (14)-24): Kablul (4;55 m. gold) – Utigu (2 m. silver) – – Tub(a) (3;55 m. silver) – Urša'um (2;54 m. silver) – Iritum (2 m. silver) – Ḥarran [96] (58 s. silver) – Sanapzugum (1;45 m. silver) – Ibubu (3 m. silver, 30 m. copper).
- nr. 2070: (Ibbi-zikir 11) (13)–(23): Utigu (1;59 m. silver) – Ursa'um (2;55 m. silver) – Iritum (2 m. silver) – – Sanapzugum (57 s. silver) – – Ibubu (3 m. silver, 30 m. copper) – Tub(a) (4 m. silver) – Kablul (5 m. gold).
- nr. 2072: (Ibbi-zikir 12) (14)–(24): Utigu (2 m. silver) – Sanapzugum (55 s. silver) – Iritum (2 m. silver) – Ḥutimu (1;05 m. silver) – Tub(a) (3;58 m. silver) – Urša'um (2;57 m. silver) – – Ibubu (3 m. silver, 30 m. copper) – Kablul (4;58 m. gold).

Year after year Kablul consigned approximately 2.30 kg of gold; Ibubu 1.41 kg of silver with 14 kg of copper. Amongst the other cities, Tuba followed by Urša'um are amongst those delivering most silver.

6 Final comments

The region occupied by Ḥassuwan neighboured on the reign of Ebla. This deduction is demonstrated by the fact that this city, from the first years of the king Išar-damu and his minister, Ibrium, is no longer included amongst the independent city-states (even though under the hegemony of Ebla). Furthermore, the personal names attested for Ḥassuwan are the same as those known from Ebla. This, instead, only holds true in part for the personal names of Urša'um (Archi 1984b: 236–37, 246–47, 251; notice, however, as stated above, that Ibrium is not a name used also in Ḥassuwan). Therefore, after a number of military encounters dating to the last five years of king Irkab-damu (the father of Išar-darnu) and his minister Arrukum, Ḥassuwan and its territory must have been included in the state of Ebla.

The situation of the northern borders at the time of Irkab-damu was as follows. Aleppo (with the temple of Hadda) and Karkamiš belonged firmly to Ebla, as shown by numerous documents. Alalah was under Ebla's control during the year of king Irkab-damu (Archi 2006b*). The treaty of Abarsal (Tell Chuera ?; see above) shows that, in those years, Ebla was capable of defeating an important state east of the Euphrates and exercising its hegemony over the course of this river from Karkamiš as far as Emar.

According to documents from the time of Irkab-damu, two principal systems of “fortresses”, bād^{ki}, defended the north and northeast borders. Fourteen

fortresses were centred around 'Ā-*ma*^{ki} (to be distinguished from 'Ā-*ma-ad/du*^{ki} modern-day Hamath; ARES 2: 130–31). This group of fortresses could have been placed in the Afrin mountains (Astour 1988: 141 with n. 23 proposed identifying Hama of the Ebla documents with *A-ma-e*^{ki} of the Inscription of Idrimi of Alalakh). Another system of fifty-two fortresses under the control of Luatum was placed east of the Euphrates, north of today's Syrian-Turkish border, perhaps in the hilly region northeast of Birecik (Archi 1989b: 13; Luatum is mentioned also in the treaty with Abarsal, ARET 13.5: 48, § 33). [97]

For these reasons, Ḫassuwan can only be located either north of Alalakh, in the Islahiye valley where the Karasu flows, or north, northeast of Aleppo, beyond today's Syrian-Turkish border.

Astour 1971: 14 and 19 identified Ḫaššum of the Mari and Hittite sources with Tilmen Höyük about 20 km east of Islahiye on the Karasu. There are good reasons for rejecting this identification. Hattusili I in his Annals states that he first defeated the troops of Ḫaššum, with which troops from Aleppo were united, “at mount Atalur” (according to the Akkadian version). He then crossed the Purana river and destroyed the land of Ḫaššum “like a lion with its paw”. For Astour the Purana should be the Pyramos (Ceyhan), but this is not likely. Hattusili crossed the Ceyhan in all of his Syrian campaigns so why would he have mentioned the Ceyhan only in his expedition against Ḫaššum? The geographical barrier did not consist of this river, but of the Amanus range, which joins up with the Anti-Taurus to the north. Moreover, mount Atalur can be identified with the southern part of the Amanus (south of the Belen pass), as Astour himself admits, or (more probably) with the mountains marking the limit of the land of Patina. It is precisely this author who provides the best arguments for identifying Tilmen Höyük not with Ḫaššum (as he wants), but with Zalwar (Astour 1997: 11–16):

“Shalmaneser III's cutting of timber (at Mount Atalur) was done with the intention of taking the logs to Assyria, and since he marched back to the Euphrates via <Ku>nulia (Kunalia/Kullani, capital of Patina, mod. Tell Tayinat) and Hazazu (mod. A'2BFzaz), the sites where the timber was cut down could not have been far from the return route. For the general location of Zalwar/Zarwar we are again obliged to Shalmaneser III's report of his 858 campaign. The Assyrian king, after invading Sam'al, erected a stele ‘at the source of the Saluara River, which is at the foot of Mount Amanus’. This points unambiguously to the Karasu ... This hydronym cannot be separated from the toponym Zalwar ...” (Astour 1997: 12).

Tilmen Höyük, a few kilometres south of the sources of the Karasu and not far from Sam'al, is the best candidate for Zalwar. According to the sequence of the events related in Shalmaneser III's Annals (on the Kurkh Monolith), Mount

Atalur (I repeat) can only be the most outlying spur of the Amanus or the mountains west/north-west of Afrin and Azaz (south of Kurt Dağ/Kartal Dağ; see the description of this region in Naval Intelligence Division 1942: 154 with fig. 34, where the meaning of Anti-Taurus “of the historians” is commendably explained, a terminology which we should not abandon).

Shalmaneser III a) erected a statue at the source of the Saluara River, at the foot of the Amanus range; b) moving to the south, he crossed the Orontes and attacked the fortress Alimus of Patina and conquered other cities of Patina; c) conquered cities of the Land of Amurru and erected a colossal image by the sea; d) ascended the Amanus range, cutting cedars and junipers; e) ascended the Mount Atalur and erected a statue by that of Anum-ḫirbe; f) left the sea and captured cities of Patina (see the tabulation of these events in Miller 2001: 88). [98]

These movements follow each other in a clear sequence. The Assyrian king went from the Amanus to Mount Atalur; then, leaving the western regions definitively (“on the sea”) on his way back to Assyria, he again ravaged the territory of Patina. It is improbably that Anum-ḫirbi, king of Mama, Zalwar and Haššum (Miller 2001), left his image in the southern Amanus (for example, on the Belen pass), since this is too far south in relation to his state. He could only have left a monument roughly along the route, which connected his three capitals. We must exclude the region to the north, since it was Shalmaneser III who left his image not far from the Arslanlı pass, between Bahçe and Nurdağı (Alkim 1965: 4–6), which connected Mama with Zalwar (Saluara). Moving from Gurgum (Maraş), that is from the north, the Assyrian king approached the territory of Sam'al. At Lutibu, a fortified city of Sam'al, he defeated a coalition of Syrian princes. “At that time I praised the greatness of the great gods ... by creating a colossal royal statue of myself (and) writing thereon about my heroic deeds and victorious actions. I erected (it) before the source of the River Saluara, at the foot of the Amanus range. Moving from the Amanus range, I crossed the Orontes river. ... I captured the great cities of the Patinean. ... I ascended the Amanus range (and) cut down beams of cedar (and) juniper. I marched to Mount Atalur, where the image of Anum-ḫirbe stands, (and) erected my image with his image. Moving away from the sea I captured the cities Taiia, Hazazu (Az'2BFaz) ..., which belong to the Patinean.” (Grayson 1996: 16–17).

An inscription parallel to the Kurkh Monolith (quoted above) presents small variants: “On my return from the sea I ascended the Amanus range (and) cut down beams of cedar (and) juniper. I ascended Mount Atalur (and) proceeded to the place where the image of Anum-hirbe stands. I erected my image with his image. I captured Taiia (and) Hazazu, great cities which belong to the Patinean.” (Grayson 1996: 25). D. Hawkins concludes that “this points more

clearly than before to the location of the long sought Mount Atalur ... in the southern part of Kurt Dağ range which runs down the east side of the rift valley opposite the Amanus.” (Hawkins 1995: 95; *pace* Miller 2001: 91 n. 61).

It is, in fact, clear that Shalmaneser did not return to the north, but remained in the region of Patina. There is no way that Mount Atalur can be a spur of the Amanus range, west of Alalah, since the Atalur lay in the direction of Ḫaššum. Hattusili I clashed with the army Ḫaššum, reinforced by help from Aleppo, precisely at Mount Atalur, in a later campaign than that in which he defeated Alalah for the first time. If Mount Atalur was a lower part of the Amanus, Hattusili would have found Alalah along his route once again. Instead, Hattusili does not mention Alalah in the conquest of Ḫaššum, just as he makes no mention of Mount Atalur in relation to his two expeditions against Alalah. Then the king crossed the Puran/Puruna River, which has to be identified with the Afrin (which seems to keep the ancient name: Haas 1994: 14 n. 43) in order to reach Ḫaššum (Astour 1997: 8, notices, however, that “the first syllable is not an omissible prothetic aleph: it begins by the laryngeal ‘2BFayn, ‘2BFA-frin”). [99]

Hattusili I conducted his first campaign against Uršum after having conquered Alalah: “I moved against Uršu; from Uršu against Ikakali(š); from Ikakali(š) against Tašhiniya”, ravaging the territory of these cities without, however, conquering them. This itinerary creates a few problems. In the Third millennium, Agagališ was a small centre, with an “overseer”, ugula, and must have belonged to Ebla (ARES 2: 100). According to the Hurrian Epic of Freeing (15th century) some men of Igingalliš were forced to send corvees to the Eblaites (Wilhelm 1997: 282–83). A/Igagališ must, therefore, have been north of but not far from Alalah. Hattusili I may have travelled up the Karasu, threatening Uršum; he then turned against Ikakališ and continued northwards against Tashiniya.

The territory of Uršum bordered on that of Ḫaššum and Zalwar/Zarwar, as we may deduce from the Siege of Uršum. Sanda of Ḫurma, a chamberlain, was appointed by Hattusili I governor of Ḫaššum. He unsuccessfully commanded the Hittite army at the siege of Uršum and was finally mutilated on the orders of the king for “fearing the Hurrians and fleeing from them to the royal headquarters” (Astour 1997: 29). The Hittite army cut “a great battering-ram from the mountains of Ḫaššu”; the Hittite king admonished: “Guard the road (to Uršum) ... Let no (one) go over to the (other) enemies – to the city of Zaruar, to the city of Aleppo, to the Hurrian army, or to Zuppa! ... Then a fugitive came out of the city and said: ‘The servant of the lord of Aleppo has entered five times; the servant of Zuppa is present in the city; the men of Zaruar go in and out; the servant of the Son of the Storm-god (i.e. the chief of the Hurrians), my

lord, goes back and forth ...” (Beckman 1995: 24–27, obv. 15–16, rev. 23–30). Zaruwar seems to indicate the west, Aleppo the south and the Hurrians and Zuppa the east, north-east. Zalwar was also not far from Ḫaššum, see KBo 7.14+ (Zukrasi text) Vs. 1–7: “Two men from Zal[war/pa] are sitting in front [of him. The (Hittite) king said:] ‘Go and say to the prince of Ḫaššum ...’ The prince of Ḫaššum came to fight the king.” (Kempinski 1983: 44)

Many scholars are sceptical about identifying a city with a tell, and quite rightly. An accurate survey can tell us when a tell was inhabited but not the role the settlement played in a particular period. For this information we usually need years of excavations. So, although our work on the region of Gaziantep has often been quoted and some have accepted our proposal of identifying Uršum with Gaziantep, nobody has considered our first suggestion, that Uršum is Tilbeşar (Archi – Pecorella – Salvini 1971: 44–45).

Any expert in Syrian archaeology could recognise from the albeit sketchy plan of Tilbeşar (Archi – Pecorella – Salvini 1971: 96) that, with its great ramparts, it reveals the typical morphology of a great Middle Bronze Period city (like that of Ebla, Tell Tuqan, Qatna). It is the largest tell in the entire Gaziantep area (with a diameter of about 850 m.) and it clearly must be identified with either Uršum or Ḫaššum.

Uršum continued to be occupied during the Ur III Period (Owen 1992: 133–35). *Ḫa-su-a/an-nūm*^{ki} of the Ur III documentation could also be the Syrian city **[100]** (Edzard – Farber 1974: 75; Foster 1982b: 98–99: “the son of the énsi of Ḫ.”; this title was used also for the princes of the Syrian cities; according to Michalowski 1986: 10, this city has to be placed instead in the area east of the Tigris). During the Amorite period and until the start of the Old Hittite Kingdom, Uršum and Ḫaššum were the most important two cities north of Aleppo. The survey and excavations conducted at Tilbeşar, which began in 1995, have shown that “l’écasante majorité du matériel se partage entre le Bronze Ancien, le Bronze Moyen et le Moyen Âge (essentiellement le XII^e et XIII^e siècles de notre ère)” (Kempinski-Lecomte and Ergeç 1998: 155).

The Ebla documentation demonstrates beyond a shadow of a doubt that Ḫaššum was the closest of the two to Ebla (in addition, the Hittite sources prove that Aleppo was its main ally). There are no large tells between Aleppo and Tilbeşar with the characteristics of a large city of the Third and first half of the Second millennium. One could consider Az’2BFaz (Hazazu in First millennium BC), which is a fine tell surrounded by the (former medieval and now) modern town, which could have eliminated the ramparts of the ancient city. However, since at the time of Irkab-damu Ebla included Alalakh, Aleppo and Karkamiš in its reign, it seems impossible that it had not already taken possession of the plain north of Aleppo. The first tell suitable to be identified with

Ḫaššum is, therefore, Tilbeşar. Uršum is to be sought further north and Gaziantep could be an excellent candidate. So far, however, excavations on the *tepe* of the citadel have only brought to light finds dating to a period earlier than that of Ebla.

32 In Search of Armi

The older writing of the name of the city of Armi in Eblaite documents is *Ar-mi-um*^{ki} (Bonechi 1990a; genitive form in ARET 12.1108 II 4: PN *Ar-mi-im*^{ki}). It is attested in some documents from the time of the minister Arrukum, forty to thirty-six years before the destruction of Ebla, sometimes together with the later form: *Ar-mi*^{ki}.¹ Arrukum was minister during the last five years of king Irkab-damu (the successor of Igriš-Ḫalab), who probably reigned for eleven years. The king and minister both died in the same year. Išar-damu, who reigned for thirty-five years, until the fall of Ebla, succeeded his father Irkab-damu on the throne. For the first eighteen years, Ibrium was minister, followed by his son Ibbi-zikir, who remained in charge for seventeen years, until the fall of the city.

1 The Region under the Hegemony of Ebla during the Last Ten Years

At the time of Irkab-damu, the territory of Ebla included Alalakh to the north (with the Antioch Plain, Amuq; Archi 2006b) and Karkamiš on the Euphrates (ARES 2: 238–39). It was in the first years of Irkab-damu's rule (or the last years of Igriš-Ḫalab) that Ebla was able to draw up a treaty with Abarsal (probably Tell Chuera; ARES 2: 87–91), a document that lists the cities along the Euphrates that either belonged to Ebla or came under its hegemony (*in šu en Ib-la*^{ki}; ARET 13.5). In the treaty, Karkamiš appears after Kablul and Gudadanum in §§ 2–6. Unlike Karkamiš, these two cities had their own kings right up until the fall of Ebla. Kablul, at least, is to be located north of Karkamiš. Of the cities

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1 Adelheid Otto is the author of a remarkable study where she suggested the identification of Armi/Armanum with Tell Bazi, on the Middle Euphrates, making use of both archaeological and philological data (Otto 2006a). She also presented her thesis at the 6th ICAANE, Rome, May 2008, together with M. G. Biga, who was in agreement with Otto's view.

Abbreviations: AAM: Annual Account of Distribution of Metals; MAT: Monthly Accounts of Textile Distribution.

For documents of the Arrukum period presenting both forms; see ARET 15.6 § 34: *Ar-mi-um*^{ki}; § 2 and § 43: *Ar-mi*^{ki}; MEE 10.27+ rev. III 9 and IV 8: *Ar-mi-um*^{ki}; obv. VIII' 5: *Ar-mi*^{ki}. On the reduplication *Ar-mi*^{ki}-*Ar-mi*^{ki}, see below, 7.2.

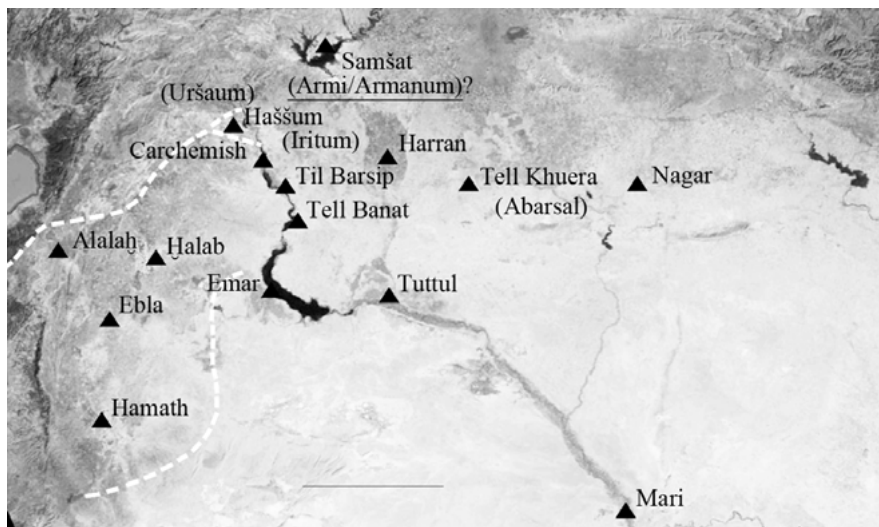


Fig. 1: Extension of the kingdom of Ebla. (Ḫassuwan/Ḫaššum was included during the mandate of minister Ibrum.)

mentioned in the treaty, the southernmost would appear to have been Haddu (*ʾĀ-du^{ki}*, § 17), which most likely lay on the other side of the Euphrates (Tell Malhat ed-Derû?) and bordered on the lands under the control of Mari (ARET 13: 196). To the south, the kingdom of Ebla included Hamath (*ʾĀ-ma-ad/du^{ki}*; present-day Hamā) and, to the west, its territories probably did not extend as far as the sea (fig. 1).

Armi remained independent for all of the forty-five years documented in the Ebla archives. It appears in neither the *Treaty with Abarsal*, before the time on office of the minister Arrukum, nor was it included in the group of independent states that were Ebla's control and recognized the city's hegemony. Documents from the last ten years, when Ibbi-zikir was the minister, show that the Eblaite administration maintained friendly relations with these [6] cities, sending sets of clothes as gifts to their sovereigns and elders once a year; usually in month IX (*iti za-lul*).² Few of these cities can be securely localized, even though the names of some of them survived into succeeding centuries.

The list of these cities (ARET 1.1–9) opens with Nīrar, probably north of Karkamiš. Kakmīum must have been in the same area. Raʾak was close to the

² The tablets are ARET 1.1–9 (no. 2 joins ARET 4.23; no. 3 joins ARET 12.146; no. 7 joins ARET 12.934+936), see the table in ARET 1: 224–225 and n. 34 below. There are some previous documents, e.g., TM.75.G.1731, where the list of these cities does not open the document.

Euphrates, south of Emar (*Letter of Enna-Dagan*, ARET 13.4 § 6). Emar (Meskene), on the Euphrates and the same latitude as Ebla, was repeatedly defeated by the rulers of Mari, Ištup-Šar, and Iblul-il (*Letter of Enna-Dagan*), when Igrīš-Ḫalab occupied the Ebla throne. Later, Irkab-damu allied Emar with Ebla by means of an inter-dynastic marriage (ARES 2: 290). A little further north of Emar, Ebla possessed a bridgehead on the Euphrates: *Mā-NE*^{ki} (ARES 2: 379–81). The list includes Burman, whose territory bordered the Euphrates (ARET 13.4 § 12); it seems that this city was also bound to Ebla by an inter-dynastic marriage (ARES 2: 185; ARET 13: 79). The identification of Dub (later Tuba) with Umm el-Marra (about 50 km east of Aleppo) is uncertain; it could, instead, be located north of the road that linked Ḫalab with Mari. Garmu and Lumnan should be localized in the Euphrates Valley (Bonechi 1993: 151, 224; Archi 2005c*: 17 [222–223]). Ursa'um (Uršum) laid at Gaziantep, or between Gaziantep and the Euphrates. There is no secure information enabling us to locate Utig(u) or Dulu(m). The cities of Iritum, Ḫarran, Sanapzugum, and Gudadanum shared with Urša'um and Abarsal the peculiarity that the minister, who was second in rank after the king, was designated with the title *ba-da-lum*. These occupied an area that today mainly lies in Turkish territory and which stretched from the Euphrates, on a level with Gaziantep (Urša'um) as far as the Baliḫ (Ḫarran). According to the Hittite sources, Ir(r)itum (Irrite) was east of Karkamiš, on the way to Ḫarran (del Monte and Tischler 1978: 144; Kessler 1980). We have no certain information regarding Sarḫu, Arḫadu, or Ḫutimu. The list then mentions a sheikh (Šura-garru) and the chiefs of his tribe (20 guruš): their habitat must have been to the east (near lake Jabboul), southeast of Ebla. Tišum must also have been found in the same area (ARES 2: 451). Ibal (“of the steppe,” eden; “of the canal,” lú pa₅; “of the water-store,” a-tuk) is [7] undoubtedly to be located southeast of Salamiya and Homs. A few documents also include Kablul, which we are certain lay north of Karkamiš, in the area of the Euphrates. Kablul and its fortresses came under the hegemony of Ebla (*Abarsal Treaty*, ARET 13.5 § 2; Archi 1989b: 13).

This list obliges us to seek Armi beyond the extensive region lying between the latitude of Uršaum-Ḫarran and that of modern-day Homs.

2 Armi in the Documentation of Minister Arrukum

No documents from the period of Irkab-damu can be ascribed precisely to any of his regnal years. We can only attribute the documents (those containing

some prosopographic data) to either the five years of minister Arrukum or roughly to the six preceding years. For this reason, it is best to examine the documents according to their emic classification.

2.1 The Monthly Accounts of Textiles

There are sixty-three *Monthly Accounts Concerning the Distribution of Textiles* [MATs], sixty of which have been published by F. Pomponio in ARET 15. These cover almost five complete years, that is the years forty to thirty-six before the destruction of Ebla, but cannot be ordered chronologically. Every two months, at least, a messenger from Armi(um) travelled to Ebla, or vice versa. Armi(um), therefore, was located in an area of great interest to Ebla.

The data contained in these documents show how Ebla was attempting, at that time, to consolidate its northern and northeastern borders. Since this is the earliest period systematically documented on a monthly basis, the most relevant passages concerning Armi are given here:

1. ARET 2.14 § 35: *Ar-mi*^{ki} hi-mu-DU níg-kaš₄ si-in A-da-bí-ig^{ki} “(garments to someone from) A. to be delivered (for) the military expedition against the town of Adabig” (Adabig was inside the horizon of Alalah, ARES 2: 96; Bonechi 1993: 17).
2. ARET 4.16 § 65: 1 gold plate of 40 shekels to *Bar-i* who went to A. (DU *Ar-mi*^{ki}); § 48: Enna-i(l), the messenger who went with PN₁ and PN₂ to A. (*En-na-ì ma-za-lum* DU *áš-ti* PN₁ PN₂ *Ar-mi*^{ki}).
3. ARET 4.17 § 40: Enna-malik brought the news that the king (of A./Ebla?) arriving from A. (en *mi-nu* *Ar-mi*^{ki} ba₄-ti); § 45: a man of A. resided in Dulu, guruš *Ar-mi*^{ki} tuš *Du-lu*^{ki}; § 47: someone of A. who went to *Da-ga-na-am*^{ki} and *Ša-bar-tum*^{ki} (in the Ḥabur region); § 61: someone of A. who went with a man (guruš) of Mari.
4. ARET 15.5 § 16: someone from A. who brought the news of the conquest of (TUM×SAL) *Dar-áb*^{ki}; § 22: someone from A. who came up from (e₁₁ *áš-ti*) Mari; § 36: wool for the sessel (GIŠ-uštil) of the king of A. (similarly XV 15 § 31).
5. ARET 15.6 §§ 1–4: *Ḥa-zu-wa-an*^{ki} *Ar-mi*^{ki} *Ur-sá-um*^{ki} *I-bu*₁₆-*bu*^{ki}; §§ 34–37: *Ar-mi-um*^{ki} *Ḥa-zu-wa-an*^{ki} *Kak-mi-um*^{ki}; § 48: someone from Darib who went with someone from A. (*Da-rí-ib*^{ki} DU *áš-ti* *Ar-mi*^{ki}) to Nagar.
6. ARET 15.8 §§ 3–5: the delegation from A. to Ebla consisted of Ḥursana (who received 1 plate of 470 g of gold), Sumiau (1 plate of 313 g of gold), his wife and a messenger (*ma-za-lum*); §§ 1–9: Abarsal, Nírar, A., Bali, Ḥassuwan, Abarsal.

7. ARET 15.10 § 42: someone of *Dar-ha-ti*^{ki} who brought the news that the king of A. was present (en *Ar-mi*^{ki} i-ti); § 77: Abulu of A. because he has to deliver for the military expedition of A. (*níg-kas₄-kas₄ Ar-mi*^{ki}); § 78: ugula *Dar-ha-ti*^{ki} (D. was a town close to A.).
8. ARET 15.16 § 23: gift for the news that the city of Kakmium the king ... the battle(!?) of A. (en *igi-du₈ me Ar-mi*^{ki}). [8]
9. ARET 15.17 § 1: Alalaia of A.; §§ 5–10: Itium ugula sur_x-BAR.AN-ur₄ – Ḫur-sana – en A. – ... – someone from A.; § 15: garments, 1 gold plate of 470 g for Ḫamarašda from A. ... his brother (*šeš-sù*) ... his representative (*maškim-im-sù*), 26 garments for his representatives (*maškim-maškim-sù*), 2 garments for two of his wives (*dam*); §§ 28–32: Ulama from A., someone from A. who went to the cities of Naša, Gagaban, Šanabzugum (Gagaban was in the region of Nagar, Šanabzugum between the Euphrates and Ḫarran); a messenger who went with someone from A.; 1,030 garments, gift for the king of A., 1 plate of 1 mina of gold and jewels of 470 g of silver for Ḫur-sana on the occasion of his presence with the couriers (*kas₄-kas₄*) by the king (of Ebla); § 37: Umu from A.
10. ARET 15.18 § 16: 2 men from A. who went to Dulu (2 *guruš* A. DU *Du-lu*^{ki}); § 19: someone from Nagar who went to A.; § 20: Iti-Rasap, a messenger, who went with Išar from A.
11. ARET 15.21 § 26: Ḫamarašda from A.; § 52: for the news that Ḫassuwan went to A. to capture it (DU A. *šu-du₈*); § 60: Ḫassuwan captured (*šu-du₈*) A.
12. ARET 15.25 § 33: 1 gold plate of 313 g for Murilu of A. who brought the news that the town of Šarabik was captured.
13. ARET 15.26 § 15: 1 gold plate of 392 g and jewels of 1 mina of silver for Lawu'u of A.; garments for the man who stays on his chariot, his wife and his *maškim*; § 30: 3 men from Mari, 2 men from Abarsal, 2 men from Darab, 6 men from Ḫassuwan, 1 man from Ibubu to be brought to A.
14. ARET 15.27 § 11: a man from A. who went to Šabartinilitum (probably to connect with Šabartum in the region of Nagar); § 43: Awaru from A. who went to Mari.
15. ARET 15.28 §§ 14–15: Ḫamarašda [from A.]; a messenger from A. who went to Mari (*ma-za-lum* A. DU M.); § 19: someone from A. who went to Abarsal; §§ 31 and 52: a *maškim* of Ḫamaršda from A.; § 35: someone from A., brother of the chief of the couriers (*kas₄-kas₄*); § 57: Ḫamarašda from A.; § 82: someone from A. for the defeat of Ḫassuwan (TIL Ḫ.).
16. ARET 15.29 § 1: 1 plate of 313 shekels of gold to AdarNElu; garments for his *maškim* (from A.).
17. ARET 15.31 § 48: 1 belt of 1 mina of gold, 1 gold plate of 1 mina, 1 dagger decorated with gold, 1 dish of 13 shekels of gold: gift for the king of A.

18. ARET 15.41 § 44: 3 messengers (*ma-za-lum*) from A.; § 73: Bumalia of *A-si-ar-ru*₁₂^{ki} who went to A.; § 79: Bari who went to A. The document registers intense relations with Ḫassuwan; § 40: defeat (*til-til*) of Abarsal.
19. ARET 15.42 § 53: someone from A. and his *maškim*; § 79: someone from A.: the cupbearer; § 106: someone from A.
20. ARET 15.43 § 62: a representative ... from A.; § 70: Enna-i(l) messenger (*ma-za-lum*) of A.
21. ARET 15.44 § 10: 1 plate of 1 mina of gold to someone from A. who brought the news of the conquest (TUM×SAL) of Abarsal, his *maškim*; § 11: someone from A. who brought a bow (GIŠ-pan) for the minister Arrukum; § 12: someone from A.; § 13: someone from A. who delivered (something from) Abarsal (mu-DU *A-bar-sal*₄^{ki}); § 14: Guli, the chief of the pairs of mules (ugula sur_x-BAR.AN) who went to A., his (two) *maškim*; § 15: Bari (who went to A.); § 16: Enna-i(l) messenger (*ma-za-um*) (of A.); § 17: someone from A. because he brought ...; § 18: 1 gold plate of 392 g for Lawu'u and his *maškim* from A., for bringing a sessel (GIŠ-šudul), vinegar and malt.
22. ARET 15.45 § 6: Adar-NElu, his *maškim*, his wife, from A.; § 74: *Īr-ì-ba Am*₆-MÁH A.
23. ARET 15.46 § 35: Išma-gardu the carpenter (nagar) from A.; § 57: the representative (*maškim*) of Dubi who brought the news that A. was defeated (*til*); (on this defeat of A., see the commentary to TM.75.G.2029, below, 2.3 no. 15).
24. ARET 15.47 § 49: NEhadu, his *maškim* from A.; § 52: the chief of the pairs of mules of minister Arrukum who went to A.
25. ARET 15.49 § 57: someone who brought a fugitive from A.; § 102: a cook (*muḫaldim*) from A.
26. ARET 15.50 § 6: [...]NI the chief of the men (ugula guruš-guruš) from A.; § 54: 2 people present from Nagar; § 55: someone from Nagar who brought a fugitive; § 67: 2 people from A. who went to Nagar. [9]
27. ARET 15.51 § 22: someone from A. who was a courier (u₅) to/of the town of 'Ā-ma^{ki} (north of Karkamiš); § 29: someone from A. who ME-sig the boxwood which Išdama has received; § 30: the representative-messengers (*egi*₄-*maškim*) from A. who were couriers (u₅) to/of 'Ā-ma^{ki}, who brought boxwood.
28. ARET 15.52 § 6: two people from A., their messenger.
29. ARET 15.53 § 45: the attendant (*pa*₄-šeš) of the son of the king of A.; § 56: [...] the king of A. [...]; § 62: the spouse of Arrada from A.; § 64: the chief of the pair of mules of the king of A.; § 67: Dudarau from A. when [PN] went to A.
30. ARET 15.54 § 8: [...] 2 girls and 1 boy present from A.

31. ARET 15.56 §§ 6–7: Iram-gamal and Iram-damu who went to A.; § 16: Ibduru who went to A.; § 20: [... brought] the news that Kakmium defeated A. (nígmul *Kak-mi-um*^{ki} *Ar-mi-um*^{ki} til-til); § 33: A'u and Ibdur-išar who went to A.; § 62: Ibdur-il and Išma-gardu who brought 940 g of tin from A.; § 64: Ibduru, the messenger (*ma-za-um*), who went to A.
32. ARET 15.58 §§ 1–2: 1 plate of 1 mina of gold for Kun-tidu (king of Armi?), garments to a messenger from A., when he brought the heads of the king of SuNEdu and of the king of Zamarum; § 31: someone of A. who was courier (u₅) to/of 'Ā-ma^{ki}; § 45: Ana and Lagab went to A.; § 59: a representative-messenger (e-gi₄:maškim) from A. (who was also) courier (u₅) of/to 'Ā-ma^{ki}, his messenger.

The delivery of the heads of the kings of SuNEdu and Zamarum to Ebla, and the gifts for Kun-tidu (perhaps the king of Armi in this period) is recorded also in TM.75.G.1902 (= MEE 10.27)(+) rev. III 6–IV 4 (see below, 2.3 no. 18) and in TM.76.G.689: “1 plate of 235 g of gold: gift (for) Kun-tidu of. A. on the occasion of the consignment of the head (sag šu-mu-tag₄) of the king of SiNEdu and of the head of the king of Zamarum.”³

2.2 mu-DU Documents

The mu-DU documents (ARET 14) register deliveries to the central administration from several officials and centers belonging to the kingdom and also from certain independent city-states. Of these, Mari is the most frequently mentioned (7 texts); the others are: Abarsal (3), Armi (4), Dub (3), Gudadanum (4), Ḥassuwan (1), Iritum (1), Kablul (5), Kakmium (1), Nlrar (2), Urša'um (2).

2.3 Documents Concerning Precious Objects

Four texts can be considered as *Annual Accounts of the Distribution of Metals* (AAMs) for the period of the minister Arrukum (some with lengthy lacunae), although the typology of this kind of document had not yet been definitively established. Three of these mention Armi(um).

1. TM.75.G.1872 rev. XIV 19–XV 4: 78 g of silver: gift for Iramu who went to A.
2. TM.75.G.10001 obv. VII 1'–3': [...] 5 mantels zara₆-TÚG for the king of A.

³ These passages are discussed in Archi 1998d*: 389–90 [294–296].

3. TM.77.G.730 obv. VIII 9–15: 940 g of gold: property of the daughter of the king who went to/for A. (ZA_x dumu-munus en DU iš A.; this might have been the dowry of an Eblaite princess who went as a bride to Armi); rev. III 13–IV 4: 235 g of silver: travel provisions for Iš-damu who went to A.

Many other documents, mostly from the time of minister Arrukum, testify to remarkably intense relations between Ebla and Armi during the reign of Irkab-damu, which had begun under his predecessor, Igriš-Ḫalab. None of this information is included in the three AAMs mentioned above.

4. ARET 14.4, the earliest document as it is dated to king Igriš-Ḫalab (thus, at least seven years before Arrukum became minister), registers a total of 8,000 (lance) heads + 1,012 blades/head (of goads) for mules [10] (GIŠ-gu-kak-gid šub BAR.AN-BAR.AN). 120 of these goads, for a total weight of 40 minas of bronze (18.80 kg), came from Armium, § 7.
5. Some passages record goods for individuals going to, or arriving from Armi.
6. TM.75.G.1353 rev. II 1–III 7: 3;36 ma-na kù-gi 3;25 ma-na kù-babbar níg-ba-sù DU *Ar-mi-um*^{ki} *En-na-il Ib-dur-i-šar ĩr-am₆-ga-ma-al* šu-ba₄-ti 1;05 ma-na kù-babbar 50 ma-na urudu lú níg-sa₁₀ udu-udu níg-kaskal-sù “1692 g of gold and 1,606 g of silver: their gift (for) going to A.; Enna-il, Ibdur-išar (and) Iram-gamal have received. 509 g of silver, 23;5 kg of copper which is the value of sheep: their travel provisions” (Alberti 1981: 41). This very rich “gift” was given to the Eblaite messengers who went to Armium.
7. TM.75.G.1379 rev. VII 15–VIII 2: 100 g of silver to Išma-NEdu and Irib-gar who went to A.; XIII 7–12: 235 g of silver as travel provision for Išar son of Gubara who went to A.
8. TM.75.G.1406 obv. VI 10–VII 2: goods] for A.: travel (kaskal) of the minister Arrukum; rev. X 5–9 (colophon): bronze, copper, tin as travel provisions for a trip to A. and as gifts to the gods.
9. TM.75.G.1413 obv. IX 6–10: 940 g of silver (for?) 1 gold plate of 235 g for Nizaran of A.
10. TM.75.G.1540(+) obv. VII 5–8: 1,802 g of gold for 4 plates: gift for A.
11. MEE 10.4 (TM.75.G.1796) obv. VI 3–5: gold and silver] for decorating the chariot of the king of A.
12. TM.75.G.1915 obv. IV 8–13: 1,214 g of copper: buckles of reins for 4 merchants (dam-gàr) of A. who went to Mari.
13. TM.75.G.1928 obv. I 1–II 7: 885 – 548 – 783 g of silver: buckles of reins for 3 travels (kaskal) to A. In the following sections, gifts for the queen of Ibubu; gifts for the kings of Kakmium and Ḫassuwan.
14. The following document registers a notable quantity of gold and silver delivered by Armi on an undefined occasion.

15. TM.75.G.2596 obv. V 5–VI 4: AN.ŠÈ.GÚ 54;03 ma-na kù-gi 168;45 ma-na kù-babbar lú *Ar-mi*^{ki} in-na-sum in ud šu mu-nigin SA.ZA_x^{ki} ... (rev. I 1–7) 10 gín kù-gi 1 dib *Nu-ba-an*^{ki} maškim *Sa-li-im* TUŠ.LÚ×TIL in A. “Total: 25.40 kg of gold, 79.21 kg of silver which A. has given on the occasion of the return to the palace (of Ebla). 78 g of gold (for) 1 plate (for someone) from Nuban representative of Salim, resident in A.”

A defeat suffered by Armi is announced by four messengers from this city (see above, 2.1 nos. 23, 31); this is followed by news of the defeat of Abarsal (see above 2.1 nos. 18 and 21).

16. TM.75.G.2029 obv. I 1–IV 1: (garments) 1 (gold) plate of 70 g: Arrada ... his representative (maškim-sù); (garments) 1 (gold) plate of 313 g: “Ḫaranau ... his representative of Armi, who brought the news of the defeat of Armi” (nig-mul til *Ar-mi*^{ki}); (rev. II 2–3: nig-mul til *A-bar-sal*^{ki}).

Gifts were exchanged between the kings of the two cities and between the two royal families.

17. TM.75.G.2599 rev. IV 1–V 3: nig-ba en lú en *Ar-mi-um*^{ki} in-na-sum in ud kas₄-kas₄ *Dar-áb*^{ki} [...] *A-bar-sal*₄^{ki} *Ma-rí*^{ki} “(several garments and some jewels,) gift (for) the king (of Ebla) which the king of Armium has given, on the occasion of the messengers of the cities of Darab, [X], Abarsal (and) Mari.”
18. Some officials (Imur-lim, Dubi-zikir, Ibduru, Bumau) brought to Armi the following gifts (nig-ba). For the king of Armi: 2 + 2 garments, 1 belt decorated with 470 g of gold, 1 gold plate of 470 g, 1 axe (GIŠ-silig) of 117 g of gold, 1 dagger decorated with gold; for the queen: 2 garments and 2 toggle-pins of 78 g of gold; for the king’s daughters: 2 buckles and 2 toggle-pins of 157 g of gold; 3 + 3 + 3 garments for the king’s sons; 1 set of garments, 1 belt of 470 g of gold, 1 gold plate [of x g], 1 dagger decorated with gold for *Ša-ma-an* (for) nig-ág of the king of Armi.
19. TM.75.G.1902 (ARET 10.27)(+) registers two deliveries of “gifts,” nig-ba, to the royal family of Armi. The first one was consigned by Sagdamu and DurduLUM: 1 belt, 1 plate and harness for a total of 1,566 g of gold for the king of Armi; 2 bracelet of 313 g of gold; harness of 626 g of gold for *Šar-da-da* (for) nig-ág en *Ar-mi*^{ki}. The second delivery was brought to Mari by the minister Arrukum himself: about the same gift for the king; jewels for the queen weighing 548 g of gold; 4 bracelet, 1 buckle, 2 toggle-pins for 491 g of gold; harness and objects for the chariot for *Šar-da-da* (for) nig-ág en *Ar-mi*^{ki}. Imur-lim and Bumau (see the preceding text, no. 17) brought 1

gold plate [11] of 470 g for *Ša-ma-an* (for) *níg-ág en Ar-mi*^{ki.4} It follows the gifts for Kun-tidu of Armi for having delivered to Ebla the heads of the kings of SuNEdu and Zamarum to Ebla (see 2.1 no. 32).

2.4 Considerations

The list of the cities that delivered goods (mu-DU; 2.2) shows that, in this period, Ebla conducted political relations with Mari, with Armi, and with cities lying to the north and northeast, probably so as to re-establish alliances following the defeat of Abarsal. Armi is usually linked to cities like Ḫassuwan and Urša'um, which must have been situated not far from the modern border between Syria and Turkey:

- Ḫassuwan – Armi – Urša'um – Ibubu (2.1 no. 5)
- Nīrar – Armi – Ḫassuwan – Abarsal (2.1 no. 6)
- Ḫassuwan – Armi (2.1 nos 11, 15)
- Abarsal – Darab – Ḫassuwan – Ibubu – Armi (2.1 no. 13)
- Armi – Ibubu – Kakmīum – Ḫassuwan (2.3 no. 12)

It is impossible to determine the location of Ibubu, Nīrar or Kakmīum. Both the *Treaty with Abarsal*, ARET 13.5 § 39 and a letter of a king of Manuwat, ARET 13.10 § 10, list the sequence: Kakmīum – Ḫassuwan – Nīrar, which must relate to an area not far from the Euphrates. Armi must have been further towards the edges of the area occupied by these three cities.

It has been proposed that Ḫassuwan is to be identified with Tilbeşar (south of Gaziantep, on the latitude of Karkamiš), a tell presenting the typical morphology of a great Middle Bronze Age city (Archi 2008b* [433–434]). Urša'um lay immediately to the north, at Gaziantep, or in the area between this city and the Euphrates. Kablul and Gudadanum are mentioned at the start of the *Treaty with Abarsal*, before Karkamiš. Since Karkamiš was already under Ebla's dominion, whereas Kablul and Gudadanum were ruled by a king until the last days of Ebla, these two cities must have been further away. Abarsal lay beyond the Euphrates (Tell Chuera?). Iritum was on the road from Karkamiš towards Ḫarran. Nīrar is mentioned before Kakmīum in the lists discussed above (§ 1). The territory of Kakmīum bordered on that of Armi, since two texts mention military conflicts between the two cities (2.1 nos. 8, 31). Kakmīum cannot have

⁴ Šaman (also in text no. 17) and Šardada are mentioned in connection with *níg-ág*, a term that has to express the occasion for the gifts sent to Armi (Archi 2000e). ARET 7.79 § 15 present the variant šà-ág: “harness (for) the pair of mules of the king of Armi (for) his š. (šà-ág-sù).”

been far from the territory of Ḫassuwan: ARET 15.57 § 18 records the news that a man from Kakmium had killed someone from Ḫassuwan: *níg-mul K. guruš H. úš*. A location to the north for Kakmium is suggested also by a passage in the *Treaty with Abarsal*, ARET 13.5 § 39: “(If) the cities of Kakmium, Ḫassuwan, and Nīrar enter into alliance (with Ebla)”

In terms of the geographical position of Armi, it is relevant that this city’s couriers reached Hama (2.1 nos. 27, 32), at the centre of a system of fortified villages (*bād^{ki} / uru^{ki}*), and thus in an area bordering on the kingdom of Ebla.⁵

Armi had frequent relations with Mari (2.1 nos. 4, 13, 14, 15; 2.3 nos. 11, 15), with the region of the Upper Ḫabur under the control of Nagar (Tell Brak), (2.1 nos. 5, 9, 10, 14, 26),⁶ and with Abarsal (Tell Chuera?), which had already been defeated by Ebla before the period of the minister Arrukum (2.1 nos. 6, 13, 15, 18, 21; 2.3 15). Since the administrative documents of Ebla mention these exchanges of messengers so frequently, it is clear that Armi played a dominant role in its region. [12]

The exchange of messengers between Ebla and Armi was extremely frequent, at least once every two months, according to the preserved documentation. The heads of the Armi delegation received the kind of gifts that the administration gave to individuals of particularly high rank: 1 plate of gold of 1 mina, or 50 – 40 – 30 shekels (470 – 392 – 313 – 235 g): 2.1 nos. 6, 9, 12, 13, 16, 21; 2.3 nos. 8, 9, 14. The relationship between the cities was almost that of equals. It is not certain whether the military defeat of Armi recorded in 2.1 no. 23 (?) and 2.3 no. 14, was at the hands of Ebla.

3 Armi in the Documents of the Eighteen Years of Minister Ibrum

Frequent relations between Ebla and Armi continued in the period of Ibrum. However, no particularly important events are recorded and the gifts exchanged were modest.

5 ARES 2: 130–131 (10–14 fortresses, see respectively MEE 2.32 obv. VI 13–15 and ARET 3.236 VIII). Another group of fortresses was under the control of Luatum (mentioned also in the *Treaty with Abarsal*), north, northeast(?) of Karkamiš, ARES 2: 334 (the document is TM.75.G.1975).

6 See also TM.75.G.10094 obv. III 3–rev. I 1: *Ù-zi Na-gàr^{ki} e₁₁ in Ar-mi^{ki}* “Uzi of Nagar went up to Armi.”

3.1 The mu-DU Documents

The yearly mu-DU documents of the minister Ibrium include a section relating to deliveries from cities under Ebla's control and from friendly city-states (listed in ARET 14). The number of such city-states gradually increased and Ebla's hegemony expanded. ARET 14.60 (Ibr. 8) lists: Dub, Ibubu, Iritum and Kablul; ARET 14.64 (Ibr. 12): Dub, Dulu, Ḫarran, Ibubu, Kablul (en / ugula), Sanapzugum, Utig; ARET 14.70 (Ibr. 18): Dub, Ḫarran, Ibubu, Iritum, Kablul, Sanapzugum, Utig. Some of the cities that recur with certain regularity lay roughly along the current Syrian-Turkish border, as far as the Baliḥ (Iritum, Sanapzugum, Ḫarran). Gudadanum appears in two documents, and Emar and Tuttul, further south along the Euphrates, only in one text each. Abarsal had, by then, become a minor center.

Urša'um appears only once, in the last document (ARET 14.71, Ibr. 19) while Armi is mentioned in those of the first two years. Clearly, these two cities were not in the region over which Ebla exercised hegemony. ARET 14.54 (Ibr. 1) is dated to the year in which Irkab-damu died; § 31: 1 ma-na kù-babbar en *Ar-mi*^{ki} lú en *Ḫa-ma-za-a*^{ki} šu-mu-“tag₄” wa ì-na-sum-sù níg-ba *Iš-má-gàr-du* maškim-e-gi₄ en *Ib-la*^{ki} “470 g of silver of the king of A. which the king of Ḫamazi has handed over and is his giving (as) a gift to PN, the representative-messenger, (for) the king of Ebla”. ARET 14.55 (Ibr. 2) §§ 6, 11, 15–17: silver, garments mu-DU PN túg-túg ḫi-gar *Ar-mi*^{ki} “garments to bring(?) (to) A.”.

Armi, therefore, was capable of maintaining political relations with Ḫamazi, an important state east of the Tigris. According to the first passage, which is admittedly difficult to interpret, a messenger from Armi was given the task of bringing a gift to Ebla from the king of Ḫamazi. Just a few years earlier, the king Irkab-damu had sent a letter to Zizi, king of Ḫamazi (ARET 13.3).

3.2 The Annuals Accounts of Metals

The eighteen AAMs from the time of Ibrium do not record any particularly important events in relations between the two cities.

1. TM.76.G.672(+) (AAM Ibr. 1) obv. V 16–19: Irkab-ar went to A.; VI 14–VII 3: NaNE from Nagar received 157 g of silver as travel provisions (níg-kaskal) because he went to A. NaNE was an official of Nagar in charge of the relations with Ebla, which he reached several times during the first seven years of Ibrium. This time the Eblaite administration entrusted him with a mission to A. According to the following lines (VII 4–9), Puzurra-agu of Ebla received provisions because he went to Nagar. [13]

2. TM.75.G.10077(+) (AAM Ibr. 2) obv. XIII 11–15: 'Adaš, the messenger (*ma-za-lum*), went to A.; rev. VIII 5–15: Nizima-il went to Nagar, [PN] and a messenger (*ma-za-lum*) went to A.
3. TM.75.G.2464 (AAM Ibr. 3) obv. IV 1–21: Iram-malik went to Nagar and seven other town belonging to Nagar; V 9–13: 'Adaš went to A.; IX 18–IX 2: Airra, A-KA-*bù-lu* of the town of Utig and A-KA went to A.; XV 2–8: Airra and A-KA-*bù-lu*, representatives of Ḫara-il, went to A.; rev. II 3–6: Zagar of the town of Adarkizu went to A.; IV 9–11: someone of the town of ḪAR-*zàr-du*^{ki} went to A.
4. TM.75.G.3481(+) (AAM Ibr. 6) obv. II 14'–17': PN] went to A. being representative(s) of Hara-i(l); rev. II 12–15: Dubi of Išda-ma who resided (lú-tuš-LÚ×TIL) in A.; III 2'–6': Enar-lim, son of Dubi-šum of the town of Abad of A.; IV 1–3: (someone) of the town of Buratin who resided in A.
5. TM.75.G.1904 (AAM Ibr. 7) obv. XIV 12–XV 4: Tešna and Warutum of Mari; Enna-BAD of the town of Zuti, representative of Dubi, who went to A. gift to someone from Nagar; gift to someone from Gagaban (of the region of Nagar); XV 19–v. I 5: Ilra-BAD representative of Nībarum who went to A.; Ibgitum of Mari who brought the news that Nagar was destroyed (til); someone of the town of Adabig who was present coming from A.; gift to Išga'um of Mari; gift to Tešna and Warutum of Mari.
6. TM.75.G.10148 (AAM Ibr. 8) rev. VIII 6–8: someone of the town of Kablul who went to A.
7. TM.75.2465 (AAM Ibr. 16) obv. VIII 17–21: NEiš-dar of the town of Kablul who went to A.
8. TM.75.G.1923 (AAM Ibr. 18) rev. X 3'–7': Bugallu of the town of Bazimu who went to A.

In one passage, text no. 3 records a mission to Nagar and one to Armi. In no. 5, Armi appears in a section that is preceded by a mention of Nagar and followed by one referring to Mari. Rather than indicating a geographical position, this information would seem to suggest that the political weight of Armi was comparable to that of these two great cities.

At the start of this minister's period, there was a war against Mari (Ibr. 2–3; Archi and Biga 2003: 10–11). Later, Ibrium led a number of military expeditions in the northern regions against: Gudadanum (Ibr. 8), Manuwat (Ibr. 9),⁷ Kakmium (Ibr. 11 and 14) and Ḫalšum (Ibr. 13) (Gudadanum and Ḫalšum belonged to the "*badalum*-region"). The fragmentary document ARET 3.737 obv.

⁷ The king of Manuwat is mentioned in the yearly mu-DU texts only for the year 1 and 10 of Ibrium.

V 5–8 alludes to a military campaign led by Ibrium in cooperation with Armi, rather than a battle against this city: *níg-mul Ib-rí-um mè Ar-mi^{ki}* DU.DU “who brought the news that Ibrium went (to) the battle of A.” (see also VI 11–13: *níg-mul Ib-rí-um mè* DU.DU). This event fell probably in the thirteenth year, when the minister led an expedition against Sidarin, according to the annual document TM.75.G.2365. According to ARET 13.9 §§ 46–47 183, Armi took part in this expedition. In Ibr. 16, Ebla fought against Zaḥīran, in the Euphrates valley, a city that the Letter of Enna-Dagan connects with Abarsal, ARET 13.4 § 10. The last year of Ibrium saw a war against Mari, starting from Tuttul, TM.75.G.1923(+) (Ibr. 18) obv. II 8–10: *kaskal níg-kas₄ Du-du-lu^{ki}*; XIII 4–7: *in níg-kas₄ Ma-rí^{ki}* (Archi and Biga 2003: 12). Armi, in general, remained outside the area of Ibrium’s military activities.

4 Armi in the Documents of the Seventeen Years of Minister Ibbi-zikir (I.Z.)

4.1 The First Thirteen Years

There was an increase in warfare under Ibbi-zikir compared to the period of Ibrium. The relations between Ebla and Armi are outlined by the AAMs, together with information that can be gleaned from other documents. The yearly mu-DU documents are one year behind with respect to the AAMs, probably because they were drawn up in different periods of the same year; that is, the data in AAM I.Z. 3 corresponds to that found in the mu-DU text I.Z. 4. [14]

1st year. In the last year of Ibrium, a certain *Bù-gal-lu* from the city of Bazimu received the usual travel provisions (*níg-kaskal*) of 157 g of silver for a trip to A. The AAM of the 1st year of minister Ibbi-zikir records the delivery of 157 shekels of silver for Ma-gal of Bazimu who went to A., MEE 10.20 (TM.75.G.1860, AAM I.Z. 1) obv. XV 5–11. The location of Bazimu is not known.

2nd year. TM.75.G.2462 (AAM I.Z. 2) obv. VIII 20–25 registers 470 g of silver for an undefined number of people from Kablul who travelled to A. The Ebla administration sometimes gave travel provisions to individuals from foreign cities travelling to other destinations.

3rd year. TM.75.G.10088(+) (AAM I.Z. 3) obv. XVII 7–18 registers 908 g of tin and 66;18 kg minas of copper for a delivery of axes (*gín*) and hammers or chis-

els (dub-nagar) for carpenters (nagar) from A., who were resident in A[...]. Among the messengers sent to A., there were 'Adaš and Miga-i(l), who travelled with AbaKA (respectively rev. VI 15–20 and XII 3–12). The mu-DU text ARET 14.80 (I.Z. 4) registers in §§ 30 and 32 the gifts which they received in A. Large sections of this AAM relate to the war against Bagara, a town that is otherwise very rarely mentioned. It would appear, therefore, that this war was directed by Ebla against a peripheral region.

Associated with the war against Bagara is the (unexpected) war against Armi. The MAT TM.75.G.2435(+) narrates that the minister had returned from the expedition against Bagara (rev. V 3–8: *in ud i-ti I-bi-zi-kir mi-nu níg-kas₄ Ba-ga-ra^{ki}*), and from one against A. (VI 8–12: *I-bi-zi-kir mi-nu níg-kas₄ Ar-mi^{ki}*). It is probable that Bagara and Armi were located in roughly the same region.

4th year. Already in the previous year, a certain Gutī had been sent to A. (TM.75.G.10088(+)) rev. XV 7–10: *Gu₄-ti DU.DU si-in A.*). In the year of the peace agreement, Gutī went back to A. for the second time, accompanied on his return journey by Mimiadu. In Ebla the latter received 1 gold plate of 313 g (TM.75.G.10201, AAM I.Z. 4, obv. IV 4–21). Mimiadu returned to Ebla shortly afterwards, accompanied by ENamu (VI 25–31). Bamiadu and Mimiadu swore terms of peace at Ebla: “1 plate of 392 g of gold (for) Bamiadu (and) 1 plate of 313 g of gold (for) Mimiadu of A., that of (his) going (to) the oil offering (and) 8 g of silver (for) his swearing (in) the temple of Kura” (*šè DU.DU nídba i-giš 1 gín kù-babbar nam-kud-sù é ^dKu-ra*; obv. VIII 1–17). Gutī (with En'amu) returned once again to A. (obv. XXVII 5–9). Gutī received 1 *ti-gi-na* of 705 g of gold in connection with “the expedition (against) A. (níg-kas₄ *Ar-mi^{ki}*)” at Hardagum; he received another *ti-gi-na* of gold of 627 g at A.: these gifts are registered in the mu-DU texts I.Z. 5, ARET 14.81 §§ 52 and 55. Other officials from A. were present at Ebla: Išbudu messenger of Mimiadu; further, Nimirna, Aliluwada and Baba'u on their way back from an expedition (níg-kas₄) of A. against Darḥadu (TM.75.G.10201 rev. IV 16–33).⁸ Darḥadu, a city which is rarely mentioned, must therefore have been close to A.

That year, A. participated symbolically in the annual renewal of the silver mask of Kura (Archi 2005d*: 81–82 [736–737]), in whose temple the peace with Ebla was sealed: “[470 g of silver (for) the god Kura,] (for) his head; 16 g of silver (from) A. (for) the god Kura; 8 g of silver (for) the head of silver (from)

⁸ The expedition of Armi against Darḥadu is mentioned also in ARET 1.16 §§ 1–3: (4 + 4 + 4 garments) *Ū-mi-nin-uš-MUŠEN Mi-mi-a-du A-la-lu*; (1 + 1 + 1 garments, 1 bracelet of gold and silver) *Iš₁₁-gi-bù-du*; (3 + 3 + 3 garments, 3 bracelets of silver for) *NI-mi-ir-na A-la-lu-wa-du Ba-ba-ù Ar-mi^{ki} i-ti mi-nu mè Dar-ha-ti^{ki}*. See also the passage 2.1 no. 7.

A. (for) the god Hadda” (TM.75.G.10201 obv. I 1–11). This recognition was of great importance, never being given to any other city.⁹

5th year. The peace with Armi, achieved following a military confrontation, was consolidated by stable and friendly relations. The frequent exchange of messengers and gifts, comparable only by those exchanged with Mari, marked the importance of this alliance. The end of the previous year had seen the journey of Išgi-bair and Na-zumu to A. (TM.75.G.10201 rev. XIV 17–27). The 5th year registers three journeys by messengers to A. Išgi-bair, Nazumu (both mentioned also in the preceding document) and ENaum together with Wabarum, his messenger (*ma-za-lum*) took part in the first of these journeys (AAM I.Z. 5, TM.75.G.1918 = MEE 10.29 obv. V 1–16: kaskal-I). They may have been entrusted with the valuable gifts destined for the principal figures at A.: 1 bracelet (*gú-li-lum*) [15] of 940 g of gold for the king; 1 plate of 470 g of gold for *Û-mi-nin.uš.MUŠEN*; 1 plate of 395 g of gold for Bamiadu; 1 plate of 313 g of gold for Mimiadu; 1 plate of 235 g of gold for Aralu (V 19–VI 12; cf. the MAT ARET 4.6 § 48). Mimiadu, together with Raizu and Ibgi, the son of Igi (from Ebla?), was at the head of another expedition of A. against the town of Darḥadu; after the battle (*mè*), he received another plate of 313 g of gold (IX 3–21). At this point, a second journey (kaskal-II) is registered concerning five people who accompanied Mimiadu back to A. (IX 22–38). This is followed by a third journey (kaskal-III) to A. (XX 30–XXI 9). *Û-mi-nin.uš.MUŠEN* and Bamiadu received two more plates of 395 g of gold each, and Mimiadu one of 313 g of gold, this time in 'Azan, a secondary Eblaite royal residence (XXIII 19–XXIV 31). Darzimu and *Û-mi-nin.uš.MUŠEN* (again present, *ì-ti*, at Ebla) received a plate of 470 g of gold each (rev. V 13–21).¹⁰ The king (*en*) of A. returned these gifts with substantial goods given to the messengers of Ebla (Išma-damu, Enna-malik, and Dubuḥu-malik) who arrived at A. together with Mimiadu (XXV 22–30, rev. V 27–35; the value of these gifts, consigned by the messengers to the palace, is registered in the mu-DU text of I.Z. 6, ARET 14.82 § 20: 1,308 g of gold, §§ 26, 32, 42.

6th year. Relations with A. take up most of AAM I.Z. 6, TM.75.G.10074. Darzimu and ḤARḥunu from A. received two daggers decorated with gold (obv. I 9–12). 960 arrowheads (*GIŠ-ti*) of bronze were sent to A. (III 8–12). The messengers ENamu, Išma-damu and Nazumu were sent later (XIII 16–23), and again Ati,

⁹ A fragmentary text, TM.76.G.729, without any indication of date, mentions in obv. II 1–4 an “offering to the Weather-god Hadda (by people of) Armi for [...] *nídba* ^d*Ā-da Ar-mi^{ki} si-in* [...]”.

¹⁰ TM.75.G.1890+11556 obv. XII 10–15 registers garments received by Utī for someone from Armi who was representative (*maškim*) of *Umi-nin.uš.MUŠEN*.

Nazumu, and Išma-damu (rev. X 17–24). The mu-DU text of I.Z. 7, ARET 14.83 §§ 42–44, registers the gifts given to them. Sarmilu of A. received 1 plate of 313 g of gold (rev. IX 27–30). The question of boundaries had yet to be finalized. The two states did not border each other directly, see the eighth year, below; similarly, the *Treaty with Abarsal* defined Ebla's sphere of influence in relation to that of Abarsal. Darzimu and Sarmilu of A. each received a gold plate, respectively weighing 470 and 392 g; Išbudu, their messenger (*ma-za-lum*), received a bracelet, “for traveling to (fix) the boundary stones of the border of Ebla and A.; previous journey,” DU.DU *da-ma-ti-iš* ki-sur *Ib-la*^{ki} *wa Ar-mi*^{ki} *kas-kal libir-rá* (obv. X 11–26).¹¹ A second journey then had to be made by Sarmilu and Muria, together with Išbudu (XI 1–13). Parallel to this text, we have MAT TM.75.G.1382 obv. I 2–II 5: 3 dib 30 (gín) *kù-gi Dar-zi-mu Sar-mi-lu Mu-rí-a ... Iš-bù-du ma-za-lum in ud* [D]U.DU *da-ma-ti-iš* SUR.AŠ.KI (= ki-sur!) *Ib-la*^{ki} *wa Ar-mi*^{ki}; rev. V 13–VI 1: *Dar-zi-mu Sar-mi-lu Mu-rí-a Ar-mi*^{ki}.¹²

In this year Ebla conducted two wars: against Ilwum (XI 29–31), a city in the direction of Mari (ARET 13.13 § 6), and Nabu: a small city-state not far from Kakmium (ARES 2: 390–391; ARET 4.18 § 95) and A., because a representative (*maškim*) of the minister Ibbi-zikir “went to A. in order to hand over the king of Nabu,” DU.DU *si-in A. ħi-mu-DU en Na-bù*^{ki} (TM.75.G.10074 rev. XV 15–20). This event is registered also in TM.75.G.2062 rev. IV 2–10, showing that Ebla received aid from Armi¹³: 1;20 *ma-na kù-gi 2 dib [40] Sar-mi-lu Dar-zi-mu Ar-*

11 On *da-ma-ti* linked to ki-sur, see Archi 1998a*: 23 [719].

12 TM.75.G.10074 obv. X 21 and XI 11, has the writing ki-sur, attested also in the Lexical Lists, no. 141 (MEE 4: 213).

13 The soldiers of Armi were concentrated at Gizan, TM.75.G.1381 obv. IX 12–X 5: 180 *gada-TÚG túg-túg Ar-mi*^{ki} *al₆-tuš Gi-za-an*^{ki} *in ud è si-in níg-kas₄ Na-bù*^{ki} “180 linen clothes (for) garments (for the people) of Armi residing in Gizan, when they went out on a military expedition (against) Nabu.” Similarly obv. X 6–XI 4: “(the people) of Armi residing in Gizan received 60 + 207 + 206 + 57 + 200 garments in Barru upon arriving from the expedition (against) Nabu (*áš-du ì-ti mi-nu níg-kas₄ Na-bù*^{ki}).” Also belonging to the 6th year of Ibbi-zikir is the following passage, TM.75.G.10074 rev. VII 22–VIII 4: weapons and tools for people of Armi residing at Gizan, 30 gín-gal 60 gín-tur 160 dub-nagar 50 šum. Gizan(u) belonged to the fortified settlements depending from Luatum, to the north of Karkamiš (ARES 2: 244–245). ARET 1.15 § 53: “550 KIN-measures of wool (for people from) Armi residing (in) Gizan;” 4.5 § 22: “200 linen clothes as clothing (for people of) Armi residing in Gizan.” ARET 4.25 § 26 has: “1140 KIN-measures of wool (for) garments (for people from) Armi residing (in) Gizan in Hamadu.” The writing *’Ā-ma-du*^{ki} is a mistake for *’Ā-ma*^{ki}, which lay to the north of Karkamiš, and was the center of a fortification system to the northern boundary of the Eblaite state (see 2.1 no. 27). The same mistake is encountered in TM.75.G.10029 obv. VI 4–9: *kú Ga-sa*^{ki} ... 83 *Ar-mi*^{ki} *’Ā-ma-du*^{ki} “consumption (for people) of Gasa ... 83 (measure of ... for people) of Armi (at) Hamadu(!).” Gasa was a center of *’Ā-ma*^{ki} (ARES 2: 233)! *’Ā-ma-du*^{ki} was the correct writing for present Hamath (ARES 2: 130–32).

mi^{ki} *in* *ud* *hi-mu-DU en Na-bù*^{ki} “626 g of gold (for) 2 plate of [313 g (each)] (to) Sarmilu (and) Darzimu [16] of A. on the occasion of the handover of the king of the town of Nabu.”¹⁴ In the action against Nabu, Ebla received aid from Armi: Darzimu and Sarmilu delivered the king of Nabu to Ebla.

7th year. TM.75.G.2622, AAM I.Z. 7, records also for this year the presence at Ebla of Sarmilu and Darzimu, who each received a gold plate weighing 862 g (obv. XII 32–35, XXI 3–6). The messenger sent to A. was Nazumu (VII 10–18).

8th year. This was the first year of the war against Ibal, which is probably to be located south or southeast of Salamiye. Relations with A., as also with Mari and Nagar, were intense. Išma-damu and Nazumu reached A. (TM.75.G.2428, AAM I.Z. 8, obv. V 3–9). Sarmilu arrived from A. and received 1 gold plate of 392 g of gold (V 12–15). Another journey undertaken by Sarmilu, together with Muria (1 gold plate each of, respectively, 392 and 235 g) had the aim of defining the borders with the city of Nabu, DU.DU *si-in ki-sur Na-bù*^{ki} (XII 27–XIII 2; see 6th year above). Sarmilu received another gold plate of 470 g for accompanying Išma-damu and Nazumu to A. where they were to establish definitively which cities came under the hegemony of Ebla, *di-kud al₆ uru^{ki}-uru^{ki} Ib-la*^{ki} (XIII 3–13, XXI 36–XXII 1). The gift taken by Sarmilu to Ebla, and those received by the two Eblaite messengers are registered in the mu-DU text of I.Z. 9, ARET 14.85 §§ 28–32. When the two messengers, Nazumu and Išma-damu, consigned the gifts from A. at Ebla, they received in exchange, from the central administration, 470 g of silver (TM.75.G.2428 obv. VII 19–25). Another messenger (*ma-za-lum*), Wabarum, reached A. (obv. XXVII 24–30). Mimiadu and Šalilu received a plate of gold, weighing 313 and 235 g, respectively.

9th year. War against Zabû, on the edges of the area dominated by Ebla. Relations with A. were intense. Išma-damu and Nazumu made three journeys to A. (TM.75.G.2508, AAM I.Z. 9, obv. VII 33–VIII 21; XXIV 27–34 and rev. XIII 21–30: VI month; XIV 4–12 and XVII 13–19: IX month). Their presence at A. is also

Other documents attest the presence of people from Armi placed at the border of the Eblaite kingdom, ARET 4.8 § 27: “1034 KIN-measures of wool (for) garments (for people from) Armi residing (in) A’alu.”

14 TM.75.G.2276 (to be dated also to the 6th year) obv. VIII 5–11 mentions the handover of a head (or a person) by a man of Ebla “in (relation to) the military expedition of Armi:” (1 + 1 + 1 garments) *Na-am₆-i-giš lú sag šu-mu-tag₄ in [nig]-kas₆ Ar-mi*^{ki}. This event has to be related to the campaign against Nabu, when Armi collaborated with Ebla. In obv. 8–14: (1 garment) KU.TU *Ar-mi*^{ki} *šu-du₈ é Du-bù-hu-^dĀ-da šu-ba₄-ti*; cf. TM.75.G.2274 obv. VI 12–VII 2: (garments) *Mi-ga-i ma-za-lum Ur-sá-um*^{ki} *hi-mu-DU KU.TU-KU.TU Ar-mi*^{ki} *si-in SA.ZA_x*^{ki}.

confirmed by the mu-DU of I.Z. 10, ARET 14.86 §§ 27–29. On returning to Ebla, they were accompanied on one occasion by Daru-muru (TM.75.G.2508 rev. XIV 2–3) and, on the other, by Dagura(du) who would appear to have brought mules to Ebla; for this service they received a gold plate of 313 g (rev. XXIV 5–12; see also TM.75.G.2418 obv. III 5–7). Išma-damu and Nazumu received from the central administration 470 g of silver in exchange for gifts received in A. that they had delivered (TM.75.G.2508 rev. XXIV 12–21).

10th year. War against Ašdar(lum), location unknown. Mission of Ḫalzaum to A. (TM.75.G.2429, AAM I.Z. 10, obv. I 20–24). Arilu of A. reached Ebla together with Daru-muru and Daguradu (XIV 15–22). Zuša-bir travelled twice to A. (the first time with 'Adaš; XXVIII 16–23, rev. VII 10–15). Išma-damu travelled to A. with Irig-i(l) (XXV 17–23). The mu-DU text I.Z. 11, ARET 14.87 §§ 27–28, 37–39, registers the gifts brought to Ebla by these officials.

11th year. War against Ibal and Ḫarbatum. Awa from A. received a gold plate of 313 g (TM.75.G.2507, AAM I.Z. 11, obv. XI 14–18), as well as Mulia and Lilu (rev. XX 27–31). Išma-damu and Irig-i(l) also travelled this year to A. (XV 11–16); see, further, the mu-DU text I.Z. 12, ARET 14.89 § 26.

12th year. Continuation of the war against Ibal. The king (en) of A. (mentioned already in TM.76.G.534(+), AAM I.Z. 12, obv. I 3''–4'') came back from a victorious battle against an unmentioned enemy. Mulawadu from A., who brought this news, received a gold plate of 313 g and two earrings, obv. XXIII 1–16: (gifts) *Mu-lu-wa-du Ar-mi^{ki} nig-mul en Ar-mi^{ki} mi-nu nig-kas₄ i-ti*, obv. XXIII 2–16 = ARET 8.534 § 19.¹⁵ Irig-i(l) reached A. also this year (XX 1–4); the gift he received was registered in the mu-DU text I.Z. 13, ARET 14.91 § 17. This document lists also a delivery of 2,293 g of gold from A. to Ebla, § 16. [17]

13th year. War against Ibal. Išma-damu and Amur-lim travelled to A. (TM.75.G.10202, AAM I.Z. 13, rev. XV 21–28).

The AAMs for the last three years of Ibbi-zikir, consisting of only a few fragments in which Armi is not mentioned, do not enable us to follow his activities during this period.

¹⁵ See ARET 8.542 § 4: “who brought the news of the military expedition of(?) Armi, residing (al₆-tuš) in the city of Zaburum (which was) destroyed (til)”.

4.2 The Confrontation with Mari and the Last War against Armi (Four Years before the Destruction of Ebla)

These are the years of the great political game Ebla played against Mari. Ebla succeeded in forming an alliance with Nagar and Kiš, the two regional states bordering on Mari, to the north and south, respectively.¹⁶ Envoys of the kings of Nagar and Kiš accompanied the Eblaite army on its march under the command of the minister Ibbi-zikir. TM.75.G.2277 registers garments sent before the battle as gifts to the kings and elders of the Syrian cities traditionally allied with Ebla. These are Ra'ak, Burman, [...], [...], Garmu, [...], Ibubu, Utig, Iritum, Kakmium, and Nīrar (Archi and Biga 2003: 14–15). Mari was defeated at Terqa. Having achieved peace with Mari, Ebla consolidated her alliances by means of the marriage of the princess Kešdūt to the son of the king of Kiš.

Armi was the only city-state with which Ebla enjoyed frequent diplomatic relations not directly involved in the fatal conflict with Mari that, three years later, led to the destruction of Ebla. The complete list of the cities that allied themselves openly with Ebla is found in TM.75.G.2335, which registers garments and precious objects sent to the allies after the victory. A parallel account, TM.75.G.2426, deals exclusively with objects in precious metals (Archi and Biga 2003: 19; 40–44). First listed are the twelve Syrian cities long allied with Ebla that (presumably) assisted in some way during the expedition against Mari: Nīrar, Ra'ak, Burman, Dub, Emar, Garmu, Lumnan, Ibubu, Urša'um, Utik, Kakmium, and Iritum. Each of their kings received a 470 g golden plate. The *badalum*-officials of Ḫarran, Sanapzugum, Urša'um and Gudadanum follow, together with a man from Nīrar. They each received gold plates weighing 392 g. The northern limit of the area in which these cities were located was roughly along a line from Gaziantep to Urfa, where Urša'um, Kakmium, Iritum, Sanapzugum, Gudadanum and Ḫarran were found. Some other cities lay in the valley of the Euphrates, such as Emar, probably the southernmost. The two documents then cite the representatives of the three great states which had supported Ebla: Haddu, Nagar, and Kiš. They each received a 313 g golden plate, as did the representative of Kakmium, a city in the north. Lastly, Nesi, a representative of Ibbi-zikir, and Duduwašu from Armi, an ugula of the town of Arḫadu each received a golden plate of 235 g.

The city-states under Ebla's hegemony that annually delivered their tribute were: Dub, Dulu, Ḫarran, Ibubu, Iritum, Kablul, Sanapzugum, Urša'um, and

¹⁶ A distribution of spearheads to Nagar, Kiš, Ibi/ubu, Urša'um and other cities has been interpreted as a diplomatic action aimed to persuade them to participate in the expedition against Mari (Archi 2008c; [305–310]).

Utik (Urša'um had been added to the eight cities of the last documents of Ibrium, 3.1). Ebla also succeeded in involving Burman, Garmu, Kakmium, Lumnannan, and Nlrar in the campaign against Mari. Clearly Armi, which is absent from this list of cities, is to be located beyond the region lying within the line Gaziantep-Ḫarran and Emar and, therefore it must have been situated to the north, because the region to the south, between Emar and Tuttul on the Balih, was already under the control of Mari.

It is just after the campaign against Mari that a war against Armi is recorded. Only the data provided by some monthly documents enables us to date this event because the three last annual documents (AAMs) of minister Ibbi-zikir are very poorly preserved.¹⁷

TM.75.G.2426 (quoted above), registering the gifts for the allies in the expedition against Mari, is to be dated to the 14th year of Ibbi-zikir, because the AAM of the fourteenth year, TM.75.G.12450, mentions the war against Mari and the subsequent conclusion of peace (Archi and Biga 2003: 14). According to TM.75.G.2426, (Ultum-ḫuḫu) the son of the king of Nagar was present at Ebla, accompanied by Nizi (second in authority after the king of that city) and 7 elders, rev. II 3–15: “1 gold plate of 313 g (to) the son of the king [18] of Nagar; 1 gold plate of 470 g (to) Nizi, the ur₄ of Nagar; 7 gold plate of 78 g (to) 7 of its elders.”¹⁸ The prince had to be in Ebla to arrange the marriage with the princess Tagriš-damu.¹⁹

According to TM.75.G.1249(+), garments were given as a “gift,” níḡ-ba, to the king of Nagar and to “his son;” other garments were given to the king of Nagar by the princess Tagriš-damu when the messengers left (kas₄-kas₄ è) (obv. V 15–VI 3). A certain *Mar-zam_x* from Nagar was given the task of transmitting (to Nagar?) Tagriš-damu's consent (KA-aš) to the marriage; he received garments “from the king of Nagar, present at the palace in Ebla, coming back from the expedition against Armi” (V 12–VI 20: *áš-du en Na-gàr^{ki}* in SA.ZA_x^{ki} šu-ba₄-ti lú gi₄ *mi-nu níḡ-kas₄ Ar-mi^{ki}*) (Biga 1998a: 18). This monthly document is for the month preceding the marriage of Tagriš-damu to Ultum-ḫuḫu, who was undoubtedly the hereditary prince of Nagar.²⁰ This was not only between

17 These fragments are: TM.75.G.12450 (14th year); TM.75.G.12278(+) 15772 (15th or 16th year); TM.75.G.12373 (16th or 15th year), see Archi and Biga 2003: 9. In the 17th year was the fall of Ebla.

18 In this late period the ratio between gold and silver was 2.5:1; not 5:1, as it was at the beginning of the Ibbi-zikir period.

19 Kešdut, Tagriš-damu's sister, who had to marry a prince of Kiš, was still at Ebla: she is mentioned in rev. IV 3.

20 The wedding between Ultum-ḫuḫu and Tagriš-damu is mentioned in the MAT TM.75.G.1250, placed on the shelf beside the tablet TM.75.G.1249 (as it is deduced by the inventory numbers) see Biga 1998: 18–20; Archi and Biga 2003: 27 n. 70. TM.75.G.1253, which men-

Armi and Nagar: Ebla stood at the head of a large coalition. Ebla's involvement is made clear in the first part of the document, obv. I 1–II 1: (garments) *Ru₁₂-zi-ma-lik* *dumu-nita I-bi-zi-kir* *tuš-LÚ×TIL in Ar-mi^{ki}* (garments) *Bu_x-ma-i* *maškim Ru₁₂-zi-ma-lik* *šu-mu-tag₄* 1 *sag tuš-LÚ×TIL Ru₁₂-zi-ma-lik* (garments) *A-bar* *maškim Ru₁₂-zi-ma-lik* *níg-mul Ru₁₂-zi-ma-lik* *tuš-LÚ×TIL* “(garments for) Ruzi-malik, the son of (the minister) Ibbi-zikir, who resided in A.; (garments to) Buma-i(l), the representative of Ruzi-malik (who) consigned 1 head(/person to) the residing (?) Ruzi-malik; (garments for) Abar, the representative of Ruzi-malik who brought the news that Ruzi-malik was residing (there)”; IV 1–V 7: *Û-wa-nu Ib-ḥur-li-im Du-lu^{ki}* *šu-mu-tag₄* *igi-du₈* *en lú níg-kas₄ Ar-mi^{ki}* ... *I-bi-zi-kir A-bu* *šu-[ba₄]-ti* ... *I-bi-zi-kir I-ti-lum lú Ru₁₂-zu si-in níg-kas₄ Ar-mi^{ki}* ... *’Ā-mu-ru₁₂-gú* *a-mu-sù* *šu-ba₄-ti* ... *I-du-NI-i-du Zu-i-du Da-da I-da-i* *Kiš^{ki}* *lú gi₄ mi-nu* *níg-kas₄ Ar-mi^{ki}* “(garments to) Uwanu (and) Ibḥur-lim of the city of Dulu who have consigned the gift (?) (for) the king, that (for) the military expedition (against) A.; (garments to) Ibbi-zikir, Abu has received; (garments for) Ibbi-zikir (and) Itilum of Ruzu for the military expedition (against) A.; (garments:) Amurugu, his father, has received; (garments for) IduNIidu, Zuidu, Dada, Ida-i(l) of Kiš, who returned from the military expedition (against) A.” It follows garments for four people from Kiš.

TM.75.G.10069 refers to this same campaign, because it is again Ruzi-malik, son of the minister Ibbi-zikir, who plays an important role in the expedition against Armi: obv. V 5–9: *dumu-nita en NI-ra-ar^{ki}* *è in níg-kas₄ Ar-mi^{ki}* *al₆-tuš* *Îr-ku-tu^{ki}*; VI 19–24: *Ru₁₂-zi-ma-lik lú I-bi-zi-kir lú i-ti in níg-kas₄*; VIII 13–23: *Da-zi-ma-at* *maškim I-bi-zi-kir níg-mul Ru₁₂-zi-ma-lik til Îr-ku-tu^{ki}* *wa Ma-NI-lum Ar-mi^{ki}* “(garments for) the son of the king of NIrar, (who), coming up for the expedition (against) Armi, resided in Irkut; ... (garments for) Ruzi-malik (son) of Ibbi-zikir, who was present for the expedition (against) Armi; ... (garments to) Dazimat, the representative of Ibbi-zikir, who brought the news that Ruzi-malik defeated Irkut and MaNIlum of Armi.”²¹

tions again Ruzi-malik in connection with a war against Armi, belonged to the same period, obv. III 13–IV 9: (1 + 1 garment) *’Ā-da-š[u] Û-t[i] šè Ru₁₂-zi-ma-lik wa-sù i-ti in níg-kas₄ Ar-mi^{ki}*.
 21 See, further, TM.75.G.2453 obv. II 1–9: *En-na-i lú Du-bi A-wa-šum^{ki}* *maškim Kùn-da-ba-an* *tuš-LÚ×TIL Ar-mi^{ki}* *áš-da A-šu^{ki}*; ARET 12.343 left edge: *gaba-ru níg-kas₄ Ar-mi^{ki}* *uru-bar*. TM.75.G.1216 has also to be dated to this period (“Kešdut dumu-munus en,” obv. IV 22–24, was still at Ebla). The text mentions: *Ša-a-NE Maš-bar-rá^{ki}* *tur šu-du₈ in Ar-mi^{ki}* ... *’Ā-mi-šum lú Û-za-nu SA.ZA^{ki}* *tuš-LÚ×TIL Ar-mi^{ki}* (obv. VII 2–14); further: 2 + 1 + 2 + 1 “merchants,” *lú-kar*, of Armi (IX 9–21). See, further, TM.75.G.1729 (of the same period) obv. II 3–11: (3 garments) *I-bi-zi-kir si-in níg-kas₄ Ar-mi^{ki}* *Bù-da-i* *maškim I-bi-zi-kir* *šu-ba₄-ti* “Buda-i(l), representative of Ibbi-zikir, received (garments for) Ibbi-zikir for the expedition (against) Armi.” On the engagement of Buda-i(l) for the war against Armi, see also TM.75.G.2409+2471 obv.V 1–6: (1 garment) *Bù-*

The campaign against Armi is also mentioned in TM.75.G.2276 obv. VIII 9–11: in [níg]-kas₄ *Ar-mi*^{ki}. This document also records the death of Tište-damu (Archi and Biga 2003: 27 n. 70), a princess who married in I.Z. 8, [19] and gave birth to a child in the following year. Her death, which is not mentioned in the well-preserved AAMs, had to have taken place sometime in the years I.Z. 14–16.

In the documents collected in ARET 8, all from the very last years,²² mention is made of Armi's expansionist activities, including a successful action against Ḫarran. Ebla probably intervened – if somewhat late – in support of its ally. ARET 8.527 § 14: “Sasa-NI ... Ennani-i(l), two people of Ḫarran who brought the news that the cities of Utigu and Armi have defeated (til) Ḫarran”. ARET 8.522 § 15: “... the news that the king has captured the brother of Ba-Eštar and that 120 people from Armi and 180 people from the city of Abatum were killed (ug₇) in the towns (uru^{ki}-uru^{ki}) of Gudadanum.” Utigu and Gudadanum were located in the area of Urša'um and Ḫarran according to the list in ARET 1: 224–225.²³ Manuwat, an allied city, provided men for the war against Armi, ARET 8.522 § 1: “(12 garments to 12) elders, (40 garments to) 40 people (2 é-duru₅^{ki}) of the city of Manuwat, which is the delivery (when they) resided at the palace (of Ebla): those (who took part in) the battle (against) A. (lú mè *Ar-mi*^{ki}).”

If Ebla involved Nagar and other allied cities in this war, and even the envoys of Kiš were present, Armi must have been at the head of a regional state located to the north, northeast of the Eblaite state, not far from the territory of Ḫarran and strong enough to worry Nagar, the regional state lying to the east. Since the expedition against Armi is documented for the month in which gifts were given to the cities allied with Ebla against Mari, we must deduce that Armi attacked Ḫarran, another of Ebla's allies, taking advantage of the fact that the Eblaite army, under Ibbi-zikir's command, was tied up in the expedition against Mari. This could be the reason why Ibbi-zikir, after the victory over Mari at Terqa, decided to fall back and abandon the attempt to conquer the city of Mari itself. If this was the case, and the destruction of Ebla was brought about by Mari, as is extremely likely, then Armi's actions were to prove fatal for Ebla.

da-ì Gal-tum^{ki} è in *Ar-mi*^{ki} (in III 2–5: *Ìr-maš-ì A-du-bù*^{ki} *šù-du*₈ in *Ar-mi*^{ki}; IX 10–14: *Ni-zi-ma-ḫu I-ti-ga-mi-iš šù-du*₈ in *Ar-mi*^{ki}).

²² These twenty-one tablets and fragments were found lying on a wooden table, left in the Audience Hall, a few meters from the central archive, as a consequence of an attempt to sack the archive during the fire of the royal palace.

²³ See above, § 1.

It is possible that the ritual prescriptions established in ARET 13.16–17 (a difficult text to interpret) refer to the peace agreements that followed the defeat of Armi.²⁴

4.3 The Relations between Ebla and Armi in the Last Three Years

That a state of marked political instability existed can be deduced from the fact that several years of friendly relations were interrupted by military clashes which generally lasted only a few months, peace treaties then ushering in another period of peace.

The last period of Ebla is documented by two kinds of texts that are not found in previous years. The texts in ARET 9 and 10 (from room L. 2712) relate to the delivery of foodstuffs for the last three years in the city's life. The distribution of sheep to the palace during the two years preceding the final catastrophe are registered month after month in twenty-two monthly documents.

These documents, which follow immediately after the war with Armi, reveal that Ebla's relations with the latter city were even more frequent than those with Mari.²⁵ The only *lú-kar* (a kind of merchant), who appear in the first group of documents are those from Armi (ARET 9: 395). In some of the monthly texts registering the deliveries of cereals "(for) Armi," that is to say, for people from Armi present in the city of Ebla, these come immediately after the consignments for the king, the elders and the god Kura (ARET 9.5, 6). In various other documents, the disbursements for "(the people of) Armi" follow upon those for "workers," *guruš-guruš*, of Ebla (ARET 9.8, 9, 10, etc.). [20] In some cases, these are individuals who perform a specific function, in particular as "merchants," *lú-kar*: ARET 10.102 obv. V 10–12 mentions "40 people (2 *é-du-ru₅^{ki}*) of the *lú-kar* of Armi" (together with 40 people from Mari and 40 from Nagar); a further 40 *lú-kar* of Armi are registered in ARET 10.105 § 32. There is no indication of what kind of goods these merchants carried and we cannot, therefore, understand why so many people from Armi were present in Ebla.

The second group of documents confirms the fact that numerous people from Armi were present in Ebla, enough to warrant their appearing as the only

²⁴ These documents mention *Ibbi-zikir* in § 5. Another difficult text concerning Armi, ARET 13.18, could also be dated to the *Ibbi-zikir* period. It refers to an expedition against Nagar, § 5: *šu-du₈ máš gú-nu mè si-in DU.DU Na-gār^{ki} uru^{ki} [šu-ba₄-t]i* "the omen you took (for) the battle concerning (your) going (to) Nagar (and) [the conquest?] of the city."

²⁵ See the indices in ARET 9: 373–76.

foreigners constituting a separate group that received sheep together with the people of the palace, SA.ZA_x^{ki}. An annual account (from month III to month III of the following year), TM.75.G.2538, drawn up on the basis of the monthly texts, provides us with a clear picture of this situation:

- obv. I. 1 4 *li* 8 *mi* udu
 é dingir-dingir-dingir-dingir
 3 1 *li* 7 *mi* 80 udu
 kú
- II. 1 en
 Îr-'à-ag-da-mu
 3 1 *li* 6 *mi* 45 udu
 al₆-du₁₁-ga
 5 2 *li* 9 *mi* 66 udu
 kú
- III. 1 SA.ZA_x^{ki}
 wa
 3 Ib-la^{ki}
 é
 5 Du-bù-ḫu-<^dÀ-da>
 1 *li* 8 *mi* 3 udu
 7 kú
 SA.ZA_x^{ki}
 9 áš-da
- IV. 1 I-bí-zi-kir
 Ru₁₂-zi-[ma-li]k
 3 3 *mi* 6 udu
 Ar-mi^{ki}
 5 5 *mi* udu šu-du₈ PAP.PAP.PAP
- rev. I. 1 2 *li* 5 *mi* 50 udu
 gaba[-ru]
 3 [SA.Z]A_x^{ki}
 4 *li* 8 *mi* 60 udu
- II. 1 še-ba
 Ib-la^{ki}
- III. (blank) [] 10 udu
- IV. 1 (blank) áš-da
 iti za-'à-tum
 3 si-in
 za-'à-tum

“(obv. I) 4,800 sheep: (for) the temples of the gods. 1,780 sheep: (for) consumption (II) of the king (and the crown prince) Iraq-damu. 1,645 sheep: requested. 2,966 sheep: (for) consumption (III) of the palace and the city of Ebla (and) the house of Dubuḫu-Hadda (son of the minister). 1,803 sheep (for) consumption of the palace by (IV) (minister) Ibbi-zikir (and his son) Ruzi-malik. 306 sheep (for people) of Armi. 500 sheep: taken in possession (rev. I) 2,550 sheep: receipt of the palace. 4,860 sheep: (II) (for) rations (to) Ebla. (III) [...] 10 sheep. (IV) From month III to month III.” [21]

The total, not calculated by the scribe, is 21,220 sheep. Of these, 306 (1/70th) are for people from Armi. The monthly documents specify the outgoing quantities of these animals as follows. TM.75.G.10103 (month I) rev. II 23–25: 9 udu kú *Ar-mi*^{ki}, IV 9–11: 30 udu kú *Ar-mi-Ar-mi*^{ki}, IV 12–15: 7 udu kú *Ar-mi*^{ki} ’*Ā-bí-da* “9 sheep: (for) consumption (of people) of Armi; 30 sheep: (for) consumption (of people) of Armi; 7 sheep: (for) consumption (of people) of Armi, Abi (has taken).” 75.G.10167 provides a few more details: Dubuḫu-Hadda gives 6 sheep for the marriage of some men from Armi, possibly to women of Ebla, obv. IX 22–X 2: 6 udu *Ar-mi-Ar-mi*^{ki} *Du-bù-hu-’Ā-da* i-na-sum níg-mu-sá-níg-mu-sá bur-kak-bur-kak dam-dam-sù; the following passages show that most of the people from Armi were “merchants,” lú-kar, obv. X 8–26: 12 udu kú *Ar-mi*^{ki}-*Ar-mi*^{ki} libir-rá 8 udu kú *Bù-li wa Ar-ša-ti-la* [*Ar-mi*^{ki}] lú-kar-II 8 udu kú *Ar-mi*^{ki}-*Ar-mi*^{ki} lú-kar tag₄ 4 udu kú 2 *Ar-mi*^{ki} *ša in Û-ba-zu-gú*^{ki} lú-kar “12 sheep: (for) consumption of (people from) Armi, former (delivery). 8 sheep: (for) consumption of Buli and Arša-tila [of Armi], the merchants, 2nd (delivery). 8 sheep: (for) consumption of (people from) Armi, merchants, remaining (delivery); 4 sheep: consumption (for) 2 (people from) Armi who were merchants in GN.”

Following Ebla’s military victory, friendly relations were once again fully restored between the two cities.²⁶ The texts relating to the distribution of garments and precious objects and the deliveries to the palace (above: 2.1, 2.2, 2.3) show that such relations were already frequent during the reign of king Irkab-damu. TM.75.G.2651(+) is the only ancient document similar to TM.75.G.2538 not to have been destroyed after a few months or a year as happened to most of the texts relating to the consumption of animals. This document has to be dated (differently from TM.75.G.2538) to the first years of Irkab-damu, when Darmia and Tir were at the head of the administration, before the time of minister Arrukum. While the consumption of goods such as garments and precious objects underwent a marked increase during the forty years documented by the central archive, the number of sheep allotted to people of the palace in the

²⁶ An “oil offering,” nídba i-giš for peace, brought by [PN and A-šu-iš]-dar, his representative (maškim-sù), ARET 3.368 III 1–3, could refer to that period.

period of the king Irkab-damu remains the same, and those allotted to people from Armi even greater, representing roughly 1/19th out of the total of 9,510 animals:

rev. II 2–IV 5: “2,360 sheep: (for) offerings (to) the gods; 1,700 sheep: (for) consumption of the messengers (*kas_g-kas_g*); [...] (for) consumption of the king; 98 sheep: (for) consumption of the women (of the king); ... 554 sheep: (for people) of Armium.”

5 The Personal Names of Armi(um)²⁷

A-ba-la/lu ARET 4.11 § 61, 16 § 44 (Ibr.)

A-bí-’à lú-kar ARET 4.2 § 42 (I.Z.)

A-bù-lu ARET 15.10 § 77 (Arr.)

A-da-nu-LUM 75.2274 obv. III 21 (I.Z.)

A-da-nu-mi ARET 4.8 § 25 (I.Z.)

A-dar-NE-a/lu ARET 15.5 § 20, 9 § 7 (1 gold plate of 30 shekels); 17 § 25, 29 § 1 (1 gold plate of 40 shekels; see the commentary in ARET 15.1: 315); 75.1902 (= MEE 10.27)(+) rev. IV 7 (2 gold plate of 1 mina each) (Arr.)

A-du lú-kar ARET 4.4 § 42 (I.Z.)

A-la-li-a ARET 15.17 § 1 (Arr.)

A/’Ā-la-lu ARET 1.16 § 1; IV 4 § 17 (*maškim-e-gi₄*); MEE 12.7 obv. III 6 (1 gold plate of 40 shekels); 75.10201 rev. IV 7 (*maškim-e-gi₄*) (I.Z.)

A-la-lu-wa-du, *A-li-lu-wa-da* ARET 1.16 § 3; MEE 10.29 rev. XIV 7; 75.10201 rev. IV 17 (I.Z.)

A-li/lu-wa-da/du ARET 1.10 § 7; MEE 10.29 rev. XIV 4 (I.Z.) [22]

A-li-ḥa-da ARET 4.6 § 69 (I.Z.)

Am₆-MĀḤ ARET 15.45 § 74 (Arr.)

A-ra-lu, *A-rí-lu* ARET 4.6 §§ 49, 68; MEE 10.29 obv. VI 1 (1 gold plate of 30 shekels); MEE 12.7 obv. II 6; 75.2429 obv. XIV 14 (I.Z.)

Ar-gi-lu MEE 12.7 obv. IV 9 (1 gold plate of 40 shekels); rev. I 6 (1 gold plate of 50 shekels) (I.Z.)

Ar-la-ti-iš 75.2598 obv. XIII 28 (I.Z.)

A/Ar-ra-da ARET 15.36 §§ 52–53, 53 § 62; 75.2029 obv. I 3 (1 gold plate of 10 shekels) (Arr.)

²⁷ Abbreviations: 75./76. = TM.75./76.G.; Arr.: minister Arrukum; Ibr.: minister Ibrium; I.Z.: minister Ibbi-zikir. For previous lists of the PNs from Armi, see Bonechi 1990b: 22–25; ARES 2: 155–58, 167.

Ar-ra-ti-lu ARET 3.767 II 3 (I.Z.)

Ar-šè-ti-lu MEE 12.26 rev. 12; 75.3858(+) obv. VII 23 (*Ar-šè-da-la*); 75.10167 r. X 12 (*Ar-ša-ti-la*) (lú-kar) (I.Z.)

Ar-zi-da-la lú-kar 75.2453 obv. III 10 (I.Z.)

A-ša-NE-ra maškim-e-gi₄ ARET 4.4 § 17; 75.10201 rev. IV 8 (I.Z.)

A-šu-iš₁₁-dar lú-kar ARET 4.2 § 5 (I.Z.) (cf. [*A-šu-iš₁₁]-dar* in ARET 3.1, maškim)

A-wa ARET 3.767 II 2; MEE 12.7 obv. V 1 and rev. II 1 (1 gold plate of 40 shekels); 75.2507 obv. XI 16 (I.Z.)

A-wa-ru₁₂ ARET 15.27 § 43 (Arr.)

Ba-ba-ù maškim-e-gi₄ ARET 1.10 § 8, 16 § 3; MEE 10.29 rev. XIV 8; 75.10201 rev. IV 18 (I.Z.)

Ba-mi-a-du ARET 1.16 § 1; IV 6 § 48; MEE 10.29 obv. VI 1 (1 gold plate of 50 shekels); 75.10201 obv. VIII 3 (1 gold plate of 50 shekels) (I.Z.)

Ba-wi-a-du ARET 3.582 II (I.Z.)

Ba-^rx^h-šu lú-kar ARET 4.2 § 48 (I.Z.)

Bù-li 75.2238 rev. V 10; 75.2453 obv. V 6 (lú-kar); 75.3858(+) obv. VII 24; 75.10167 obv. 10 (lú-kar) (I.Z.)

Da-gú-ra, *Da-gú-ra-du* MEE 12.7 obv. I 8 (1 gold plate of 40 shekels), II 3 (1 gold plate of 50 shekels), IV 2 (1 gold plate of 30 shekels); 75.2429 obv. XIV 22; 75.2508 obv. XXIII 19 (1 gold plate of 40 shekels), rev. XXIV 6 (1 gold plate of 40 shekels); 75.10013 obv. IV 6; see also *Da-gú-la*, ARET 1.11 § 22 (I.Z.)

Da-rí-lu ARET 4.6 § 49 (I.Z.)

Da-ru₁₂-mu-ru₁₂ 75.2429 obv. XIV 19; 75.2508 obv. XXIII 19 (1 gold plate of 40 shekels), rev. XIV 2; 75.2608 obv. III 1, IV 4, rev. IX 9 (I.Z.)

Dar-zi-mu ARET 1.6 § 37, 13 §§ 5–7; ARET 4.6 §§ 47–48; ARET 12.475 I; MEE 10.29 rev. V 15 (1 gold plate of 1 mina); 75.1382 obv. I 3, rev. V 13; 75.2062 rev. IV 5 (1 gold plate of 40 shekels); 75.2369 obv. X 2 (1 gold plate of 20 shekels); 75.2622 obv. XXI 5 (1 gold plate of 50 shekels); 75.10074 obv. I 8 (1 gold plate of 1 mina), X 13 (1 gold plate of 50 shekels), rev. IX 24 (1 gold plate of 50 shekels), rev. IX 24 (1 gold plate of 50 shekels) (mentioned with *Sar-milu* and *Umi-nin.uš-MUŠ EN*) (I.Z.)

Da-uš-mu-ru₁₂ MEE 12.7 obv. I 3 (1 gold plate of 1 mina), II 2 (1 gold plate of 50 shekels) (I.Z.)

Du-da-ra-ù ARET 15.53 § 67 (Arr.)

Du-du-wa-šu 75.2335 rev. II 2; 75.2426 obv. VII 7 (I.Z.)

Du-hi-a lú-kar ARET 7.130 § 1 (I.Z.)

En-na-ì/il ARET 9.61 § 7 (I.Z.); ARET 15.5 § 24 and 40 § 22 (*ma-za-um*); ARET 15.26 § 44 (*ur₄*) (Arr.)

Gàr-da-um ARET 4.16 § 48 (Arr.)

GI×GI-du 75.10074 obv. IV 1 (I.Z.)

Gú-li sur_x-BAR.AN ARET 15.25 § 29 (Arr.)

Ĥa-mar-áš-da ARET 4.16 § 39 (kaš₄-kaš₄ maškim Ĥ.); ARET 15.21 § 26; 28 § 14, § 31, § 57 (maškim-e-gi₄ H.; see § 35: šeš ugula kaš₄-kaš₄).

Ĥa-maš-da-ar ARET 15.6 § 29 (Ĥ., maškim-sù, *ma-za-lum*, 2 *dumu-nita-sù*, maškim-sù); 7 § 44 (1 gold plate of 1 mina, *dam-sù*: 2 *bu-di* 1 mina silver, maškim-sù); 17 § 15 (1 gold plate of 1 mina, šeš-sù: 1 mina silver, maškim-sù tuš GIŠ-uštil, maškim-maškim-sù, 2 *dam*); (cf. ARET 15: 50–51) (Arr.)

Ĥa-ra-na-ù ARET 4.16 § 70 (1 gold plate of 35 shekels); ARET 15.5 § 16 (1 gold plate of 40 shekels); 75.2029 obv. III 1 (1 gold plate of 40 shekels) (Arr.)
[23]

Ĥa-ra-NE-iš lú-kar ARET 4.2 § 18 (I.Z.)

Ĥa-áš/si-ti-lu ARET 3.225 III; ARET 15.14 § 37 (Arr.)

ĤAR-ĥu-nu ARET 1.6 § 27 (not: *Gàr-!*); MEE 10.29 rev. XVIII 12 (1 gold plate of 40 shekels); 75.10074 obv. I 11 (I.Z.)

Ĥu-da-šu 75.2508 obv. XXIII 24 (1 gold plate of 30 shekels) (I.Z.)

Ĥu-úr-sa-na ARET 15.8 § 3 (1 gold plate of 1 mina), 17 §§ 7 and 32 (commentary in ARET 15.1: 76); MEE 10.23 obv. IV 2; 75.2029 obv. III 3 (Arr.)

*Ib-du-ru*₁₂ ARET 7.110 (Arr.)

Im-mar-nu maškim-e-gi₄ ARET 4.4 § 17; 75.10201 rev. IV 9 (I.Z.)

In-da-mu ARET 4.16 § 48 (Arr.)

Ĭr-am₄-ga-ma-al₆ ARET 4.16 § 44 (Arr.)

Ĭr-ì-ba ARET 15.45 § 74 (Arr.)

I-rí-ig-ì ARET 9.61 § 7 (I.Z.)

Ĭ-rí-mu ARET 4.8 § 25 (I.Z.)

I-šar ARET 15.18 § 20 (Arr.)

Iš-bù-du ma-za-lum (*Mi-mi-a-du*) ARET 1.13 § 7; ARET 3.171 II; ARET 4.6 § 8 and 20 § 2; 75.1382 obv. I 8; 75.10074 obv. XI 5 (I.Z.)

Iš₁₁-ga-sa-du 75.1225 v. III 5 (I.Z.)

Iš₁₁-gi-bù-du ARET 4.16 § 2 (Arr.)

Iš-má-gàr-du nagar ARET 15 § 35 (see also ARET 7 § 1) (Arr.)

I-ti-gú ARET 9.82 §§ 5–8, 11 (Arr.)

I-ti-um ugula sur_x-BAR.AN ARET 15.17 § 5 (Arr.)

Ki-bir₅-ki-iš ma-za-lum ARET 15.38 § 35 (Arr.)

Kùn-ti-du/ì ARET 15.58 § 1 (1 gold plate of 1 mina); 75.1902 (= MEE 10.27)(+) rev. III 8 and 76.689 obv. I 3 (1 gold plate of 30 shekels); (Arr.)

La-lu/lum ARET 12.672 rev. III 5, 829 obv. III 3 (Ibr./I.Z.)

La-wu-(u₉) ARET 4.6 § 47 (I.Z.); ARET 15.26 § 15 and 44 § 18 (1 gold plate of 50 shekels) (Arr.)

La-wa-du 75.2369 obv. X 19 (1 gold plate of 30 shekels) (I.Z.)

Li-lu 75.2507 rev. XX 30 (1 gold plate of 40 shekels) (I.Z.)

Ma-a-LUM ARET 2.14 § 70 (Arr.)

Mi-gi-NE ARET 7.54 § 2 (1 gold plate of 35 shekels) (I.Z.)

Mi-ì-LUM 75.2409+2471 rev. IV 16; M. úš; 75.10069 obv. VIII 22–23 (I.Z.)

Mi-mi-a-du ARET 1.16 § 1; ARET 3.582 II 2; ARET 4.6 §§ 7–9, 47–48; MEE 10.29 obv. VI 6 (1 gold plate of 40 shekels), IX 16 (1 gold plate of 40 shekels), XXIII 27 (1 gold plate of 40 shekels); 75.2428 rev. 17 (1 gold plate of 40 shekels); 75.10188 rev. VIII 4; 75.10201 obv. IV 6 (1 gold plate of 40 shekels), VI 27 (1 gold plate of 50 shekels), VIII 8 (1 gold plate of 40 shekels) (I.Z.)

Mi-nu ARET 4.2 § 28 (PN ??) (I.Z.)

Mu-lu-wa-du ARET 8.534 § 19 (I.Z.)

Mu-rí-(a) ARET 2.14 § 48; ARET 3.31 obv. III 7; ARET 15.23 § 23 (ur₄); MEE 2.40 obv. I 4; 75.1382 obv. I 5, rev. V 15; 75.1573 rev. IV 2 (ur₄); 75.2428 obv. XII 35 (1 gold plate of 30 shekels); 75.10074 obv. XI 2 (Arr.; Ibr.; I.Z.)

Mu-li-a 75.2369 obv. VI 15 (1 gold plate of 40 shekels); 75.2507 rev. XX 29 (1 gold plate of 40 shekels) (I.Z.)

Mu-rí-lu ARET 15.25 § 33 (Arr.)

NE-ba-du 75.1379 rev. X 6 (1 gold plate of 40 shekels) (Arr.)

NE-ha-du ARET 15.46 § 49 (Arr.)

NE-LUM ARET 8.542 § 9 (I.Z.)

NE-NE-a-(a) lú-kar ARET 8.533 § 49; 542 § 34 (I.Z.) [24]

NI-mi-ir-na ARET 1.16 § 3; 75.10201 rev. IV 16 (I.Z.)

NI-rí-mu ARET 4.8 § 25 (I.Z.)

NI-za-ra-an/nu/ù ARET 4.16 § 45; ARET 15.6 § 2 (1 gold plate of 30 shekels), 14 § 48, 25 § 4; 75.1413 obv. IX 9 (Arr.)

Ru₁₂-zi-ma-lik 75.2407 obv. IV 18 (I.Z.)

Su-mi-a-(ù) ARET 12.1108 II 3; ARET 15.6 § 34 and 8 § 4 (1 gold plate of 40 shekels); 25 § 3; 37 § 41 (1 gold plate of 30 shekels); 75.1413 obv. IX 9 (1 gold plate of 30 shekels) (Arr.)

Ša-la ARET 7.54 § 1 (from Armi ?) (I.Z.)

Ša-li-lu ma-za-lum ARET 4.6 § 49; 75.2428 rev. XVIII 22 (1 gold plate of 30 shekels) (I.Z.)

Ša-ma-an 75.1902(+) rev. II 9 (1 gold plate of 1 mina) (Arr.)

Šar-da-da 75.1902(+) obv. III 2 (1 gold plate of 1 mina), VII 3 (Arr.)

Šar-mi-lu ARET 1.13 §§ 5–7; ARET 7.18 § 6; ARET 12.1110 obv. I 2; 75.1382 obv. I 4, rev. V 14; 75.2062 rev. IV 4 (1 gold plate of 40 shekels); 75.2428 obv. V 14, XII 29 (1 gold plate of 50 shekels), XXI 38 (1 gold plate of 1 mina); 75.2622 obv. XII 34 (1 gold plate of 1 mina); 75.10074 obv. X 13 (1 gold plate of 50 shekels), XI 1, rev. IX 29 (1 gold plate of 40 shekels); 75.10022 obv. I 3 (1 gold plate of 1 mina); 75.10236 obv. X 12 (I.Z.)

Šè-NI-bù lú-kar ARET 4.2 § 42 (I.Z.)

Šu-mi-a ARET 2.14 §§ 47, 69; ARET 15.25 §§ 3 and 31 (Arr.)

Tar₅-ḫi-li 75.1379 rev. VIII 5 (1 gold plate of 40 shekels) (Arr.)

Taš-ma-lu maškim-e-gi₄ ARET 1.16 § 8 (I.Z.)

Ū-la-ma-(du) ARET 1.16 § 8; ARET 15.17 § 28 (Arr.; I.Z.)

Ū-mi-nin.uš.MUŠEN ARET 1.16 § 1; ARET 4.6 § 48; MEE 10.29 V 28 (1 gold plate of 1 mina), rev. V 17 (1 gold plate of 1 mina); 75.10201 obv. VII 32 (1 gold plate of 1 mina) (I.Z.)

Ū-mu ARET 15.17 § 37 (Arr.)

Ū-ri-mu ARET 4.6 § 69; MEE 10.29 rev. XIV 5 (I.Z.)

Zi-la-li ARET 9.41 § 2 (I.Z.)

...]-BAD ARET 12.511 I 2 (Ibr./I.Z.)

ṛx'-si-nu ARET 3.169 III

Most of these personal names belong to a name-giving tradition different from that of Ebla; Arra-ti/tulu(m) is attested also at Dulu, a neighbouring city-state (Bonechi 1990b: 22–25).²⁸ We must, therefore, deduce that Armi belonged to a marginal, partially Semitized linguistic area different from the ethno-linguistic region dominated by Ebla. Typical are masculine personal names ending in *-a-du*: *A-la/li-wa-du/da*, *A-li/lu-wa-du*, *Ba-mi-a-du*, *La-wa-du*, *Mi-mi-a-du*, *Mu-lu-wa-du*. This reminds one of the suffix *-(a)nda*, *-(a)ndu*, very productive in the Anatolian branch of Indo-European (Laroche 1966: 329). Elements such as *ali-*, *alali-*, *lawadu-*, *memi-*, *mula/i-* are attested in Anatolian personal names of the Old Assyrian period (Laroche 1966: 26–27, 106, 118, 120).

Most of the names beginning with *a-* are typical for Armi. There is another *A-bi-'à* lú-kar from Mari (ARET 1.5 § 90). For *Ar-ra-da*, see *Ar-ra-tum*, ARET 3: 262. *Ar-ra-ti-lu* is attested also at Dulu (ARET 1.16 § 6; 4.8 § 13; 4.24 § 12; MEE 12.35 § 112) and at 'A₅-*a-bù-du*^{ki} (ARET 8.524 § 9), a town in relation with Armi (ARES 2: 139;²⁹ for the variant *Ar-ra-du-lum* at Dulu, see ARET 3: 261; 12: 387). For *A-šu-iš-dar*, cf. *A-šu-gú-da/ma-lik* (Krebern timer 1988a: 130). *Ar-šè/si-* is an element common to the Semitic area. For *A-wa-ru*₁₂, see *A-wa-ra*, attested also at Adabik and Hutimu (ARET 12: 389). [25]

Ba-ba-ù, *Ba-mi/wi-a-du* and *Bù-li* are typical Armi names.

En-na-ì/il is a widespread Semitic name.

²⁸ Some lists quote Dulu between Uršaum-Utigu and Iritum-Ḫarran, ARET 1: 224–25; see also ARES 2: 210–11. In favor of the reading *Du-lu/lum*^{ki} is the variant *Du-ru*₁₂^{ki}, ARES 2: 214; Archi 1997a: 419–20 [607–608], and the fact that the PN *Du-lu* is attested for this city (ARES 2: 206). Dulu is still read *Gub-lu*^{ki} and identified with Byblos in MEE 12: 59 § 24.

²⁹ See *Ar-ti-lu*, perhaps an Eblaite name: ARET 4.12 § 22; 8.528 § 7. *Ar-ra-* is however, an element of the Eblaite onomasticon (Krebern timer 1988a: 143).

The names beginning with *d-*, *g-*, *h-* are typical Armi names. The element *ḥa-ra-* is found in the Eblaite name *Ḥa-ra-i(l)*.

Im-mar-nu, a *ga-raš*, is found also in a context concerning Mari, TM.75.G.1559 obv. III 1 (Archi 1981b: 159). *I-rí-mu*, *Iš-bù-du*, *Iš-ga-sa-du* are typical Armi names.

*Ib-du-ru*₁₂ (cf. *Ib-du-ra*, *Ib-dur-*), *In-da-mu*, *Īr-am-ga-ma-al*₆, *Īr-am-ma-li-ik*, *Īr-ì-ba*, *I-rí-ig-ì*, *I-šar*, *Iš-gi-bù-du*, *Iš-má-gàr-du*, *I-ti-gú*, *I-ti-um* are names well known also from the Eblaite area.

The two names beginning with *k-* are attested to only at Armi.

La-lu, *Li-lu*: there is a *La-li* from Mari: ARET 4.1 § 63. *La-wu-(u)*₉, *La-wa-du* is a name from Armi.

All the names beginning with *m-* and *n-* (NE-LUM excepted) are attested to only at Armi.

*Ru*₁₂-*zi-ma-lik* is widely attested in the Semitic regions.

The names beginning with *š-*, *t-*, *ù-*, *z-* are attested only at Armi.

6 General Considerations

6.1 Historical Contexts

The administrative documents of Ebla, which can be roughly arranged chronographically by means of prosopographic analysis, provide us with an unusual amount of information. Their limitation lies in the fact that the accounts record incoming and outgoing goods without specifying any context. We are, therefore, obliged to reconstruct the historical events on the basis of circumstantial evidence, with all the risks that this entails.

The annual account TM.75.G.2651(+), dated to the first five or six years of the king Irkab-damu, registers the allocation of 554 sheep to people from Armi out of a total of 9,510 animals destined for the palace, thus indicating the privileged relationship that Armi enjoyed with Ebla as much as forty-five years before the destruction of the city. A document of the same type, dated to roughly one to three years before this event, TM.75.G.2538, allocating 306 sheep to the people of Armi present at Ebla, shows that this relationship continued unchanged, the occasional interruption notwithstanding, right up to the final destruction of Ebla (both texts are discussed in 4.3).

Only the last five years of king Irkab-damu, when Arrukum was his vizier, are documented in detail by the monthly textile delivery accounts relating, and

by reports registering incoming quantities of silver and outgoing objects made of precious metals.

The king (en) of Armi is mentioned in various passages (e.g., 2.1 nos. 7, 17, 29; 2.3 no. 10, 15, 16, 17). The context in 2.1 no. 32 could suggest that Kun-tidu was king in these years. Texts 2.3 nos. 15–17 register rich gifts for the royal family – king, queen, the king's daughters and sons – on the occasion of the níg-ág of the king of Armi. Two officials, Šaman and Šardada, are associated with the deliveries of these gifts to royals. It seems that a princess was sent, presumably in marriage, to Armi (2.3 no. 3). Gold and silver were given to messengers going to Armi (in 2.3 no. 5); gold plates were given to people of Armi who arrived in Ebla (2.3 no. 8: Nízarán). These precious objects were later consigned by the messengers to the palace (see the later and more detailed texts, 4.1, 8th and 10th year). The men who usually led the Armi missions to Ebla in this period were Ĥursana (2.1 nos. 6, 9), Ĥamarašda/Ĥamašdar (2.1 nos. 9, 11, 15) and Lawu'u (2.1 nos. 13, 21). Armi on one occasion sent a remarkable amount of gold and silver (25.40 and 79.21 kg respectively) (2.3 no. 13). Armi was defeated by Kakmium (2.1 nos. 8, 23, 31; 2.3 no. 14), albeit not by the forces of Ebla. Also at this time, Abarsal was also defeated, again not by Ebla (2.1 nos. 18, 21).

In the first seven years of the minister Ibrum interest in the northern regions seems to have diminished. Abarsal had been subdued and, in an unspecified year, Ĥassuwan had been incorporated into the Ebla realm (Archi 2008b: 91–92 [423–424]). [26]

In his third year as minister, Ibbi-zikir led an expedition against Bagara (a town in the periphery) and Armi. Gutí was the Eblaite representative who led the initial peace negotiations. Bamiadu and Mimiadu swore peace in the temple of Kura at Ebla. Armi was permitted to offer a symbolic quantity of silver as a contribution to the annual ritual of renewal for the mask of Kura, a privilege not enjoyed by other cities (4.1, 4th year). The next four years witnessed a frequent exchange of messengers and numerous gifts as borders between the two states, or, more probably, their areas of influence were negotiated, which clearly was not an easy task. Alongside Bamiadu and Mimiadu, we now find Umi-nin.uš.MUŠ EN, later Darzimu and Sarmilu. Relations with Armi were very friendly: in the 12th year, Mulawadu brings news of a military victory gained by his king and is rewarded with a gold plate and two earrings. The new war against Armi has to fall in the 14th year. After the victory achieved by Ebla with the assistance of Nagar, close relations with Armi resumed once again (4.3). The yearly documents of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth years of Ibbi-zikir are extremely fragmentary. The document for the seventeenth year was apparently never redacted.

Two documents belonging to the very last years of Ebla mention Armi in an obscure context. TM.75.G.1310 rev. I 2–II 4: DIŠ mu al₆-tuš *Ar-mi*^{ki} in *Ib-la*^{ki} “year (in which the people of) Armi stayed in Ebla”.³⁰ TM.75.G.410 (ARET 10.2) (of the last three years): DIŠ mu TIL DU.DU.A *Ar-mi*^{ki} mu-DU é en, “year of the destruction ... of Armi. Delivery (for) the house of the king.”

Ebla held certain specialists from Armi in high esteem. ARET 8.527 § 10: “2 KA-dib i-ti *mi-nu Ar-mi*^{ki} “two magicians arrived from Armi.”³¹ Similarly, ARET 4.3 § 24: (garments) *I-lum*.KI KA-dib lú i-ti *mi-nu Ar-mi*^{ki}. ARET 15.11 § 55: dam a-su(!) *Ar-mi*^{ki} É×PAP “(garments and jewels for) the wife of the physician (from) Armi (for her) funerary ceremony.” A cupbearer (2.1 no. 19), a cook (2.1 no. 25), carpenters (2.1 no. 23; 4.1 3rd year) from Armi reached Ebla in the period of Arrukum. A bow was sent to Ebla (2.1 no. 21). Two men from Armi received garments for having made bows, ARET 1.4 § 85: 2 *Ar-mi*^{ki} kin_x-ag GIŠ-pan-GIŠ-pan. These two men came to Ebla to teach their art to twenty young people, ARET 4.8 § 25–26: “2 + 2 + 2 garments (to) Adanumi (and) Nlrimu of Armi (who) made the bows of the king (and) Ibbi-zikir. 20 + 1 + 2 garments (to) the young men of Ebla (becoming) expert (in making) bows (dumu-nita-dumu-nita *Ib-la*^{ki} dub-zu-zu GIŠ-pan-GIŠ-pan).”³²

During the reign Igrīš-Ḫalab, Armi sent bronze goads weighing a total of 18.80 kg (2.3 no. 4). TM.75.G.1642 (MEE 7.13) registers a small numbers of spear-heads (80) from Armi (period of Ibbi-zikir) and a blade for a battering ram (eme gud-si-dili), came from Armi, ARET 4.2 § 25. This might indicate that Armi was located in a region where copper was readily available.

Relations with Armi were so intense that a relatively common personal name had Armi as second element: *En-àr-Ar-mi*^{ki} /yinḫar/+GN “Armi has smitten” (Pagan 1998: 147, with previous bibliography), ARET 3.939 rev. II 3 (collated); 4.1 rev. IV 20; 8.525 V 19, 527 XIII 14, 532 IX 3, 540 VI 18, XII 8, 541 V 10, IX 11; TM.75.G.10025(+) obv. V 5; for documents concerning the administration of agricultural products, see TM.75.G.2085 obv. II 5; TM.75.G.10218(+) obv. II 6, V 9.

6.2 Geographical Data

The documents from the period of minister Arrukum (2) clearly show that Armi lay to the north of Ebla’s borders (beyond the Alalah – Karkamiš line, both

³⁰ Obv. II 3 mentions Tubuhu-’Adda, son of the minister Ibbi-zikir (Archi 1981c: 5).

³¹ On KA-dib, see Conti 1990: 101; for a list of KA-dib in Ebla, see Catagnoti and Bonechi 1998: 35–36.

³² A metalworker, simug, of Ebla went to Armi for “exchanging gold,” šu-bal-ag kù-gi, ARET 1.16 § 5. His name could reflect his profession: *ī-sa-tum* /’išātum/ “fire.”

towns belonging to Ebla). 2.1 no. 5 lists: Ḫassuwan – Armi – Urša'um – Ibubu; Armium – Ḫassuwan – Kakmium; no. 6: Abarsal – Nīrar – Armi – Bali – Ḫassuwan – Abarsal; 2.1 no. 13: Mari – Abarsal – Darab – Ḫassuwan – Ibubu – Armi. [27]

Darḫadu/Darḫati bordered with Armi (2.1 no. 7; 4.1 4th and 5th years) and probably with Dulu (2.1 no. 10). It was defeated by Kakmium (6.1), which was probably east of Ḫassuwan (*Abarsal Treaty*, ARET 13.5 § 39: Kak-mium, Ḫassuwan, Nīrar).

Armi maintained relations with Mari (2.1 nos 3, 15); Nagar (2.1 nos. 9, 14, 26); Abarsal (2.1 nos. 15, 21); Ḫassuwan (2.1 nos. 11, 18); and Sanapzugum (between the Euphrates and Ḫarran; 2.1 no. 9). Its representatives also reached Hamazi (3.1).

The city-states to the north that came under Ebla's domination were Nīrar and Kakmium. Irritum, Ḫarran, Sanapzugum, and Gudadanum lay east of Karkamiš up to the Baliḫ; Emar and Ibal numbered amongst those lying to the south (the last beyond present-day Salamiya). Armi is not mentioned among these city-states (listed above, § 1).³³ It is unlikely that Armi was in the Karasu valley, where we have to locate A/Igagališ, never mentioned in context with Armi (ARES 2: 100; this city or Zaluwar could be identified with Tilmen höyük). To the north, northeast of the region of Gaziantep, which was dominated by Urša'um, the land is extremely mountainous and it is only still further north that a valley with another Karasu opens out, 42 km in length and 8 km at its widest point, providing the opportunity for a large human settlement, with the large höyük of Araban as its center (Archi, Pecorella, Salvini 1971: 20, 49–51). We must, therefore, seek Armi in the area between the Euphrates and Urfa, an area that today is mainly a barren plateau.

The onomastic tradition of Armi, so different from that of Ebla and her allies (§ 5), obliges us to locate this city on the edges of the Semitized area and, thus, necessarily north of the line running through Ḫassuwan – Urša'um –

³³ Otto (2006a: 20) suggests that it could be that Armi was no longer independent when the documents ARET 1.1–9 (mentioned in § 1 above) were written. These are monthly documents registering the gifts of set of garment to the kings and elders (ābba), in some cases also to representatives, maškim, and messengers, *ma-za-lum* of the allied city-states. However, they cover the last ten years of the period of minister Ibbi-zikir, because these deliveries fell only once a year (documents nos 1, 5, 6, 8 are dated to month IX, *za-lul*; one each respectively to months XI and XII, MA×GĀNA*tenû-sag/úgur*; in nos. 4, 7 and 9 the month name is in a break). The king (en) of Armi is mentioned in the penultimate rather well preserved annual document (AAM) TM.76.G.534(+), which dates from the 12th year of the minister. This evidence, and the documentation discussed in 4.1 and 4.3, show that Armi remained independent until the end of Ebla, and that the relations between the two cities deteriorated only during the war in the 14th year of Ibbi-zikir (4.2), contrary to what Biga suggested to Otto (2006a: 20 n. 44).

Irritum – Ḫarran. If Armi were to be found at Banat-Bazi, it would have represented an anomaly within an otherwise homogenous linguistic scenario.³⁴

Taken as a whole, the available information suggests that Armi was a regional state, which enjoyed a privileged relationship with Ebla: the exchange of goods between the two cities was comparable only to that between Ebla and Mari. No other state sent so many people to Ebla, especially merchants, *lú-kar*. It is only a hypothesis that Armi was the go-between for Ebla and for the areas where silver and copper were extracted.

7 Armi(um) – Armanum

7.1 The Conquest of Armanum by Naram-Sin

One of the greatest achievements of which Naram-Sin of Akkad boasted is his Syrian campaign, during which he reached the Upper Sea and the bordering mountains. The most important military undertaking was the conquest of Armanum, whose citadel was so well fortified that it was depicted on a statue (*dùl* = *tamšilu*, “image,” III 12, 33) of the king (presumably on its lower part or pedestal). The inscription and the captions describing the city (“Total: 404 cubits in height, from ground (level) to the top of the wall,” V 8–13), is preserved in an Old Babylonian tablet, UET I 275 (Narām-Sîn E2.4.26):³⁵ [28]

Wheras, for all time since the creation of mankind, no king whosoever had destroyed Armānum and Ebla, the god Nergal, by means of (his) weapons opened the way for Narām-Sîn, the mighty, and gave him Armānum and Ebla. Further, he gave to him the Amanus, the Cedar Mountain, and the Upper Sea. ... Narām-Sîn, the mighty, conquered Armānum and Ebla. Further, from the side of the Euphrates River as far as (the city of) Ulišum, he smote the people whom the god Dagan had given to him for the first time. ... The god Dagan gave me Armānum and Ebla, and I captured Rid-Adad, king of Armānum. (I 1–29, II 2–19, III 23–31).

The Ebla that Naram-Sin saw had partially recovered from the devastation presumably inflicted upon it by Mari, which sealed the levels dating to the Mardikh IIB1 period. The occupation levels on the acropolis of the Mardikh

³⁴ A. Otto, who studied carefully the written documentation, was aware of this aporia (Otto 2006a: 19, quoting Bonechi).

³⁵ The latest edition is by D. Frayne (1993: 132–35), whose translation is used here. The description of the citadel of Armanum has been discussed by Kraus 1948, Foster 1982a and Otto 2006a: 1–6, 13–16.

IIB2 period, which cover large parts of the northern area, were, however, greatly disturbed by extensive restoration works carried out in the MB I period and are therefore difficult to analyze (Matthiae 1989: 125–32). Partial remains of foundations of an Archaic Palace have been found in the lower city, near the northern gate (Matthiae 1995: 654–77).³⁶

The destruction suffered perhaps no more than seventy years earlier had ended any hope Ebla may have held of further regional hegemony. The glory of the Pre-Sargonic period at Ebla was but a memory. The greatest resistance to the Akkadian king came from Rid-Adad of Armanum, holed up in his formidable fortress. Syria presented the same scenario as that which Sargon had encountered roughly fifty or sixty years earlier: “He (the god Dagan) gave to him (Sargon) the Upper Land: Mari, Iarmuti and Ebla as far as the Cedar Forest and the Silver Mountains,” (Sargon E2.1.1.11; Frayne 1993: 27–29). Sargon claims dominion over a region defined by the name of two cities and Naram-Sin says that he has conquered these two cities and reached the Mediterranean. The name of the most distant and less famous city reached the officers of Sargon in a corrupted form: there is no doubt that Armanum and Iarmuti were intended to denote the same state entity. Naram-Sin, who did in fact reach this city, reproduces the name in a way that is fairly faithful to the original form. Armi(um) of the Eblaite documents and Oakk. Armanum must refer to the same city. The similarity between the two names, and the fact that Armi(um) was the most important state located beyond Ebla’s territory oblige us to conclude that the two toponyms indicate the same place, despite the partial discordance between the two names.

7.2 Reduplication of GNs at Ebla

There is no reason to interpret Armanum as a plural form.³⁷ A certain number of geographical names of the Ebla period include the ending *-ān(um)*, as in *Gú-da-da-núm*^{ki} (with the variant *Gú-da-an*^{ki} in ARET 13.9 rev. VIII 10, a document of the period of Arrukum or Ibrium).³⁸ The adnominal affirmative *-ānu(m)* has the function to emphasize the subject aspect.³⁹

³⁶ This building could be dated to the period of the Third Dynasty of Ur, when Ebla was one of the Syrian principalities that maintained contacts with the administration of Ur (Owen 1992: 121).

³⁷ M. Krebernik, apud Otto 2006a: 1 n. 3, has noted that “the equation Armium = Armanum is only possible if a plural is postulated.”

³⁸ Several names are listed in ARES 2: 24.

³⁹ This has been pointed to me by P. Michalowski. On the suffix *-ānu(m)* see Goetze 1946; Buccellati 1976; 1996: 140–141; von Soden 1995: 85–86. The plural suffix *-ānu(m)* seems not to be attested in the Eblaite language.

Reduplication of a geographical name in later documents expresses in general a plurality of people from those centres. TM.75.G.1764 rev. III 7–9: 1 udu *I-bu₁₆-bu-I-bu₁₆-bu^{ki}* máš šu-du₈ “1 sheep (to people from) Ibubu (for) taking an omen.” TM.75.G.2635 obv. XI obv. XI 4–6: 3 udu *Ti-sum-Ti-sum^{ki}* lú-kar-lú-kar en ì-na-sum “3 sheep (for people) of Tisum, merchants, the king has given.”

Tisum was, however, a political entity organized on different centres (ARES 2: 451), as it was probably the case of Arimu of the steppe, ARET 2.27 § 11: 1 *li gána-ki A-rí-mu-A-rí-mu^{ki}* “1,000 units of land (in the hamlets of) Arimu;” 7.155 obv. II 10–13: *wa ab-si-ga A-rí-mu^{ki}-A-rí-mu^{ki}* Edin “and included (the hamlets of) Arimu [29] of the steppe.” There was a MaNE of Emar, of Gaduru and Igdu-*ra* (ARES 2: 380). This multiplicity explains the reduplication *Má-NE^{ki}-Má-NE^{ki}*. TM.75.G.2238 rev. X 1–5: 3 udu kú en in *Má-NE^{ki}-Má-NE^{ki}* “3 sheep (for) consumption of the king (of Ebla) in the different centres of MaNE.” ARET 3.230 II 8–10: *En-bù-ma-lik* ugula *Má-NE-Má-NE^{ki}*. ARET 10.120 rev. 3–7: *wa gána-ki Gul-la Má-NE^{ki}-Má-NE^{ki}*.

The reduplicated form of Armi, rather frequent in the monthly documents of deliveries of sheep of the last two years of Ebla, relates to the presence of many people of Armi at Ebla in that period. TM.75.G.10169(+) obv. IX 6–11: [x udu ^d*Aš-da*]-*bíl Ar-mi^{ki}-Ar-mi^{ki}* nídba in si[kil] “[x sheep (for) the god Ašda]bíl (people of) Armi have offered for purification;” X 4–11: 12 udu kú *Ar-mi^{ki}-Ar-mi^{ki}* [lib]ir-rá 8 udu kú 2 *Ar-mi^{ki}* gibil “12 sheep (for) consumption of (people from) Armi, former (delivery); 8 sheep (for) consumption of two (people from) Armi, new (delivery).” TM.75.G.2635 rev. II 18–20: 30 udu kú *Ar-mi-Ar-mi^{ki}*.⁴⁰

7.3 Armanum at Samsat?

The sum of cubits given in the Naram-Sin inscription E2.4.26 V 8 for “the height” of the citadel of Armanum is 404, that is about 200 m, which is very high (“Total: 404 cubits in height, from ground (level) to the top of the wall,” V 8...13). Foster (1982a: 36) suggested, however, that the length of the slope was meant, not the height of the hill (“from the river to the quay wall: 196 cubits is the height of the hill (and 20 cubits ...),” VI 1–8. The river on which Armanum lay had to be the Euphrates. Naram-Sin conquered Armanum and Ebla “by means of the god Dagan,” (I 30–31). Dagan was the lord of the region of the Middle Euphrates. A few lines later, Naram-Sin adds: “Further, from the side/front (*ištum-ma puti*; i.e., the bank) of the Euphrates as far as (the city of) Ulišum, he smote the people whom the god Dagan had given to him for the

⁴⁰ For other passages, see above 4.3

first time,” (II 8–19). This city must be Uršum (/Urša’um/ according to the texts of Ebla), which lay north of Ḫassuwan/Ḫaššum, and has been placed between Gaziantep and Birecik on the Euphrates, or at Gaziantep itself (the topographic notation “from the side (of the bank)” is in favour of it).⁴¹ At Birecik and Zeugma (on the left and right bank of the river, respectively) there is no trace of a large pre-classical site.

As A. Otto (2006: 7) has remarked, “no Early Bronze Age citadels or fortresses situated on high natural hills had been found in Syria ... (until) the unexpected discovery of an Early Bronze Age building on the top of the citadel hill of Bazi.” If Armanum is Armi, the written sources from Ebla force us, however, to locate this city further north.

North of Birecik the valley narrows greatly; from Halfeti to the edge of the plain of Samsat (where the course of the river is now blocked by the Atatürk dam) the river is impassable, running between high, rocky banks.⁴² On the plain north of the dam stands the high and large artificial mound of the citadel of Samasat on the west bank of the river. This has a trapezoidal profile resting on a wide base and the summit can only be reached via a very steep incline. Helmuth von Moltke, who visited the site in April 1838, described it as follows: “dort ist das Thal weit, und der Fluß gleicht der Oder nahe oberhalb Frankfurt. ... Auf einem von Menschenhänden aufgeführten Berge, der einst die Akropolis trug, stehen noch heute schöne Ruinen [30] eines viereckigen Gebäudes.”⁴³ Rising solitary above the wide plain, the acropolis of Samsat is the most impressive tell on the Euphrates north of Mari (fig. 2). Deep soundings have reached levels 25–27 of the Late Uruk period.⁴⁴ Today the mound is entirely submerged by the waters of the reservoir, thus preventing any further attempts to investigate its history (fig. 3).

⁴¹ For the first hypothesis see Garelli 1963: 107; for the second one, Archi, Pecorella and Salvini 1971: 45–46. At least in the Eblaite period, /r/ could be pronounced /l/, e.g. Lexical Lists no. 237 (MEE 4: 225): *mí-du₁₁-ga = ra-a-mu-um/la-a-mu-um /ra’āmum/* “to love;” see Conti 1990: 103–104.

⁴² For a brief description of this stretch of the Euphrates, see Naval Intelligence Division 142: 170–71.

⁴³ von Moltke 1893: 236–37 (p. 222 in the first edition, 1841).

⁴⁴ The evidence for the Late Uruk period occupation of the site has been presented by N. Özgüç (1992). During the final season at Samsat, N. Özgüç has found also a postern of the (Hittite) Kummuh period: “a postern, a staircase-tunnel constructed in limestone on the north-east side of the mound. Its vertical walls are built of masonry with clay mortar, but the roofing is made of Cyclopean blocks in Hittite fashion. The tunnel gives access from the Kummuh fortification system down to the slope of the mound to the level of a spring. A total of 63 steps were cleared. Near the lower end is a cistern with steps leading down,” (Mellink 1991: 135). The final report on the at Samsat excavations is Özgüç (2009). See, further, Orthmann 2006–08.



Fig. 2: The tell of Samsat from the southeast.



Fig. 3: The submerged tell of Samsat.

7.4 An illustration Naram-Sin's Campaign in Northern Syria and Eastern Anatolia

In a famous study, M. Mellink (1963) interpreted the stele of Nasiriyah, whose major fragments are in the Iraq Museum, Baghdad, as an illustration of an Akkadian campaign in Cilicia. She noted that the booty carried by at least three Akkadian soldiers in the lower register, consists of belts with daggers and a two-handled goblet that are of non-Mesopotamian type (fig. 4). “The pointed blade with wide, sloping or squared shoulders, and three rivets (one in the narrow tang and one in each shoulder) has a remarkable Early Bronze III distribution along the Anatolian coast, from Samos to Lycia, Cilicia, Cyprus and Ugarit.⁴⁵ ... The two loop-handles (of the goblet) rise from the widest part of the body and curve back below the rim along the upper part of the vessel. ... The material of this goblet can be identified as metal, since the upper part has two bold grooves which indicate fluting.” Mellink recognized that the cup on the stele “is a relative of the Anatolian category for which Schliemann established [31] the misnomer *depas amphikypellon*.” This form “makes its appearance in Troy level IIc and is most characteristic of the various phases of II. ...

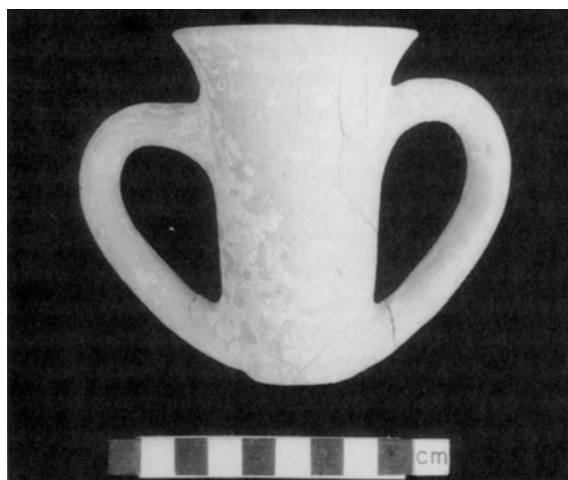


Fig. 4: Depas from Titriš.

⁴⁵ McKeon 1970: 228, however, interprets this object as “a sheath containing a dagger.” The Eblaite documents list frequently “belts (with) sheath and frog:” *ib-lá si-ti-tum gir-kun*, MEE 12: 69–70.

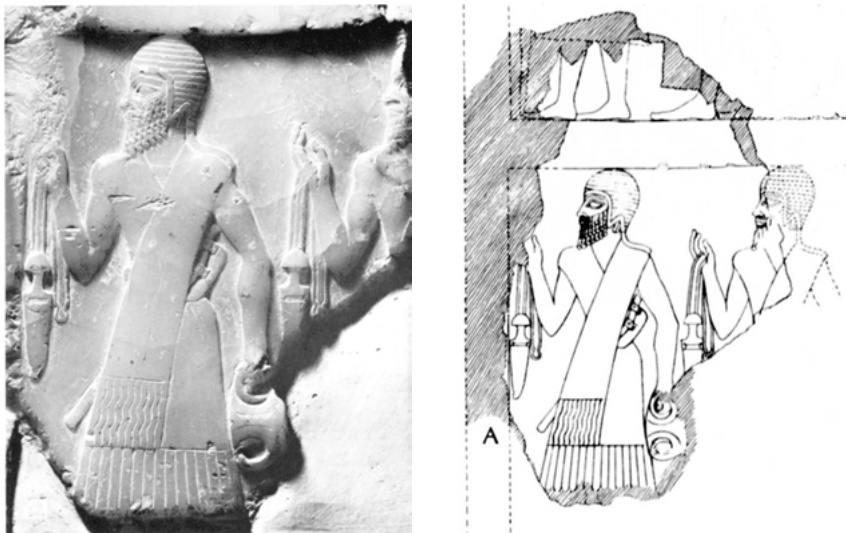


Fig. 5: Fragment A of the Nasiriyah stele, Baghdad Museum.

The same basic variants of the depas shape are familiar in Cilicia (Tarsus) in the Early III Bronze period.” (Mellink 1963: 106–107).

Mellink could write at her time: “a Syrian origin of the metal booty would seem unlikely, since the cultural province of coastal Anatolia does not extend into Northern Syria in the Early Bronze III phase.” (Mellink 1963: 111–112). Several years later, Kontani (1995: 113, 119, fig. 1, 14 and 26) was able to point out a single handled tankard from Tell Mardikh II B2, and a depas from Amuq Level J. More recently, a complete depas vase has been found at Titriš (fig. 5); others examples at Tell Bi’a and Tell Afes.⁴⁶

The stele of Nasiriyah is dated on stylistic grounds to the time of Naram-Sin (McKeon 1970). Mellink thought [32] that the stele would lend new support to the credibility of pseudo-historical literary claims that Akkadian armies marched into Anatolia, such as Sargon’s expedition in aid of Akkadian mer-

⁴⁶ A picture of the depas from Titriš was given by Mellink 1993: 119 (here, fig. 5); see further Matney, Algaze and Pittman 1997: 81 fig. 15. For the example from Tell Bi’a, see Spanos and Strommenger 1993, fig. 1. The depas from Tell Afes was found in Area E3, and is dated to phase 2, EB IVB (courtesy of S. Mazzone, to whom I also owe the reference to Kontani’s study). Others examples have been found at Gedikli/Karahöyük (Alkım 1965, fig. 11), Zinçirli (Andrae 1943, fig. 60, table 25), Tilbeşar (Kepinski 2005: fig. 4,17 and 5,18), Tell Selenkahiye (Spanos and Strommenger 1993, fig. 2). The distribution of this typology has been discussed recently by Rahmstorf 2006: 52–55, with bibliography: 84–85.

chants in Anatolia, or Naram-Sin's war against an alliance of seventeen Anatolian kings.⁴⁷ The examples of the *depas* recently found from northern Syria up to the large bent of the Euphrates beyond Halfeti agree instead with the Naram-Sin's historical depiction of his achievements in northern Syria and eastern Anatolia. Reaching Armānum/Samsat, Narām-Sîn went therefore upriver the Euphrates to the same height as he did in the Tigris valley, where he left a stele at the large tell of Pir Hussein by Diyarbakır. Titriš has to be identified with one of the cities connected with Armi in the Eblaite documents, as Darḥatum or Dulu (see respectively, 2.1 no. 7, 4.1 4th and 5th year; and 1, 2.1 no. 10, 3.1).

47 For the use of these sources from a historical point of view, see Liverani 1993.

33 More on Ebla and Kiš

Further study of the texts from Ebla has permitted the identification of 23 documents in which Kiš is mentioned; these may be added to the other 45 which already have been treated elsewhere.¹ The publication of these new passages offers the occasion to reconsider some points regarding Kiš.

1 Relations between Ebla and Kiš

Fabrics are the goods most frequently consigned to people from Kiš; see texts [1], [2], [4], [6], [7], [9], [10], [12], and [22]. But in [6], [7], [9], and [22] fabrics are also given to people from Ebla or from other cities who come to Kiš. The texts always mention 3 (or 2) garments per person: a cloak, a tunic, and a gown: 'à-da-um-TÚG aktum-TÚG íb+III-(sa₆-)gùn-TÚG, or similar pieces. They are the standard consignment of the Eblaite administration, whether the recipient is a simple functionary or a sovereign. Sometimes the quality of the garment varies: a 'à-da-um-TÚG may be of higher quality: -II, and a gown may be “good” sa₆, for the king of Kiš and his brothers, šeš en, see [9]. In [12] only Kiš is mentioned as the recipient, but it is clear that the reference is to the sovereign of the city. In this case, an ingot of 40 shekels (313 g) of gold is added to the clothing (and this is rather usual when it is a question of gifts to foreign kings). Therefore, Ebla did not export clothing to Mesopotamia; instead of documents recording exports, these texts must be concerned with gifts, which leads one to presume an exchange on a reciprocal basis.

To its messengers to Kiš, the Eblaite administration gives silver, usually in modest quantities ([5]: 20 shekels = 156 g, as “travel allowance”, níg-kaskal). In these cases, the use of the silver is not closer specified. Instead, in another passage, [5], 11 shekels = 86 g are destined to the purchase of 102 “turtles” (ba-ba) “in favor of Mari and Kiš,” and in [15] 70 shekels = 548 g are delivered to a person in Kiš for the purchase of fabrics.

In the passages in Archi 1981a [19] concerns 8 minas = 3,760 g of silver for an expedition (kaskal) to Kiš; [27] 5 shekels = 39 g as “travel allowance” [126]

Pp. 125–40 in *Eblaitica* 1, eds. Cyrus H. Gordon, Gary A. Rendsburg, and Nathan H. Winter, Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns. 1987.

¹ Archi 1981a. Nos. [44] and [45], published there in the Addendum, are also included in the present article as nos. [6] and [20].

(nīg-kaskal) of Ennai; [33] 30 shekels = 235 g as “travel allowance” of Wana; [37] 2 shekels = 15 g as “gift” (nīg-ba) to a personage of Kiš. In [7], [13], and [20] the silver is destined as gifts to make votive offerings to the gods of Kiš. In [13], 10 shekels = 78 g of silver are for the purchase of a dagger for an Eblaite man who goes to Kiš. In [5] 46 shekels = 360 g is the price of two garments to be purchased in Kiš. Elsewhere instead, as in [12], a merchant (dam-gàr) has the task of purchasing garments, but the quantity of silver at his disposal is not indicated.

Gold is sent as a gift to high personages of Kiš in the form of ingots (DIB) and not as worked objects. In [12] there is 1 ingot of 40 shekels = 313 g for (the king of) Kiš; 6 ingots of 16 shekels = 725 g for the elders; 6 ingots of 10 shekels = 470 g for the singers;² in [16] 1 ingot of 40 g = 313 g for Ṭūbī-Su'en (king?) of Kiš; 1 ingot of 20 shekels and 6 of 16 shekels = 908 g for the elders; 6 ingots of 10 shekels = 470 g for the singers. In Archi 1981a [16], an ingot of 30 shekels = 235 g of gold is sent to a person from Abarsal residing in Kiš.

Lapis lazuli and carnelian were purchased in Kiš, according to [5], for 33 shekels = 258 g of silver (calculating a ratio of 1:4 between silver and lapis lazuli, it amounts to approximately 1 kg. of stones).

There is frequent reference to the king of Kiš in the documents, and he is referred to interchangeably with the titles of en ([9]; [10]) and lugal.³ Gifts are also sent to the brothers of the sovereign (Irisum and Bususum: [9]) and to his children (Archi 1981a [20]). In [16], the ingot of gold of 40 shekels is the typical gift given by Ebla to foreign kings (see ARET 1, “Glossary,” s.v. DIB). This precedes (even if not directly) the gifts to the elders and to the singers of Kiš. All this would suggest that Ṭūbī-Su'en, even though the name is not followed by a title, was a king of Kiš who is otherwise unknown to us. It was common practice at Ebla to omit qualifications and titles, even in the case of foreign kings.⁴

Therefore, in addition to Mari, Ebla maintained direct diplomatic and commercial relations with Kiš. Of special importance in this regard is [10], a passage, however, whose syntax is not clear. According to this text, some garments and 2 bracelets decorated with lapis lazuli are “the gift of the king which (his minister) Ibbi-zikir gave on the occasion of the marriage ... of Kešdūt; (to the) king of Kiš, PN, dependent of PN; delivered.” Now, Kešdūt was a daughter

² In fact, the metal of this DIB is not specified, but it was this type of ingot which was used to store gold.

³ See also Archi 1981a: 83. The same alternate is well attested also for the king of Mari (see Archi 1985c).

⁴ For the kings of Mari, see *ibid.*

of king Išar-damu, and a very large dowry was given for her marriage (the marriage also was the basis of a year-name).⁵ Therefore, the interpretation of this passage is more likely: “on the occasion of the marriage ... of Kešdūt (with) the king of Kiš”! [127]

The only other high functionaries of Kiš mentioned in these texts are the elders in the passages cited above. In [16], it appears that “singers” (nar) from Kiš went to Ebla. On the other hand, Ebla (where metal-working was probably more developed than in Mesopotamia) sends 3 metal workers to Kiš along with their children [20]. In general, the titles of the Eblaite envoys are not specified, except in [7], [17], and [22], where ‘couriers’ (kas₄) are mentioned.

The types of shipments and deliveries seem to be exchanges made on a reciprocal basis. There is also a certain amount of trade but, as has been seen, only in a few cases is it possible to know what goods were purchased.

2 Kiš Civilization and Ebla

I. J. Gelb has pointed out the characteristics of the so-called Kiš civilization – that is, of that Semitic culture which formed in the Pre-Akkadian Age in north Mesopotamia, in contact with the Sumerians – and has demonstrated that Ebla shared that culture.⁶ But it is important to distinguish between elements which Ebla received from Kiš and others which instead were a common patrimony of the Semites in the entire Syro-Mesopotamian area. Among the latter surely are the use of the decimal system and also the calendar, as is proved by some month names found at Abū Salābikh as well as at Mari and Ebla. On the other hand, with regard to the weight system, the Semites of Mesopotamia adopted the Sumerian system, based on a mina of 504 g divided into 60 shekels of 8.40 g. In contrast, from very ancient times Syria used a lighter mina of 470 g, which remained in use until the Hellenistic period. This mina was divided into 60 shekels of 7.83 g, and this unit of measure was used – at least from the third millennium – from the Mediterranean coasts up to northern Iran. Dividing that same mina (according to the decimal system) by 50 a shekel of 9.40 g is obtained, precisely the unit of which many examples were found at Ebla in Palace G (third millennium). During the second millennium this was the shekel in use at Ugarit, and it corresponded precisely to the Egyptian *qdt*.⁷

⁵ See Archi 1987a.

⁶ Gelb 1977: 13–15; Id. 1,981 (especially pp. 60–64).

⁷ See Archi 1987d. For Ugarit, see Parise 1970–71. For the shekel weighing 7.83 g in first millennium BC Syria, see Archi and Klengel-Brandt 1984.

From the Semites of Mesopotamia Ebla received, above all, several features of the writing system,⁸ and with it some literary and lexical texts. The fact that many of the texts of this sort found at Ebla are known to us also from the archives of Abū Salābīkh (a city approximately 12 km northwest [128] of Nippur) and only in lesser number from other Mesopotamian cities⁹ demonstrates with which region Ebla (directly or indirectly) was most in contact. Abū Salābīkh belonged to a Semitic milieu, as is shown by the fact that there the scribes had Semitic names.¹⁰ But all these texts are of Sumerian origin, and therefore in this respect, the Semitized Mesopotamian centers were no more than channels of culture, even if some lists may have been rewritten by their schools of scribes. Perhaps the “Names and Professions List,” in which some PNs are Semitic, was rewritten in these schools, as well as the “Geographical List,” in which the GNs (often with Semitic endings) are in the majority to be placed in north-central Mesopotamia, while on the contrary the great Sumerian centers are not mentioned (with the exception of Nippur). But it is certain that the “Geographical List” also had a Sumerian forerunner. There is an archaic list from Uruk, preserved in two specimens, which begins with several important Sumerian cities but which also includes some GNs known only from the “Geographical List.”¹¹ Similarly, with regard to the literary texts, ARET 5.20 = 21 is a Sumerian epic which has only one known parallel from Abū Salābīkh: IAS.278; but since Aratta and the deity from Uruk, Ama-ušumgal, are mentioned in it, it must certainly be a text originally composed in Uruk. Of the Sumerian incantations found at Ebla, the only duplicate known to us is from Fara, from south Mesopotamia.¹²

Some relation with Kiš is attested by a mathematical document, that is, “a systematic list of composite signs for large sexagesimal number units,” composed by a certain Išma-I(l), “scribe of Kiš.”¹³ But one should note that this list, since it is based on the sexagesimal system, is part of the Sumerian tradition.

Instead, it is necessary to fix our attention on another document, ARET 5.6, an epic dedicated to the Sun-god (^dUtu [zà]-me) – and in which Enlil, Enki,

⁸ See n. 6.

⁹ For the “Names and Professions List,” see Archi 1981d. For the “Geographical List,” see Pettinato 1978 [= MEE 3: 217–41]. For the texts from Abū Salābīkh in relation to those from Ebla, see Biggs 1981.

¹⁰ Biggs, IAS: 33–35.

¹¹ Green 1977.

¹² Incantation e (= 1), according to the classification of Krebern timer 1984: 8–9.

¹³ Pettinato 1979b: 258–59 = 1981a: 239–41. See also Archi 1980c. The interpretation of I. Vano and T. Viola in MEE 3: 278–85, is not compatible with the mathematical knowledge of the scribes of the third millennium. See, further, Friberg 1986.

and Su'en are mentioned – the subject of which seems to be trade. In fact, it speaks about “sea-traders” ga-raš, “deep-going boats” má-gur₈, gold, silver, copper, lapis lazuli, timber, and perfumes. There is a duplicate of this epic from Abū Salābīkh IAS 326,¹⁴ about which R. Biggs (IAS: 91) writes: [129] “The tablet is not formed of a separate core and surface layer as are most Abū Salābīkh literary and lexical tablets.” And so, perhaps “this tablet was not written at Abū Salābīkh but comes from elsewhere, possibly Kiš or Ebla.”¹⁵ It is important to emphasize that it is a matter of whether or not this is a Semitic text; this would prove that documents of this kind were not written at Abū Salābīkh, but were imported, perhaps in fact from Kiš, but certainly not from Ebla. This is proved precisely by the copy ARET 5.6, which shows some peculiarities. 1. As in the tablet from Ebla of the “Names and Professions List,” the cases are generally large: one normally corresponds to two cases of the Mesopotamian tablets. 2. In place of a logogram, frequently there is syllabic writing, as in the “Geographic List” from Ebla. Consider these examples: obv. I 6: ^dEn-ki ì-lú (A.S.: ... AN); 7: nu-ru₁₂-um zu-bù-um (A.S.: ... ud-ud dag-dag); V 5: ^dEn-zu kur-da-su (A.S.: ... ur-sag-sù); VII 1–3: a-bar-rí-iš ti-ià-ma-dim ħu-du-dē-iš in a-bar-rí-iš ti-ià-ma-dim (A.S.: ambar ab-zu ħu[-] jambar [ab-zu]).

For these reasons, even if the colophon of ARET 5.6 is read only: [En-na-Il] dub-sar Īr-a-Il dub-zu-zu, and Īr-a-Il is not attested in other colophons,¹⁶ it is clear that all these lexical and literary tablets found at Ebla were written in the same environment. This environment was certainly the school at Ebla, and it cannot be hypothesized that they were imported from Mari, the city which was the necessary point for every kind of contact with Mesopotamia. Proof is supplied by the colophon of the “Geographic List”: Ti-ra-Il dub-mu-sar A-zi dub-zu-zu En-na-Il zi-lugal-da. Now, Tira-Il was also the scribe of a Word List, TM.75.G.2515: Ti-ra-Il dub-mu-sar [Ib-dur-]I-sar dub-zu-zu, and this text has a date formula which only makes sense if the text was written at Ebla: in u₄ dumu-nita-dumu-nita dub-sar e₁₁ āš-du Ma-rí^{ki} ‘when the young scribes left Mari (= to return to Ebla).’¹⁷ Tira-Il is also the scribe mentioned in the famous letter of Ḫamazi, TM.75.G.2342, which dates from king Irkab-damu. This is important for the relative dating of the tablets of Ebla. Whatever may have been

¹⁴ The identification is by M. G. Biga.

¹⁵ Biggs 1981: 127.

¹⁶ The identification with Īr-ar-Il, scribe of the tablet of the “Names and Professions List,” is doubtful.

¹⁷ A-zi, along with Ib-dur-I-sar dub-zu-zu and Dam-da-il um-mi-a, was also the scribe of the Eblaite tablets regarding the “Birds List,” the “Nagar List,” “Ed Lu A,” and a Word List (TM.75.G.1954+4592); see MEE 3: xxviii.

the period of time elapsed between the texts found at Abū Salābikh and their copies at Ebla, the latter date from three generations before the destruction of Palace G, that is, the time of the last administrative documents.

IAS.326 contains almost solely logograms. Now, in theory, it is true, a text in logograms can be read in various languages, but it is probable that the Eblaite scribe furnished the text with some syllabic writing, since it had been written originally in a language which he felt was rather close to his own.

This text constitutes a point of contact between two distant geographic areas, and therefore the Semitic of Mesopotamia, prior to the age of Akkad, [130] could not have differed substantially from the Eblaite. But despite this, the culture of Ebla was not that of the Semitic population of Kiš and its surroundings; to be convinced of this it is sufficient to glance over the lists of the gods of Ebla, which are not those of Mesopotamia,¹⁸ the personal names, which follow their own tradition, and in part the lexicon itself, which is attested by the bilingual lexical lists.¹⁹

3 Personal Names

The PNs of the persons coming from Kiš, according to the Eblaite documentation, seem all to be Semitic (Table 1), and this clearly demonstrates the character of the population of that region for the Pre-Sargonic period. This is a confirmation of the data furnished by the Sargonic texts of Kiš and Mugdan.²⁰ In fact, according to an analysis conducted by B. R. Foster, the PNs of the tablets from Kiš can be classified in this way: Akkadian 82%; Reduplicated 11%; Sumerian 6%; Unassigned 1% (total cases counted: 679).²¹

The theophoric names known from Ebla above all attest the Moon-god Su'en in this peculiar writing: *Zu-i-nu* (*Du-bí-Zu-i-nu* /*tūb-ī-DN*/ 'DN is my god';

¹⁸ See the offering lists published by Pettinato 1979a. For the gods which appear in the PNs, see the indexes in ARET 1–4.

The fact that the “god Zababa, king of Kiš,” is cited in the colophon of the Eblaite manuscript of the “Names and Professions List” means no more than that the Eblaite scribe faithfully also copied the final part of the Mesopotamian original. Zababa is cited only in this colophon: TM.75.G.2659+; see Archi 1981d: 189. Pettinato, MEE 1: 198–99, no. 2095; 205, no. 2539; 218–19, no. 4910, erroneously cites three tablets with that formula. In reality, all three fragments belong to a single text!

¹⁹ An important study on the Eblaite lexicon is Fronzaroli 1984b (circulated in pre-print already in 1980). See now Krebern timer 1983.

²⁰ Gelb 1970: 93–123 (a few texts are from the Pre-Sargonic Age, see p. xvi).

²¹ Foster 1982: 299.

Īr-am₆-Zu-i-nu)²² and then the Sun-god ^dUtu (*Iš-dub-^dUtu*) Eblaite names composed with Zu'en are not known, and those with Utu²³ are rare. By contrast, in the PNs of Sargonic Kiš, Zu'en is certainly the god most mentioned (12 PNs), and Utu is less frequent only than Ea and Ištar.²⁴ Further, according to the Eblaite writing system, -NI may be read -ì and express -I(I); and this ending is found in *I-da-ì* /yida'-DN/ "DN knows", and in *Iš-má-ì* /yišma'-DN/ "DN heard", the initial elements are rather frequent both at Kiš (cf. above all *I-da*-DINGIR, *Iš-má*-DINGIR) and in general in Mesopotamia, and at Ebla.²⁵ [131]

Tab. 1: Kiš Personal Names Attested in the Ebla Texts.

<i>A-ḫu-šu</i> /d[a(-x)] [25]	<i>Iš-dub-bù</i> [11]
<i>ʾĀ-tum</i> [7]	<i>Iš-du-bù</i> [9]
<i>Bù-šu-sum</i> (šeš en) [9]	<i>Iš-du-bu_y(NI)</i> [2]
<i>Da-da</i> ; Archi 1981b: 84	<i>Iš-du-bù-um</i> [9]
<i>Da-li-lum</i> [6]	<i>Iš-dub-^dUtu</i> [21]; Archi 1981b: 84
<i>Dab₆-si-ga</i> [21]; [26]; Archi 1981b: 84	<i>Iš-lum-a-ḫu</i> [9]
<i>Du-bí-Zu-i-nu</i> [16]	<i>Iš-má-ì</i> ; Archi 1981b: 84
<i>Gi-iš-ḫi</i> [9]	<i>Lu-gu-si-lum</i> [9]
<i>I-da-ì</i> [7]; Archi 1981b: 84	<i>Sa-mu-nu</i> [4]; Archi 1981b: 84
<i>I-du-NI-i-du</i> ; Archi 1981b: 84	<i>Su-i-du</i> ; Archi 1981b: 84
<i>Īr-am₆-a-bù</i> [8]	<i>Su-ma-núm</i> [9]
<i>Īr-am₆-mu</i> [8]	<i>Su-mu-nu</i> [23]
<i>Īr-am₆-Zu-i-nu</i> [8]	<i>UR-ni-zi</i> [8]
<i>Īr-kum-Nu-nu</i> [31]	<i>Ur-ra-nu</i> [29]
<i>I-rí-šu</i> ; Archi 1981b: 84	^d Utu-ERIN+X ₂ [29]
<i>I-rí-sum</i> (šeš en) [9]	<i>Zi-NE-ḫur</i> [8]; [9] [27]
<i>Iš-dab₆-bu_y</i> [27]	

The verb *šaṭāpum* 'to preserve (life)' appears in *Iš-dub-^dUtu* /ištup-DN/ 'DN preserved', and in the hypocoristicon *Iš-du-bù/bu_y(-um)*, *Iš-dub-bù*; it is rather frequent in Mesopotamian PNs (also from Kiš), but is not used at all in those from Ebla.²⁶ Instead, Mari knows *Iš-dub-Il/ì*, *Iš-dub-(I)-sar*, *Iš-du-bù(-um)*; and also in Tuttul (on the Baliḫ River) is found *Iš-dub-Il/ì*.²⁷ This is one of the exam-

²² In the Old Akkadian period, this DN is written: ^dEN.ZU, with two exceptions in Pre-Sargonic texts, where it occurs as ^(d)Zu-en; see Roberts 1972: 50.

²³ *En-na-^dUtu*; *Tiš-ma-^dUtu*, cf. ARET 1.

²⁴ Gelb 1970: 123–24.

²⁵ Ibid.; Gelb 1957: 17 and 274–275; for Ebla, see ARET 3: 276–77 and 287.

²⁶ Gelb 1957: 291; Id. 1970: 108.

²⁷ See Archi 1984b: 225–51; Id. 1985a.

ples which demonstrates how Mari was more or less the point of contact between two different onomastic traditions, the Syrian (Ebla) and the Mesopotamian (Kiš).

Further, *Da-li-lum* /dalil-u-um/ ‘praise’, is attested in Mesopotamia (and also at Mari),²⁸ but not at Ebla; and this is also true for the hypocoristicon *I-ri-šu/sum* /yi’riš-u/ ‘DN requested’.²⁹

Also, *Sa/Su-mu-nu* /ša/um-u-nu/ ‘Our progeny’ (with the alternate *šam-/šum-* well known in Amorite),³⁰ and *Su-ma-núm* /šum-ān-um/ ‘progeny’ (with the hypocoristic ending *-ānu(m)*, which is found particularly in Northwest Semitic names, but is a Proto-Semitic suffix),³¹ present an element well attested [132] in Mesopotamia. But Ebla itself knows similar names, such as *Su-ma-Il/ī*, *Sa-mu-ū/um*, whereas *Su-ma-núm* is also the name of a man coming from Ir(r)itum.³²

Su-i-du /šu-id-u/ ‘He is the strength’ contains the element *idu(m)*, well known from names both Mesopotamian and Eblaite.³³ On the other hand, in *Iš-lum-a-ḫu* ‘The brother is ...’ the element *išr/lu* is widespread in the Eblaite area and rare in Mesopotamia.³⁴

For *Dab₆-si-ga* keep in mind *Si-ga(-ma-al)*, ARET 3: 297; the first element could therefore be /tāb/ ‘is good’.³⁵

Finally, *Da-da* is a “reduplicated name,” in use both in the Sumerian as well as the Semitic area.³⁶

These PNs, even if few, demonstrate how the language of Ebla was rather close to that of Kiš, but also how the onomastic tradition of Ebla was different from that of Kiš.

4 Dating

When the Ebla tablets were first discovered, it appeared that the dynasties of Ebla and Akkad were contemporaneous. In a tablet, TM.75.G.2428, rev. IV 9,

²⁸ Gelb 1957: 109–10; ARET 1: 238.

²⁹ Gelb 1957: 67.

³⁰ See Buccellati 1966: 180–81; Huffmon 1965: 247.

³¹ See von Soden 1952: § 56r; Huffmon 1965: 135–38.

³² ARET 3: 297 ff.

³³ Gelb 1957: 16–17; ARET 3: 277.

³⁴ Cf. ARET 3: 398; Gelb 1981: 29–30.

³⁵ According to a suggestion of P. Fronzaroli.

³⁶ See Meek 1935: 51–55; Gelb 1955: 325; Id. 1957: 104; Id. 1970: 96; Foster 1982c: 302.

the name of *Sa-ri-gi-nu* was read and it was thought that Sargon of Akkad³⁷ had been mentioned. Subsequently, however, the correct reading was recognized: *Ša-NAM-gi-nu*; furthermore, the name was not followed by a royal title nor by a place name which could be identified with Akkad.³⁸ Nevertheless, according to P. Matthiae, some stylistic elements in Eblaite works have a correspondence in Akkadian manufactures. He therefore posits a synchrony between the ceramic production of Mardikh IIB 1 – which corresponds to 'Amuq I and Hama J 8–5 (= EB IV A) – and a period which includes the last decades of ED IIIB and the first years of the reign of Naram-Sin.³⁹ In confirmation of this dating Matthiae was then able to offer the find, during the campaign of 1977, in a well-stratified level, of the lid of an unguent jar with a cartouche of Pepi I, whose period of rule traditionally has been thought to coincide with the second part of the reign [133] of Sargon and the beginning of the reign of Naram-Sin.⁴⁰ Matthiae does not rule out the possibility that the destruction of Palace G was the work of Sargon, but contends that it is more probable to attribute it to Naram-Sin, for two reasons: 1. Naram-Sin is the only one who explicitly says that he conquered Ebla; and 2. with the destruction of Mardikh IIB 1, Palace G was abandoned and the subsequent phase is constituted by Mardikh IIB 2, which more or less corresponds to Lagaš II.⁴¹

Instead, G. Pettinato, once the groundlessness of the synchronism between Sargon and Ibrium was recognized, moved up the dating of the archives of Ebla considerably. In fact, he maintains that the dynasty of Ebla is “contemporary with the I Dynasty of Kiš (2600–2500 BC) ... and the IV Dynasty in Egypt,” for these reasons: 1. Iblul-II of Mari is contemporary with Ar.EN.NÚM of Ebla; 2. Akkad is never mentioned in the texts from Ebla, but Kiš is attested, “followed by Adab”; 3. there is a PN read Mesalim, and this must be the famous sovereign of the first Dynasty of Kiš; 4. in two fragments of an oil lamp from Egypt found in the palace, the cartouche of Chefred is carved, and this constitutes a synchronism between the dynasty of Ebla and the fourth Egyptian dynasty; and 5. “the paleography and criteria of composition of the tablets are correspondent to those in force in Fara and Abū Salābikh.”⁴² But in reality, of

37 Pettinato 1979: 124 n. 24 = 1981a: 109 n. 20; Matthiae 1977: 180–82 = 1981: 166–69.

38 Pettinato 1979b: 124 n. 24; Id. 1977b: 233; Id. MEE 1: xxxvii.

39 Matthiae 1977: 60, 76–106 = 1979b: 66, 79–105. For the dating of the pottery, cf. de Contenson 1979: 860. Support was also provided by M. van Loon in a report delivered in Rome in 1980.

40 Matthiae 1978a; Id. 1978b: 229–36; Scandone Matthiae 1979: 37–40.

41 Matthiae 1977: 53–54, 107, 208–10 = 1981: 59–60, 105–106, 191–93.

42 Pettinato 1977: 233–234; Id. 1979b: 80–81 = 1981a: 72–73; Id. MEE 1: xxxviii.

these points only 2. is valid⁴³ since: 1. a synchronism between Iblul-II and a Mesopotamian dynasty does not exist; 2. the PN Mesalim in reality is to be read *Bar-za-ma-li*;⁴⁴ 3. the implication that the vase with the cartouche of Pepi I was not found in a stratigraphic level is gratuitous, and therefore “there can be no doubt that the cover of Pepi I, whatever be the absolute chronology that is attributed to this Pharaoh, constitutes a fundamental *terminus post quem* for the destruction of the Palace”;⁴⁵ and 4. the typologies of the tablets are in fact similar to those of Fara and Abū Salābīkh,⁴⁶ but the order of the signs in the reading-sequence is respected (with rare exceptions) only in the tablets from Ebla; in addition, the lexical and literary [134] texts from Abū Salābīkh (and Fara) are written “in a less explicit orthography, using a number of rare or even otherwise unique cuneiform signs of unknown reading, whereas the Ebla version uses ordinary syllabic signs.”⁴⁷

The explanation for this phenomenon may be found in the fact that the Eblaite scribes, being less familiar than their colleagues from Mesopotamia with the Sumerian language and the use of certain logograms, preferred syllabic writings.⁴⁸ But this may also be an indication that the tablets from Ebla belong to a phase slightly later than those of Abū Salābīkh. A precise comparison of the paleographic elements remains to be made, but with regard to at least some of the tablets from Abū Salābīkh published in photographs, the impression is that they are more archaic.⁴⁹

It is true that the horizon of the lexical and literary texts at Ebla imported from Mesopotamia is the same as Abū Salābīkh, but nevertheless it is a ques-

43 But for Adab I am able to supply only two passages from the administrative texts of Ebla, in which it is mentioned in connection with Mari and not with Kiš: 1. TM.75.G.1918 rev. III 20–26: 1 ma-na babbar:kù níg-ba Šu-ga-du Ma-ri^{ki} níg-AN.AN.AN.AN Adab (UD.NUN)^{ki} šu-ba₄-ti “1 mina of silver (as) gift: PN of Mari has brought the news that Adab was conquered”; 2. TM.75.G.2429 obv. XX 4–12: 15 gín DILMUN babbar:kù níg du₈ 1 dam Adab (UD.NUN)^{ki} ama-gal dumu-nita nar áš-da Ma-ri^{ki} “15 shekels D. of silver: payment for one woman from Adab, mother of the son of a singer from Mari”.

44 See Archi 1981e.

45 Archi 1980b: 37 (= BA 44: 153). For the lid with the incision of Pepi I, see Scandone Matthiae 1979: 37–43, and especially n. 12.

46 According to Biggs, IAS: 24, “the Abū Salābīkh tablets were approximately contemporary with the so-called Schultexte from Fara.”

47 Biggs 1980: 78, 84.

48 See Gelb 1981: 11–15; Krecher 1983.

49 Cf., e.g., the sign SUM in IAS.23. For a comparison between the paleography of Fara and that of Ebla, see for the moment Picchioni 1981. According to E. Sollberger, in a report read in Rome in 1980, points of contact exist between the paleography of the Ebla texts and those from the time of Lugalzagesi.

tion of a tradition which in some cases begins as early as Uruk III and continues to the Old Akkadian Age.⁵⁰ Therefore, placing the date of the texts from Fara “to the time of Ur-Nanše or even a generation later,”⁵¹ there are six generations to Urukagina and Lugalzagesi (but traditionally ca. 150 years)⁵² in which to place Abū Salābīkh and Ebla.

On the other hand, as has been stated earlier, a part of the lexical tablets of Ebla which are copies of texts found also at Abū Salābīkh, on the basis of the names of the scribes, are to be dated to the reign of Irkab-damu, and therefore two generations before the destruction of Palace G. This is a period estimated to be from 30 to 40 years long. That this period could not have been shorter is confirmed by the fact that Irkab-damu must have been (in part) a contemporary of Iblul-II of Mari and his two successor (Nī-zi, Enna-Dagan), and the two following generations of sovereigns of Mari, Iku-(I)šar, ḪI-dar,⁵³ correspond to the successors of Irkab-damu (and his minister Arrukum / Ar-EN-LUM), that is Išar-damu (and his ministers Ibrium and Ibbi-zikir).

From the paleographic point of view, the texts from Ebla can without difficulty be dated as late as Sargon; this is demonstrated by the Pre-Sargonic administrative texts from Kiš, found “at Ingharra, in the south-eastern corner [135] of the Kiš complex of Mounds,”⁵⁴ which are very similar to the administrative texts of Ebla. Sargonic documents come from the same findspots, and it is therefore probable that these Pre-Sargonic texts date from a phase immediately preceding, and therefore from the reign of Sargon (“paleographically ‘Pre-Sargonic’ extends to include the reign of Sargon!”).⁵⁵ It is unthinkable that during the epoch of Naram-Sin tablets of a Pre-Sargonic shape and with a Pre-Sargonic writing were in use at Ebla. The contacts between Syria and Mesopotamia are too frequent to permit a “delay” of this nature. Rather minor phenomena, such as writings of the type šu-ba₄-ti and babbar:kù with respect to šu-ba-ti and kù-babbar attested in the Pre-Sargonic texts from Mari⁵⁶ can be explained by a “delay.”

⁵⁰ For example, of ED lu E there is an Old Akkadian tablet from Gasur, MSL XII, 16, and there is an early Ur III copy of the “Names and Professions List”; see Fales and Krispijn 1979–80.

⁵¹ Hallo 1973: 235.

⁵² Hallo 1976: 37.

⁵³ The table in Archi 1981b: 161, is to be corrected, see Archi 1985c: 48.

⁵⁴ Gelb 1970: ix; the texts are listed on p. xvi, and the photographs are published in pl. XI (no. 25), pl. XII (nos. 26, 27); pl. XV (no. 38); pl. XVIII (no. 47); pl. XXXVI (no. 90). Nos. 25, 26, and 27 were found in Locus: Red Stratum; no. 38 in Locus: C 6; no. 47 in Locus: YWN. Later tablets come from all these Loci.

⁵⁵ Gelb 1981: 57.

⁵⁶ For these data, see Charpin 1987.

The fact that in the documentation from Ebla the title “king of Kiš” is often found, but not “king of Akkad,” is not a determining element in favor of an earlier dating; instead, the fact that Kiš is mentioned in approximately 70 tablets (sometimes in connection with other cities) and Akkad not even once is a fact which rules out the attribution of Ebla’s destruction to a successor of Sargon. On the other hand, if the Dynasty of Ebla had been more or less contemporary with that of Akkad, it would be strange indeed that in the documents from Ebla (even if they are only administrative) there is no mention of the political activities of the king of Akkad. Certainly, Naram-Sin is the only king to call himself “conqueror of Armanum and Ebla,”⁵⁷ and he explicitly states that “never, since mankind was established, had any king among kings subdued Armanum and Ebla.”⁵⁸ This inscription gives a rather detailed summary of the Syrian expedition, and it is expressly stated that Naram-Sin’s adversary was the king of Armanum, whereas Ebla is mentioned only indirectly. Very different instead were the power relationships in Syria around the age of king Išar-damu and the ministers Ibrium and Ibbi-zikir; Armi (corresponding to Armanum) was an important city, but there is no doubt that it was Ebla which held supremacy throughout the territory to the west of the Euphrates.⁵⁹ We know from Gudea statue B that Ebla was traditionally considered the route to reach the mountains from which valuable timber was imported.⁶⁰ It is therefore probable that the mention of [136] Ebla after Armanum⁶¹ was influenced by a literary *topos*. In the epic texts dedicated to Naram-Sin, but from a later epoch, only Armanum and not Ebla appears among the king’s rival states.

Sargon also mentions Ebla, but in generic terms: “(Dagan) gave him the upper land, Mari, Yarmuti, Ebla, up to the cedar forest and the silver mountains” (Sollberger and Kupper 1971: 99). It is precisely the nature of this inscription, a summary of all the king’s exploits, that does not however allow the underestimation of the mention of Ebla.⁶² If, instead, in accord with what Nar-

57 Edzard, Farber, Sollberger 1977: 38.

58 Sollberger and Kupper 1971: 107–108.

59 Beside *Ar-mi*^{ki} note also the earlier writing *Ar-mi-um*^{ki} cf. ARET 3: 318. GNs with the suffix *-ānum* are not frequent at Ebla. For an etymology of the name, see Fronzaroli 1977: 148–149. The identification of Armanum with Aleppo (cf. Gadd 1971: 426), is based solely on the fact that some scholars want to attribute to Aleppo (not mentioned in the texts of the third millennium) the same importance which it enjoyed in subsequent epochs.

60 Cf. Falkenstein 1966a: 52.

61 See Grayson and Sollberger 1976: 127.

62 A later literary text which describes the empire of Sargon also mentions “From Ebla to *Bit-nanib*: the land of the Armanaeans”, see Weidner 1952–53: 12–13; Grayson 1974–77: 59. But perhaps this expression was suggested by the inscription of Naram-Sin cited above.

am-Sin stated, one wants to maintain that the memory of the destruction of Ebla was not a part of the historical tradition of the Dynasty of Akkad, then it would be necessary to date the destruction of Palace G to a phase immediately prior to Sargon.

Archaeological documentation shows that Palace G was destroyed, sacked, and burned. The architectural structures of the later phase are of rather minor importance and are characterized by the painted caliciform pottery which is usually attributed to the end of the third millennium.⁶³

5 Appendix

5.1 BAN-*ga*^{ki} = *Ti-rí-ga*^{ki}: Terqa

It is difficult not to notice that the only places where men from Kiš receive fabrics from Ebla, namely, BAN-*ga*^{ki} and *Ti-rí-ga*^{ki} in [7] and [9] (in addition to Tuttul), have the same ending. The suspicion that these two names are merely variant spellings for just *one* city and that BAN therefore has the phonetic value of *tir*_x is confirmed if the following facts are considered.

The PN BAN-*kab-Du-lum* is not rare. Since the beginning of this name recalls the element *Īr-kab-*, rather frequent at Ebla,⁶⁴ the reading *ir*_x⁶⁵ has been proposed for BAN. But a reading *Tar*_x-*kab-Du-lum* is just as plausible, and in some cases necessary, since a feminine name is expected here, as in MEE 2.41 obv.XI 5–7: *Tar*_x-*kab-Du-lum* šà-zu dumu-mí “T., midwife of the daughter.”⁶⁶ [137]

The GN BAN-*ḥa-tum*^{ki} now must no longer be identified with *Ar-ḥa-du*^{ki} as was proposed in ARET 3: 400, but with *Dar-ḥa-du/tum*^{ki}, *Da-ra-ḥa-du*^{ki} (see *loc. cit.*).

The GN BAN-*ḥa-tum*^{ki} also occurs in the “Geographical List” IAS: 72, line 46. But in the duplicate from Ebla, in the place of BAN, there is a sign which is not clear.⁶⁷

⁶³ J. Boese (1982) lowers the chronology of the Akkadian Dynasty. Accepting the lower chronology would make possible a correlation between the last years of Pepi I and the reign of Sargon.

⁶⁴ *Īr-kab-ar*; *Īr-kab-da-mu*.

⁶⁵ Pettinato MEE 2: 262.

⁶⁶ For the formation of the feminine PNs, see Fronzaroli 1979: 278. For the vowel alternation *tar*_x/*tir*_x compare *ār/hur*: *ḤUR*.

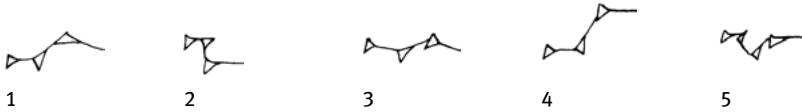
⁶⁷ See the photograph published by Pettinato 1978a, Tab. XL

There is no doubt that the Tir(i)ga of the Ebla administrative texts is the *Ter-qa*^{ki} of the Mari texts of the second millennium, and is to be identified with the modern Tall al-‘Ašara on the Euphrates. However, it is possible that the *Tir_x-ga*^{ki} of the “Geographical List” is to be identified with the other Terqa, located in the Diyala region.⁶⁸ This second Terqa is surely mentioned in an Old Akkadian document, Gelb 1955.33, 46 (writing: BAN-*ga*^{ki}). In fact, immediately following, in line 50, *Ki-te*^{ki}, a city not far from Ešnunna, is mentioned.⁶⁹

D. O. Edzard has pointed out that the Pre-Sargonic god ^dLugal-BAN-*ga* (T. 66) is typologically analogous to the god ^dLugal *ter-qa* (T. 142).⁷⁰ We now know that there are variant spellings for the same god.

5.2 The sign BAN

1. Normal form in the administrative texts, see ARET 1.6 rev. VIII 4: GIŠ-BAN.
2. ARET 1.12 obv. X 11: GIŠ-BAN. 3. Bilingual lexical texts *A*, *C*, *D* and Sumerian forerunner TM.75.G.2422 obv. IX 25: GIŠ-BAN. 4. “Names and Professions List”: Ban-maš-kalam. 5. ARET 2.6 rev. III 3: GIŠ-BAN.



Tab. 2: Ebla Texts Mentioning Kiš.

1. TM.75.G.1249 obv. V 10–13: (fabrics) Kiš^{ki} in Ī-ab^{ki} šu-ba₄-ti.
2. TM.75.G.1254 obv. X 8–9: (fabrics) Iš-du-bu₇(NI) Kiš^{ki}.
3. TM.75.G.1783 obv. VI 3–8: *En-na-ni-Il* maškim *Ħa-ra-Il* i-ti *mī-nu* Kiš^{ki}.
4. TM.75.G.1792 obv. IV 3'–4': (fabrics) *Sa-mu-nu* Kiš^{ki}.
5. TM.75.G.1918 rev. IX 10–16: 20 gín DILMUN babbar:kù níg-kaskal *Wa-na wa A-da-ar* du-du Kiš^{ki};
rev. XVII 3–9: 11 gín DILMUN babbar:kù níg-sa₁₀ 102 ba-ba lam:ki Kiš^{ki}
wa lam:ki Ma-rī^{ki}.
6. TM.75.G.2241 obv. IV 13–14: (fabrics) *Da-li-lum* Kiš^{ki};
rev. I 8–II 2: (fabrics) *Za-mu Ma-rī*^{ki} maškim-e-gi₄ *Ħi-da-ar Ma-rī*^{ki} áš-da
GIGIR-ra-ar Gi-te si-in Kiš^{ki};

⁶⁸ See the bibliography in Groneberg 1980: 236.

⁶⁹ See Edzard, Farber, Sollberger 1977: 94–95.

⁷⁰ Edzard 1967: 54. T. 142 is published by Dossin 1967.

rev. III 11–15: 1 LAK 670-TÚG mu-DU Kiš^{ki} wa šu-ba₄-ti-sù Du-bu-*hu*^d-A-da (cf. 1981b: [44]). [138]

7. TM.75.G.2250 obv. X 10–14: (fabrics) 'À-tum Kiš^{ki} in Tir_x(BAN)-ga^{ki} šu-ba₄-ti;
 obv. XI 2–8: (fabrics) I-da-i Kiš^{ki} šu-du₈ in Tir_x(BAN)-ga^{kl} al-tuš Īr-ku^{ki};
 rev. II 13–23: (fabrics) Na-gâr^{ki} du-du si-in Kiš^{ki} (fabrics) Īr-ì-ba Īr-da-lum lú kas₄-kas₄ du-du si-in Kiš^{ki};
 rev. V 13'-VI 7: Ar-si-a-*hu*^l Áš-da-NI EZEN-NI A-*hu*-ma-da Ma-rí^{ki} du-du in Kiš^{ki};
 obv. VIII 14–IX 2: (fabrics) Ma-rí^{ki} è in Bàd^{ki} wa maškim-e-gi₄ si-in Kiš^{ki}.
8. TM.75.G.2270 obv. X 7–12: (fabrics) Īr-am₆-Zu-i-nu Zi-NE-*hur* UR-Ni-zi Īr-am₆-a-bù Ir- am₆-mu Kiš^{ki}.
9. TM.75.G.2277 obv. I 8–13: (fabrics) Ši-*hi*-lu Da-la-NI 2 maškim I-bí-zi-kir du-du Kiš^{ki};
 obv. VIII 17–18: (fabrics) Iš-du-bù-um Kiš^{ki};
 obv. IX 7–10: (fabrics) Zi-NE-*hur* Lu-gu-si-lum Su-ma-núm Kiš^{ki};
 obv. XI 19–24: (fabrics) En-na-ni-Il lú Ša-ù-um Gi-ra-ma-lik si-in Kiš^{ki} šu mu-“taka₄”;
 rev. V 9–12: (fabrics) I-rí-sum šeš en Kiš^{ki};
 rev. V 23–VI 10: (fabrics) Iš-du-bù Gi-iš-*Ī* Kiš^{ki} (fabrics) Gi-iš-*Ī* Kiš^{ki} šu mu-“taka₄” udua_x 2 šu-ba₄-ti (fabrics) Iš-du-bù Kiš^{ki} in Du-du-lu^{ki} šu-ba₄-ti;
 rev. VI 21–22: (fabrics) Kiš^{ki} lú Ib-la^{ki};
 rev. VII 26–28: (fabrics) Wa-ru₁₂-tum Kiš^{ki} šu mu-“taka₄”;
 rev. VIII 14–20: (fabrics) Iš-lum-a-*hu* Kiš^{ki} šu mu-“taka₄” udua_x in Ti-rí-ga^{ki} šu-ba₄-ti;
 rev. IX 4–6: 1 túg-gùñ 1 'à-da-um-TÚG-II 2 aktum-TÚG 1 íb+IV-TÚG-sag 1 íb+IV-TÚG ú-*háb* en Kiš^{ki};
 rev. X 22–24: (fabrics) Bù-šu-sum šeš en Kiš^{ki}.
10. TM.75.G.2327 obv. IX 6–21: 1 dùl-TÚG Ib-la^{ki} 1 aktum-TÚG 1 íb+III-sa₆-gùñ-TÚG wa 2 gú-li-lum GIŠ-PA gín:za kù-gi lú níg-ba en lú I-bí-zi-kir ì-na-sum in u₄ níg-mu-sá bur-KAK Kéš-du-ud en Kiš^{ki} En-na-ni-Il lú Ša-ù-um su mu-DÚB.
11. TM.75.G.2330 obv. IV 13–14: (fabrics) Iš-dub-bù Kiš^{ki}.
12. TM.75.G.2335 obv. VI 19–VII 10: 3 'à-[da-]u[m-TÚG-II] 3 aktum-TÚG 3 íb+III-TÚG-sa₆-gùñ 3 DIB 40 (gín) Na-gâr^{kl} 'A-du^{ki} Kiš^{ki} 7 'à-da-um-TÚG-II 1 aktum-TÚG 7 íb+III-TÚG-sa₆-gùñ 1 DIB 20 (gín) 6 DIB 16 (gín) ábba-ábba Kiš^{ki} 6 gu-dùl-TÚG 6 aktum-TÚG 6 íb+III-TÚG-sa₆ 6 DIB 10 (gín) nar Kiš^{ki};
 obv. VIII 3–7: (fabrics) A-zi Kab-lu₅-ul^{ki} du-du si-in Kiš^{ki}.

13. TM.75.G.2336 rev. IV 18–V 3: (fabrics) *ì-giš-sag Si-ti-ma-lik du-du si-in* Kiš^{ki}.
14. TM.75.G.2353 obv. V–VI 3: *Si-t[i-]m[a-lik] Ša[-...] du-du si-in* Kiš^{ki}.
15. TM.75.G.2359 v. VI 15–VII 9: 30 (gín) babbar:kù níg-sa₁₀ 2 zara₆-TÚG 40 gín DILMUN babbar:kù níg-sa₁₀ 1 níg-lá-gaba 3 níg-lá-sag *I-in-zé in* Kiš^{ki} 20 gín DILMUN babbar:kù níg-du₈ *Dam-da-Il Ib-su*^{ki} *in* Kiš^{ki} lú *Na-zu-mu* níg-du₈. [139]
16. TM.75.G.2426 obv. VI 16–24: 4 DIB 40 (gín) *Du-bí-zu-i-nu* Kiš^{ki} *En-na-ni-Il* 'À-du^{ki} *Sá-ù-mu Na-gàr*^{ki} *Îl-ba-zi-kir Kak-mi-um*^{ki};
obv. VII 23–VIII 17: 4 ma-na 50 (gín) babbar:kù šu-bal-ak 1 ma-na 56 (gín) kù-gi 2¹/₂ 1 DIB 20 (gín) 6 DIB 16 (gín) SAL ábba-ábba Kiš^{ki} 2 ma-na 30 (gín) babbar:kù šu-bal-ak 1 ma-na kù-gi 2¹/₂ 6 DIB 10 (gín) SAL nar Kiš^{ki} lú *ì-ti in* níg-kas₄ *Ma-rí*^{ki} *in* SA.ZA_x^{ki} šu-ba₄^{ti}.
17. TM.75.G.2441 obv. V 8–10: 12 udu kas₄ Kiš^{ki};
obv. VII 17–21: 4 udu kas₄ Kiš^{ki} *en* ì-na-sum.
18. TM.75.G.2455 obv. IV 1'–15': *Na-zu-mu* òi-mu-DU níg-kaskal *si-in* Kiš^{ki} 3 mí-TÚG 3 íb+III-gùn-TÚG maškim-sù 1 mí-TÚG TAR.TAR maškim-sù 1 gír mar-tu *ba-du-ud* babbar:kù *En-na-Il* lú GIBIL-za-Il du-du [si-]in Kiš^{ki}.
19. TM.75.G.2556 rev. III 6–13: (fabrics) *Bar-zi Ar-si-a-ḫu Da-NE-lum* simug wa 3 dumu-nita-sù du-du Kiš^{ki}.
20. TM.75.G.2643 obv. I 1–7 (= Archi 1981a [45]); 1 'à-da-um-TÚG-II 1 aktum-TÚG 1 íb+III-TÚG-SAL 1 gu-li-lum SU+SA(= 20)+7-n ku-gi NA₄ a-mu-sù *en* Kiš^{ki} GIBIL-Ma-lik *T[i-t]/i-nu* šu mu-“taka₄”.
21. TM.75.G.2649 rev. I 8–17: (fabrics) *A-ku-gu-nu Il-e-I-sar I-in-ze* du-du *si-in* Kiš^{ki} (fabrics) *Is-dub-^dUtu Dab₆-si-ga* Kiš^{ki} (cf. Archi 1981a: 82 [42]).
22. TM.75.G.10156 rev. VII' 12'–14': 2 'à-da-um-TÚG 2 aktum-TÚG 2 íb+III-TÚG-sa₆-gùn 2 kas₄ Kiš^{ki}.
23. TM.75.G.10251 rev. IV 2–3: (fabrics) *Su-mu-nu* Kiš^{ki}.
24. TM.76.G.199 obv. 7–11: *wa a-la-ga* Kiš^{ki} *šu-ul-ma Kam₄-mu*;
obv. VI 6–9: bar[?]-x Kiš^{ki} *wa kalam*^{tim}.
25. TM.76.G.541 obv. V 4–5: (fabrics) *A-ḫu-šu/d[a(x)]* Kiš^{ki}.

ADDENDUM

26. TM.75.G.2277 obv. III 11–IV 1: (1 + 1 + 1 fabrics) *Dab₆-si-ga* Kiš^{ki}.
27. TM.75.G.2401 obv. VI 19–VII 1: (2 + 2 + 2 f.) 1 gu-li-lum babbar:kù-gi 30 (shekels)-II 1 gu-li-lum babbar:kù-gi 20 (shekels)-II Zi-NE-ḫur *Iš-dab₆-bu_y* (NI) Kiš^{ki}; obv. X 13–19: (5 + 5 + 5 f.) 1 mí-TÚG níg-bar-du-sù *En-na-ni-il* lú *Ša-ù-um* du-du Kiš^{ki}.

28. TM.75.G.10109 obv. III 1–6: AN.ŠÈ.GÚ 70 lá-2 ma-na babbar:kù wa 1 li 1 mi-at 53 še gú-bar al-“taka₄” in Kiš^{ki} [x-a]r² [x] x; rev. IV x+1–10:] kù-gi 1 níg-tur wa 30 (shekels) kù-gi še[-] [(x)] ʿa¹-mu lugal In-ma-lik lú Ib-rí-um [šu]mu-“taka₄” (lugal = the king of Kiš?).
29. TM.76.G.542 obv. VI 1–3: Ur-ra-nu ^dUtu-ERIN+X₂ (see ARET 3: 407) Kiš^{ki} (cf. the literary text ARET 5.6 VII 1: am-am x ^dUtu u₅(MÁ.ĤU) = IAS.326 IV 3'–4': ... am ERIN+X₂ ^dUtu u₅, and again ARET 5.6 XII 3; for MÁ.ĤU = u₅, see P. Steinkeller 1984a: 34, n 8). [140]
30. TM.76.G.704 obv. I' 1–3: lu[gal] Kiš^{ki} ĥu²-lu.
31. TM.76.G.540 obv. VII 16–VIII 5: (3 + 3 + 3 f.) 1 ma-na 2 (gín) kù-gi 1 DIB na₄ 50 kù-gi 1 DIB na₄ ša-pi 5 (gín) kù-gi 1 DIB na₄ níg-ba en Kiš^{ki} wa dumu-nita-sù Īr-kum-Nu-nu Kiš^{ki} In-ma-lik lú Ib-rí-um šu-mu-“taka₄”.
32. TM.75.G.1945 obv. XI 14–17: 6 udu kú maškim-maškim Kiš^{ki}.
It is worth noting the large amount of barley, 9,153 *kubār*, delivered to Kiš, according to [28].
-

Tab. 3: People from Ebla Traveling to Kiš.

A-ba-da-an (dam-gàr): Archi 1981a [12].
A-da-ar: [5]; Archi 1981a [33]. *A-ku-gú-nu*: [21]; Archi 1981a [42].
A-mur-li-im: Archi 1981a [17].
Ar-si-a-ĥu: [19] (simug). *A-zi Kab-lu₅-ul^{ki}*: [12].
Bar-zi: [19] (simug). *Da-la-NI*: [9] (maškim *I-bí-zi-kir*). *Dam-da-Il Ib-su^{ki}*: [15].
Da-NE-lum: [19] (simug). *En-ba₄-zé*: Archi 1981a [14].
En-na-ì/Il: Archi 1981a [7]; [24].
En-na-ì/Il lú GIBIL-za-Il: [18]; Archi 1981a [12]; [13]; *En-na-ni-Il* maškim *Ĥa-ra-Il*: [3].
En-na-ni-Il lú Ša-ù-um: [9]; [27].
Ĥāb-ra-ar: [6]; Archi 1981a [34]; [40].
GIBIL-ma-lik: [20].
Gi-ra-ma-lik: [9].
Gi-te: [6].
I-bí-zi-kir: Archi 1981a [1].
I-bí-zi-kir lú Zì-da: Archi 1981a [12]; [18].
I-in-zé: [15]; [21].
Īl-e-I-sar: [21]; Archi 1981a [42].
Īr-an-ma-lik lú *Ib-ga-iš-lu*: Archi 1981a [16].
Īr-da-lum: [7]; Archi 1981a [9].
Īr-ì-ba: [7]; Archi 1981a [9].

Ī-rí-ik-ì: Archi 1981a [38].
Na-zu-mu: [15]; [18]; Archi 1981a [7]; [39].
Sì-ti-ma-lik: [13]; [14].
Ši-ḥi-lu: [9] (maškim *I-bí-zi-kir*) [9].
Ti-ti-nu: [20].
Wa-na: [5]; Archi 1981a [17]; [33].

Tab. 4: Cities Mentioned in Connection with Goods Exchanged Between Ebla and Kiš.

A-bar-sal₄: Archi 1981a [16] (PN from A. residing in Kiš).
ʾĀ-du: [12] (1 man from Nagar, 1 man from A., 1 man from Kiš); [16] (PN from Kiš, PN from A., PN from Nagar, PN from Kakmium).
Du-du-lu: [9] (PN from Kiš has received in D.).
Ī-ab: [1] (a man from Kiš has received in I.).
Ib-al: Archi 1981a [2] (Kiš, I.).
Ma-rí: [5] (tortoises for M. and Kiš); [7] (3 men from M. went to Kiš); [16] (a singer from Kiš traveling to M.); Archi 1981a [19] (caravans to M. and Kiš); [21] (Ebla merchants, dam-gâr, to M. and Kiš); [31] (Kiš and M.); [32].
Na-gâr: [7] (a man from N. went to Kiš; further, see *ʾĀ-du*); Archi 1981a [1] (PN, who went to Kiš and N.); [6] (king of Kiš and king of N.); [22] (2 men from N. went to Kiš).
Tir_x-ga: [7] (PN from Kiš has received in T.).
Ti-ri-ga: [9] (PN from Kiš has received in T.).

Part IV. **Religion**

34 Ritualization at Ebla

How were the most profound needs of people's *Dasein* satisfied towards the middle of the 3rd millennium BC? The administrative accounts from Ebla, despite the terse nature of this kind of document (which, concerning incoming and outgoing goods with occasional, brief explanations added, has remained more or less unchanged from the time of its invention down to our day) reveal the strategies employed month after month, if not day by day, by an urban community of northern Syria.

It was the forces that surrounded man (which we call nature) that imposed a cyclical pattern of renewal, in line with the seasons of the year. All living things, however, are destined to the same end: death, the tragic yet inevitable event which prevents every individual from accompanying the march of time in its unceasing spiral. The eagerness of eternity which each person feels does, however, find a form of relief in the continuation of their family. And it was [213] over this continuity that the ancestors kept guard, a projection of human aspirations in the form of some undefinable survival of the individual.

1 Survival

The afterlife was a dark kingdom of shadows, in the East as in Greece and Rome. The dead, however, continued to be present in the world of the living. The spirit, the “soul” of the deceased (which resided by the tomb) received offerings and protected his descendants. Such an interpretation is clearly referred to in the written sources (Toorn, 1996: 48–65), especially in relation to the cult of the royal ancestors. The dead went to join their fathers: “So David rested with his fathers, and was buried in the City of David” (1 Kings 2,10). The kings of Ugarit achieved their privileged status in the Underworld, greeted on their arrival by their ancestors who had been evoked precisely for this purpose. KTU 1.161 is the funerary ritual probably for Niqmaddu III, the second-to-last king:

You have been called, O Rapa'ūma of the Earth,
You have been summoned, O Assembly of Didānu;

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Particular abbreviations. AAM: Annual Accounts of Delivery of Metals; Ibr.: minister Ibrim; I.Z.: minister Ibbi-zikir.

King 'Ammittamru has been called, King Niqmaddu has been called as well.
 O Throne of Niqmaddu, be bewept,
 And may tears be shed over the footstool of his feet.
 Before him they must bewep the king's table,
 Each must swallow down his tears:
 Desolation and desolation of desolations!
 ...
 Well-being for his house ...
 Well-being for Ugarit;
 well-being for her gates.¹

Also at Ebla the deceased were received by the ancestors into the Netherworld, as is shown by the following peculiar custom on the occasion of a burial. In case of the death of a person belonging to the royal family or that of the minister, garments were “consigned for the funerary ceremony,” also for some illustrious ancestors, first of all to the two immediately preceding kings: [214] Igriš-Ḫalab and Irkab-damu. Only if the deceased was a woman did female ancestors receive clothes together with two silver toggle-pins. Such clothing must have been used to dress figures representing the most important ancestors (possibly just a skeleton of wood with a mask), which were exhibited during the funeral ceremony). The presence of the ancestors, materialized in the funerary rites by means of images dressed with their usual garments, had the function of stressing the deceased's connection to the former members of the family; to reaffirm his/her status; to introduce him/her into the Netherworld (Archi 2012: 23–25 [559–564]).

At Ebla, as well as at Ugarit (Pardee 1988a: 165–78, with n. 25), the royal ancestors were divinized. Regular offerings at their graves had the aim of ensuring protection for their descendants (Archi 2012: 7, 10–11). The cult of the ancestors in the Syro-Palestinian area goes back at least to the Neolithic period, being attested to by the plastered human skulls from Jericho (Cauvin 1972: 43–47), Tell Aswad (Stordeur 2010: 128) and the “monumental figurines” from 'Ain Ghazal (Schmandt-Besserat 1998).²

1 Pardee 2002: 87–88. For full edition, see Pardee 2000: 816–25, who comments (pp. 824–25): “Riens dans ce texte ne permet, croyons-nous toujours, d'y voir ... un rite correspondant au *kispu(m)* accadien, qui n'était pas le rite d'enterrement d'un roi mais un rite d'entretien des défunts, ni un *marziḫu*, dont la forme observée à Ugarit ... était concentrée sur la consommation du vin, ne comportait pas de sacrifices et ne mettait pas en rapport les vivants et les morts.” On this funerary ritual, see the important historical and topographical considerations in Niehr 2008 and 2009.

2 Benoit 2003: 173 notes: “À l'inverse des crânes surmodelés, qui témoignent de personnes ayant réellement existé, ces sculptures sont des créations. Soigneusement déposées dans les fosses face contre terre, les statues d'Aïn Ghazal devaient être exposées, comme certains crânes surmodelés, à l'occasion de cérémonies, au cours desquelles des masques étaient également portés.” For the skull cult in Anatolia, see Talalay 2004; Hodder 2006: 146–147.

2 Renewal

The annual accounts of deliveries of objects in precious metals (AAM; eighteen dated to Ibrium, sixteen to Ibbi-zikir, his son and successor, both ministers of Išar-damu, the last king),³ reveal a temporal rhythm for the most important offerings to the gods, showing that the idea of cyclical renewal was a basic element of the cult.

2.1 The City God Kura

Kura, the god of the city of Ebla, received every year a delivery of “1 mina of silver (470 g) for (his) silver head”, 1 ma-na babbar:kù sag babbar:kù ^d*Ku-ra*.⁴ This silver served to replace the metal mask covering the face of the statue of the god kept in the temple which stood on the northern side of the royal palace.⁵ [215] Archaeological finds and textual data document statues consisting of a wooden support with the visible parts in various kinds of stone (eyes, hairdresses, beards, clothing), or covered with sheets of metal (face, hands, feet).⁶ This typology was diffused throughout northern Syria during the Early Dynastic III period.⁷

The fact that this registration opens all the annual accounts demonstrates the centrality of the event, which can only be explained as an annual ritual of renewal: an act through which the image maintained intact its properties as personification of the god. It must have marked the beginning of the annual cultic cycle, a central event for Eblaite society.⁸ The god Kura, venerated only

3 The list of these AAMs was given in Archi – Biga 2003: 8–9.

4 Archi 2005d: 81–85 [736–741]. The ceremony is attested already in the AAMs of the minister Arrukum, who preceded Ibrium in that office: TM.75.G.1413 obv. X 12–XI 2; TM.75.G.1871 (MEE 10.23) rev. III 11–13; TM.75.G.1872 rev. VI 18–VII 2.

5 The foundations of this temple, called the “Red Temple” because of the colour of its bricks, were found during the 2007–2008 campaigns, under the temple devoted to Ištar built around the beginning of the 2nd millennium, see Matthiae 2009b: 762–77 (fig. 1).

6 For three impressive hairdresses, see Matthiae 1980b. Two statuettes, exceptionally preserved, covered with gold and silver leaf were published in Matthiae 2009a. For fragmentary statuettes, see Matthiae, Pinnock, – Scandone Matthiae, 1995: 320–24, nos. 65–111. The written documentation is presented in Archi 2005d* [736–759].

7 For the decorations in metal of a large statue of the Storm-god from Tell Chuera, of this same period, see Krasnik and Meyer 2001. Elements of statuettes have been found also at Umm el-Marra and Tall Bi’a / Tuttul at the Baliḥ.

8 The renewal of the “silver head” of Kura had to be something like a “New Year’s Day” rite. The gift in silver for the two priestesses of the god Hadabal (see below, 2.2.4.1) had a similar relevance.

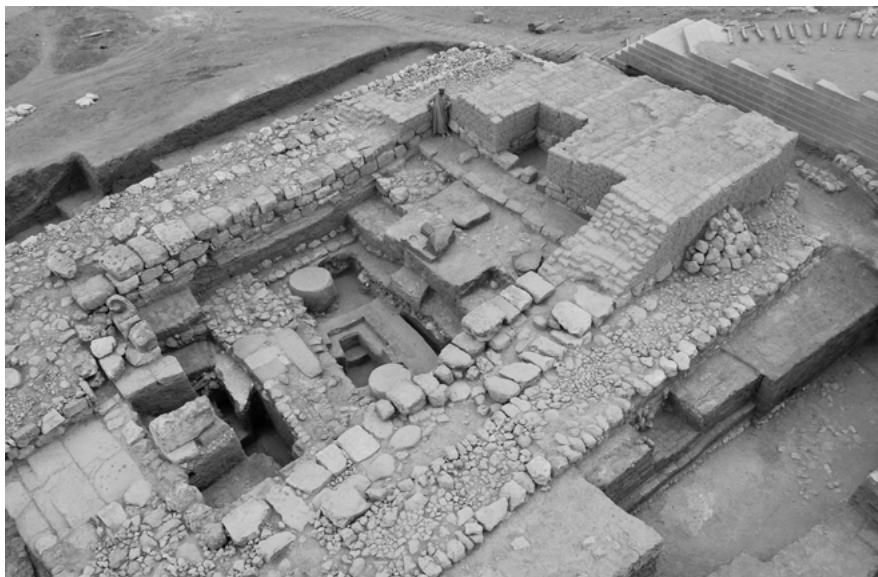


Fig. 1: Ebla: Temple of Kura (Red Temple), EB IVA.

at Ebla, was the protector of kingship, as is shown by the ritual of the royal wedding (see below, 2.2.5). Never receiving gifts of weapons, Kura was a local deity of prosperity, not a warrior god.

Several AAMs record also “a second delivery (mu-ti-II) of 3 shekels (23.5 g) of silver for the silver head of Kura”, e.g. TM.75.G.1860 (MEE 10.20; minister I[bbi]-z[ikir] year 1) obv. XXII 1–4; TM.75.G.2428 (MEE 12.35; I.Z. 8) obv. VI 13–16; TM.75.G.2508 (MEE 12.37; I.Z. 9) obv. XXIV 41–XXV 4; TM.75.G.2429 (MEE 12.36; I.Z. 10) rev. XXII 21–24. In a few rare cases, the three additional shekels are already included in the first registration: “1 mina (and) 3 shekels of silver (493.5 g) for the silver head of Kura”, e.g. TM.75.G.1904 (minister Ibr[ium] 7) obv. I 1–3 and TM.75.G.2359 (Ibr. 9) obv. I 1–3. We have no points of reference that could enable us to date the delivery of the three extra shekels chronologically within the year; only in TM.75.G.1860 (MEE 10.20; I.Z. 1) obv. XXII 1–4, does this registration follow others probably made in the third month: iti ^dAMA-ra.⁹ It is, however, [216] certain, that the renewal rite concerning Kura was completed by a second, annual ceremony.¹⁰

⁹ It has been suggested that the 23.5 g of silver which were usually delivered separately could have been used to decorate the chignon or a lock of hair of Kura’s head, Archi 2005d*: 85 [740–741].

¹⁰ TM.75.G.2508 rev. XI 1–3 has, exceptionally, a third delivery (mu-ti-III) for “the head of Kura”.

A pair of gold bracelets for Kura were also replaced generally twice a year, though apparently not at the same time as the renewal of the god's head. These objects, *gù-li-lum*, weighed approximately 48 g in gold: 6 gín D(ILMUN) 2 NI kù-gi 2 *gù-li-lum* níg-ba ^d*Ku-ra*; TM.75.G.1464 obv. VI 13–15, XV 7–9; TM.75.G.1730 (MEE 7.34) obv. XI 5–8, rev. VI 9–12; TM.75.G.1860 (MEE 10.20) obv. XVII 6–9, rev. VI 10–13; TM.75.G.2428 obv. VI 26–29, XXIV 6–9.

2.2 The Storm-God Hadda

The Storm-god Hadda, with his sanctuary at Aleppo, was the major god of the region corresponding approximately to the northern part of the Eblaite kingdom (fig. 2). Hadda's region was delimited to the west approximately by the Orontes area (from Hamath to the Antioch plain), where the prime god was Hadabal, and to the east by the Euphrates valley, the region of Dagan, with his temple in Tuttul.¹¹ [217]

The primacy of Hadda of Aleppo is evident: he was the only god who received a mace and the horns of two bulls twice a year, in the third and eight [218] months (iti ^dAMA-ra and iti ì-nun; this second month name, used in the

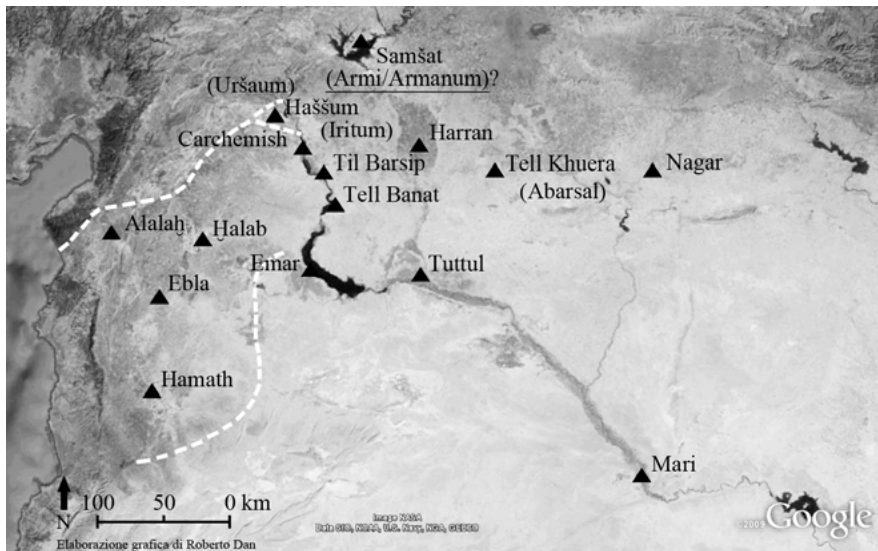


Fig. 2: Northern Syria and the kingdom of Ebla (24th cent. BC).

11 For Hadda, see Archi 2010b* [570–591]; for Dagan, Archi 2008a* [625–631].

so-called “common Semitic calendar” corresponds significantly with the “month of the offering (for) Hadda,” *iti nídba* ^{d1}À-*da*, of the local calendar of Ebla). This twice-yearly event must have been linked with the seasonal cycle: the triumph of nature in April, a reawakening brought about by the end of winter with the arrival of spring rains; the festival in September marking the period in which new rain is invoked to end the dry and hot season. The mace ŠITA+GIŠ = *ḥa-bù*, in general reserved for the gods, characterizes Hadda as a warrior god.¹² The iconography was clearly the same which continued down to the Neo-Hittite period. An orthostat (no. 7) from the temple of the Storm-god of Aleppo of about the tenth century BC, found in the Citadel of Aleppo, portrays the god, dressed only with a kilt (in the Eblaite texts: *ib-III-TÚG*), on a bull-drawn chariot, carrying a mace on one shoulder. Above his other arm there is a mace with a spherical head provided with the hieroglyphic sign for “god” (fig. 3).¹³ This is the mace of the Storm-god in the Syro-Hittite traditions and of the “menacing god” of the Syrian tradition of the 2nd millennium BC.¹⁴ A roughly spherical mace in bronze found at Tell Chuera, quite probably belonging to a statue of the Storm-god, proves that this typology goes back to the Early Dynastic period (Krasnik and Meyer 2001: 388, pl. 8a).¹⁵ The mace *ḥa-bù* for Hadda was decorated with 117 g of silver; its handle (*ar-ra-sù*) with 47 g of gold, similarly to the mace from Tell Chuera.

The regular delivery of the horns of two bulls completed the renewal of the god’s characteristic attributes.¹⁶ TM.75.G.2429 (MEE 12.36) obv. VIII 12–18: “20 shekels of silver (157 g) for the circular covering of the (4) horns of 2 bulls (*’a₅-na-gu si 2 gud*), offering of the king (for) Hadda of Aleppo.”¹⁷ [219]

12 The delivery to Hadda of the double-axe *ḥa-bù* is attested to already at the time of minister Arrukum, see TM.75.G.1902+2617 obv. XII 4–8. The regularity of some of these offerings to the major gods was first noted by Pomponio 1997–98.

13 See also Kohlmeyer 2000: plate 16; Hawkins 2011: 39, fig. 2.

14 See Cornelius 1994: e.g. plates 45–47, BM 2, BM 5, BM 11, BM 16.

15 This continuity had been already remarked in Archi 2010b*: 12 [586–587]. For the different kind of axes and maces at Ebla, see Archi 2010c*: 18–19 [268].

16 Hadda could receive the gift of other horns covered with silver or gold on particular occasions, e.g. TM.75.G.10201 rev. VIII 714: 1 *ma-na kù-babbar ’a₅-na-gu si 10 gud nídba en* ^{d1}À-*da in ma-wa-tim* “470 g of silver (for) the circular covering of the horns of 10 bulls: offering of the king for Hadda in *m*.” (similarly in rev. XIV 3–16 and XVI 24–31); TM.75.G.10202 rev. XIII 23–33: 10 *gín kù-gi ’a₅-na-gu 4 si 2 gud nídba en* ^{d1}À-*da lú ḥa-lab₅^{ki} al₆ tu-ra dumu-munus-sù ’À-za-an^{ki}* “78 g of gold (for) the circular covering of the 4 horns of 2 bulls: offering of the king for Hadda of Aleppo concerning the illness of his daughter in Hazan”.

17 There is only one document, the AAM TM.75.G.2362 obv. VII 7–20, which mentions the amount of silver expended to obtain the two bulls, 30 (*gín*) *kù-babbar níg-sa₁₀ 1 gud ... 25 gín kù-babbar níg-sa₁₀ 1 gud ... nídba en* ^{d1}À-*da* “30/25 shekels of silver (235/196 g): price of 1+1 bull, offering of the king (for) Hadda.”



Fig. 3: The central relief of the temple in the Citadel of Aleppo: the Storm-god on his chariot (10th cent. BC).

The term *gud* generally means “male bovine;” *gud-áb* is “cattle”. In the documents concerning cattle, *gud*, if opposed to *gud-mah* “bull,” means “ox”. In the yearly accounts of deliveries of objects, *gud* may be translated as “bull”.¹⁸ The bull was the animal of the Storm-god, symbolising his tumultuous strength.

Hadda had a second cult center at Lub, where the king had a residence.¹⁹ As well as the two regular yearly “offerings” (*nídba*) to Hadda of Aleppo, the hypostasis of Hadda of Lub also received a similar “gift” (*níg-ba*) once a year, in month IV. TM.75.G.2429 (MEE 12.36) obv. XXII 24–XXIII 7: “15 shekels of silver (117 g): sheets (for decorating) 1 mace, 6 shekels of gold (47 g): sheets (for decorating) its handle, gift (*níg-ba*) of the king (for) Hadda of Lub in (month) *gi*-

¹⁸ The documents also mention a very few horns of the *am* (*si am*), which has been identified with the “elephant,” because a single horn (decorated with gold or also with silver) is usually given to the gods; therefore its meaning does not seem to be the same as that in use in Sumer, cfr. Akk. *rimu* “wild bull; aurochs (*bos primigenius*).” TM.75.G.2428 (MEE 12.35 rev. IV 28–31: 1 horn of an *am* decorated with gold; TM.75.G.2462 v. XIII 14–18: 1 horn of an *am* decorated with gold for Hadabal of Arugadu; TM.75.G.1902+2617 obv. VIII 5–9: 1 horn of an *am* decorated with gold for Hadabal of Luban; TM.75.G.2622 obv. XXIV 12–15: 1 horn of an *am* decorated in silver for Rasap of Daraum. See Waetzoldt MEE 7: 62–63, with further material. Other passages are ARET 14.82 § 34: “... 5 horns of *am* ... gift for the king (of Ebla) from the king of Dugurasu,” § 35: “... 5 horns of *am* ... delivery of the messenger of Dugurasu;” 14.87 § 30: “... 2 horns of *am* ... delivery of PN of Dugurasu;” 14.90 § 31: “... 14 horns of *am* delivery of Dugurasu.” Dugurasu is a city often connected with Dulu; therefore it has to be placed in a northern region. This makes difficult the identification of *am* with “elephant.” The use of the horns of the *am* shows that its symbolic value was not comparable to those of the bull.

¹⁹ Some “women of the king” also resided there, ARES 2: 340–41.

NI.” It is impossible to explain in this case the different [220] terminology (nig-ba is usually not used for a regular delivery), because each of these three offerings (two in Ebla and one in Lub) were repeated year after year without any variation being introduced.

Documents attest to the fact that Hadda of Aleppo had also received a pair of silver mythical human-faced bulls, lu_x (ÉREN+X) at least twice in 35 years. The god was provided with a chariot. TM.75.G.1918 (MEE 10.29) obv. III 8–12) registers “548 g of gold to replace 2 reins (with) 4 buckles which he gave to Hadda together with a two-wheeled chariot” (Archi 2010a: 11).

It is possible that the pair of horns, renewed twice-yearly, were affixed to one of the temple walls, in line with a custom dating back to the Neolithic period. It is, however, more likely that these horns substituted those of the two bulls of the god’s chariot which must, therefore, have been life-size, as was the statue of the god. Although we cannot always be sure that the statues dedicated to a god represented the deity himself and not the offerer (generally the king), in certain cases the context leaves no room for doubt (Archi 2010a: 10):

- a) Two statues for the temple of Hadda (clearly of Hadda and his spouse) needed decorations requiring 657 g of gold; a further 1028 g of gold were given to provide these statues with bracelets, goblets and a scepter (MEE 2.12; minister Arrukum).
- b) A pedestal of a statue in the temple of Hadda weighing 3.917 kg of bronze (TM.75.G.1915+).
- c) 3.88 kg of silver and 78 g of gold for a statue “gift (for) Hadda” (MEE 2.10; minister Ibbi-zikir).
- d) 4.51 kg of gold for decorating a statue (TM.75.G.2062; minister Ibbi-zikir).
- e) 4.23 kg of lapis lazuli were necessary for the head of a (life-size) statue representing Hadda of Aleppo (TM.75.G.1860; MEE 10.20; minister Ibbi-zikir).

These details strongly suggest that the god (with his mace) was portrayed on roughly a life-size scale. The three hairdresses in steatite found at Ebla (Matthiae 1980) and the objects from the grave of Tell Chuera (Kranik – Meyer 2001) prove the existence of such statues. Alongside this statue there was a chariot and probably two bulls, again life-size representations. It is perhaps anachronistic to think that the god was placed on his chariot, pulled by the two bulls; it is more likely that the human mind grasped the connection between the individual objects, whose representation found its icon later only in Hittite visual art, therefore with a continuity of two thousand years. The statue of the Storm-god of Aleppo was provided with the symbols of his manifestations (mace, chariot, bulls) even in such a distant centre as Hattusa. [221]



Fig. 4: Seal impression of Mursili III (Urḫi-Teššup).

These were transmitted from the Eblaite to the Amorite culture and, from this to the Hurrian and then to the Hittite, when the Hurrians and then the Hittites conquered Aleppo.

Hattusili I of Hatti narrates that he sacked the city of Ḫassu(wa) (Tilbeşar, south of Antep), taking then to Hattusa “(the statue of) the Storm-god, the lord of Armaruk, (the statue of) the Storm-god, the lord of Aleppo, ... two bulls of silver” (Kümmel 1985: 458, 462). The Storm-god in Hattusa (whose temple was inside the city) became Hurrianized in 13th century; offerings were given to “the bulls Šeri and Ḫurri, the mace (^{giš}TUKUL), the chariot (^{giš}MAR.GÍD.DA)” of the god (KUB 11 IV 17–18; Popko 2002: 77–78).²⁰ The icon is found in the seal of Mursili III (Urḫi-Teššup) representing the Storm-god brandishing a mace with a round head, standing on his eagle chariot drawn by bulls (fig. 4). The Hieroglyphic inscription identifies this god with the “Storm-god of Aleppo” (Hawkins 2003).²¹ This icon survived in the post-Empire period in the main relief of the Aleppo temple (slab 7; above), in the relief K of Malatya, and in the Karkamiš Watergate relief.

²⁰ In northern Syria / eastern Anatolia, according to a divinatory text from Tigonānum, the Storm-god Teššup was associated also to the mounts Hazzi and Nanni (the Hurrian names for the Kasion and the Anti-Cassius), see George 2013: 297, § 26.

²¹ A color photograph of this seal is on the cover of Neve 1993.

The mental image associating the Storm-god with the two bulls was inherited by the Hurrians. They identified the god of Aleppo with Teššup, and gave the two bulls the names Šeri and Hurri (Schwemer 478–83). In the Song of Kumarbi, Šeri warns the god of the danger of courting certain other deities and cautions him against overconfidence (Hoffner 1990: 42).²²

It is a lengthy but consistent route that leads to considering the bull as the primordial image of the Storm-god, embodying the essence of this divinity. The wild bull (*bos primigenius*) played a fundamental role in the ideology of the Neolithic period. Its brute force and the dangers involved in hunting it made it the symbol of the violent force of nature itself (Cauvin 1978: 116–117; Cauvin 1994: 166–168). This animal, the largest of the period, was represented in the collective imagination by its horns. Bucrania of aurochs were collected in deposits or hung on the walls of houses.²³ Domestication provoked a transformation in the cognitive image. The anthropomorphization of the god symbolising violence was thus accomplished; the bull was associated with a god in human shape, in a subordinate domestic role as the draught-animal of his chariot.²⁴ His cult assumed a seasonal pattern in relation to atmospheric phenomena. [222]

The two-yearly renewal of the mace and the bull horns of Hadda in the Ebla period supports the thesis that the deep structure of the Ugaritic Myth of Baʿl is represented by the annual alternation of the seasons, as already noted by Ch. Virolleaud, the author of the first edition of the myth: “Baal ... représente, non pas la vie perpétuelle, mais la vie intermittente, la vie qui naît ou renaît chaque printemps, qui s’épanouit durant l’été pour s’étioier et disparaître enfin à l’automne. Baal en effet, c’est la vie des plantes.” The myth, however, focuses symbols of cosmic value, as U. Cassuto noted; Môt becomes “la personificazione di tutte le molteplici e svariate forze che tendono a troncane e ad annientare la vita,” while Baʿl “è il dio della vita, la personificazione di tutte le forze conservatrici e datrici della vita.”²⁵ When Baʿl became prey of Môt, lord of the Netherworld, waste and death raged abroad. [223]

²² Similarly, Balios and Xanthos, the horses of Achilles, warned the hero about his nearing death, Hom. Il. 19, 400–24.

²³ Stordeur 2010: 123–24 gives a list of the finds of bucrania in Syria. The fascinating documentation from Çatal Hüyük is in Mellaart 1967.

²⁴ For the symbolism of the bull related to gods and kingship in literary texts, see Heimpel 1968: 75–177; Watanabe 2002: 57–75; Feldt 2007.

²⁵ The two quoted passages are in de Moor 1971: 10 and 24. Virolleaud followed the interpretation given first by R. Dussaud (reference in de Moor 1971: 10–11). de Moor himself, in his stimulating study, developed the seasonal pattern to the point to connect the development of the myth with the calendar (de Moor 1971: 245–48)!

2.3 The God Rašap

Rašap was the only god who received a mace and four bull horns once a year as Hadda. The AAM for I.Z. 5, TM.75.G.1918 (MEE 10.29), exemplifies this yearly pattern of offerings and gifts.

Section a, month III: offering of 2 bracelets for Kura – 1 axe and the 4 horns for Rašap of Hadani – 1 axe and the 4 horns for Hadda of Aleppo.

Section b, month VIII: offering of 1 axe and the 4 horns for Hadda of Aleppo.

Section c, month IV: gift of 1 axe and 4 horns for Hadda of Lub.

- a) (obv. XIX 3–32) 6 gín 2 NI kù-gi 2 gú-li-lum ^dKu-ra 15 gín kù-babbar nu₁₁-za 1 ŠITA+GIŠ 6 gín kù-gi nu₁₁-za 1 ar-ra-sù 20 gín kù-babbar 'a₅-na-gu 4 si 2 gud nídba en ^dRa-sa-ap 'Ā-da-ni^{ki} 15 gín kù-babbar nu₁₁-za 1 ŠITA+GIŠ 6 gín kù-gi nu₁₁-za 1 ar-ra-sù 20 gín kù-babbar 'a₅-na-gu 4 si 2 gud nídba en ^dĀ-da <Ĥa-lab_x^{ki}> in AMA-ra “49 g of gold (for) 2 bracelets (for) the god Kura. 117 g of silver: sheets (for decorating) 1 axe; 47 g of gold: sheets (for decorating) its handle;²⁶ 157 g of silver (for) the circular covering of the 4 horns of 2 bulls: offering of the king (to) Rašap of Hadani. 117 g of silver: sheets (for decorating) 1 axe; 47 g of gold: sheets (for decorating) its handle; 157 g of silver (for) the circular covering of the 4 horns of 2 bulls: offering of the king (to) Hadda <of Aleppo>. In (month) III.”
- b) (rev. II 19–32) 15 gín kù-babbar nu₁₁-za 1 ŠITA+GIŠ 6 gín kù-gi nu₁₁-za 1 ar-ra-sù 20 gín kù-babbar 'a₅-na-gu 4 si 2 gud nídba en ^dĀ-da <Ĥa-lab_x^{ki}> in iti ì-nun “117 g of silver: sheets (for decorating) 1 axe; 47 g of gold: sheets (for decorating) its handle; 157 g of silver (for) the circular covering of the 4 horns of 2 bulls: offering of the king (to) Hadda <of Aleppo>. In (month) VIII.”
- c) (rev. II 33–III 8) 15 gín kù-babbar nu₁₁-za 1 ŠITA+GIŠ 6 gín kù-gi nu₁₁-za 1 ar-ra-sù 20 gín kù-babbar 'a₅-na-gu 4 si 2 gud ní-g-ba en ^dĀ-da Lu-ub^{ki} in gi-NI “117 g of silver: sheets (for decorating) 1 axe; 47 g of gold: sheets (for decorating) its handle; 157 g of silver (for) the circular covering of the 4 horns of 2 bulls: gift of the king (to) Hadda of Lub. In (month) IV.”

Unlike Hadda, whose cult was based in Aleppo, Rašap had about ten cult places. Of those, Hadanni (in the Amuq?) was the major one, followed [224] by

²⁶ This gold is sometimes defined “pure gold”, without giving its exact quantity, TM.75.G.2365 rev. I 11–22 and XI 1–12: 15 gín kù-babbar nu₁₁-za 1 ĥa-bù ap kù-gi sikil 20 gín 'a₅-na-gu si 2 gud nídba en ^dĀ-da in (iti) AMA-ra / ì-nun. See also TM.75.G.2465 rev. XVII 8–9; TM.75.G.2502 obv. XIX 11–16, rev. XVII 33–35.

Tunip near Hama(th).²⁷ Rašap, whose popularity in the regions bordering on the Mediterranean would continue for the next two thousand years, was, together with Hadda and Hadabal, the major god of the Eblaite area. The gift of the mace shows that, already in the 3rd millennium his icon was that of the “menacing god”: a male figure brandishing a weapon, a posture common to both Hadda and Rešef.²⁸ He had to be a warrior god (he was received as such in Egypt), and (probably already at that time) the god of illness and plague (Streck 2006–2008: 251–53).

It has to be noted that the consorts of both Hadda and Rašap, respectively Barama and Adamma, were excluded from the renewal rites, as well as Išhara, the goddess related to the Eblaite kingship, and Ištar.

Other regular yearly offerings were two bracelets for the gods Ammarik(u) and Ašdabil, TM.75.G.1918 rev. VI 2–10: 6 gín 2 NI kù-gi 2 gú-li-lum ní-g-ba ^d*Amma-rí-gú* 6 gín 2 NI kù-gi 2 gú-li-lum ^d*Aš-da-bíl* “49 g of gold (for) 2 bracelets, gift (for) the god Ammarigu. 49 g of gold (for) 2 bracelets (for) the god Ašdabil”. Ammarik, related to the Storm-god according to Hittite sources (Haas 1981: 251–253), was perhaps the mountain seen on the horizon north-west of Ebla (towards Qalāt Semān). Ašdabil, probably belonging to the substrate, became the Hurrian warrior god Aštapi.

2.4 The God Hadabal

The major sanctuaries of Hadabal (whose spouse was “the Lady,” ^dBAD.MU-NUS, i.e. *ba'ltum*) were (L)arugadu (Ugarit knew Yariḥ of *lrgt*, a hypostasis of the Moon-god; below, n. 33); Hamadu, later Hama(th) (85 km south of Ebla); Luban, a locality also attested to in the Alalah tablets. Only Hadabal of (L)arugadu and Luban, however, received regular offerings in the city of Ebla, together with Hadabal of the palace (SA.ZA^{ki}), which shows that these two places were closer to Ebla. A procession (šu-mu-nígin) in honour of Hadabal started at Luban (south-east of Alalah), reached Ebla (SA.ZA^{ki}) via Darib (today Atareb), and then moved perhaps to the west, through 39 “towns” (i.e. villages) (uru^{ki}-uru^{ki}) in total, but not [225] (L)arugadu and Hamadu.²⁹ Hadabal was, therefore, the god of the Orontes valley, the mountainous country west of Ebla and the plain towards the north-west. This ritual journey fell at the end of the

²⁷ These cult places are listed in Pomponio and Xella 1997: 297–13.

²⁸ For this icon, see Cornelius 1994.

²⁹ The list is given by two parallel texts, TM.75.G.2377, 2379, Archi 1979a* [615–624]. There are actually 36 place names, see below, n. 35.

year in month XII (iti MAxGĀNA.tenû-úgur), if month I was iti ^dA-dam-ma-um // i-si. In the same month, another journey reached (L)arugadu directly, to honour the local hypostasis of the god (Archi 2002d; 27–29).

The first journey in particular required the participation of some members (from 5 to 14 people) of a confraternity called šeš-II-ib, whose members (said to be “bound to the palace”) were chosen from amongst the most prominent families, such as that of the minister. They were also asked to go to celebrations of different deities during the year. They served for only a few years, and they cannot therefore be considered a category of priests, not being devoted entirely to the cult (Archi 2002d).

2.4.1 The God Hadabal of Luban

Each annual account of precious metals (AAM) records, for roughly 31 years, a quantity of silver for one or two princesses immediately after the opening section concerning 1 mina of silver for the god Kura. These princesses were Tirindamu and Tinib-dulum for about the first twenty years, followed by Taribdamu and then Amaga. Other documents qualify them as a high priestess: dam-dingir “spouse of the deity,” that is of Hadabal of Luban. Tirindamu had a house at Luban with a gate-keeper and a master (TM.75.G.10151; 2647+2650). TM.75.G.2022 lists the deliveries (mu-DU) of eighteen officials for “the departure of Tinib-dulum, spouse of the deity, daughter of the king, to Luban.” On the day “Tinib-dulum took the habit” (*in ud* ^{mu}mu₄-sù), the priestess offered a mantel (zara₆-TŪG) to the Lady of Luban, ^dBAD. MUNUS, ARET 4.11 § 53.³⁰ This was, perhaps, an act of recognition on the part of the priestess (she, too, a “spouse of the god,” dam dingir) of the primacy which the goddess enjoyed on behalf of her divine spouse, Hadabal.

On some occasion, the palace participated directly in the cult. TM.75.G.2598 rev. III 25–IV 6 registers the presence of some šeš-II-ib in Hamadu for Hadabal in month VII. The great festival of Hadabal of Luban fell in month XI. The first part of TM.75.G.1173 (colls. I–VIII) is mostly devoted to offerings for Hadabal of Luban in Ebla (SA.ZA_x^{ki}). The presence of the king at Luban for the ceremony at the god’s temple is registered in rev. II 3–7. A second document dated to the same month, TM.75.G.11010(+), registers the presence of the minister Ibbi-zikir at Luban in its fragmentary reverse (rev. X 11–15); some princes and šeš-II-ib were instead at (L)arugadu (rev. VII 11–VIII 5).

³⁰ The documentation concerning the dam-dingir priestess was collected in Archi 1998c* [699–710].

It is not sure that the dam-dingir priestesses resided permanently at Luban. The main festival seems to have been celebrated at Ebla. TM.75.G.427 lists the delivery of flour to the palace for seven years of the very last period of Ebla. [226] A large special delivery of “flour (for) food of the palace (SA.ZA_x^{ki}) for the festival of Hadabal” is registered for each eleventh month.³¹

2.4.2 The God Hadabal of (L)arugadu

The other great festival for Hadabal, called “(of) the opening,” giš-gál-“tag₄,” was in (L)arugadu. It fell in month IX.³² A celebration took place at Ebla itself: Hadabal of (L)arugadu received offerings from the king and the crown prince Ir’aq-damu on different occasions, one of which is the obscure “opening of the n.,” in ud gál-“tag₄” níg-sar, TM.75.G.2403 obv. I 13–15, II 20–22. On the same occasion, the god received offerings at his temple in (L)arugadu, rev. III 11–18. In a similar document of month IX, TM.75.G.2516(+), the name adopted for the month is exceptionally that of the festival itself: iti giš-gál-“tag₄”. This time the god received offerings first at Ebla: from the king (obv. I 10–16), the crown prince (IV 2–8), the queen (VI 2–8), the crown prince’s wife (VII 23–29). Several šeš-II-ib and other officials then celebrated the festival in (L)arugadu (rev. V 21–VI 13, VII 3–11). The king and queen could also go to (L)arugadu. The AAM TM.75.G.10088(+) registers gifts of the queen to the Lady of Hadabal “when she went to (L)arugadu for the festival of the opening.” Other gifts were given by the king and the crown prince (Archi 2005d: 98–99).

2.4.3 The Religious Landscape Related to Hadabal

While the “prime” god of the Middle Euphrates region was Dagan of Tuttul, whose epithet in Mari and Ebla was ^dBAD *ma-tim* “lord of the country,” and the region of Aleppo was dominated by Hadda, whose name reached also Mari, the western regions (as noted above) belonged to Hadabal. Two major sanctu-

31 The text was published by Pettinato 1974/1977. The tables at pp. 25–25 do not place in evidence the deliveries to Hadabal (the name is transliterated: ^dNI.DA.KUL). The formula is: 50 / 330 *gú-bar zíd kú SA.ZA_x^{ki} in ^dA₅-da-“bal”* iti è. The textual references are: 1st year, obv. III 12–17; 2nd year, IX 12–16; 3rd year, XIII 10–14; 4th year, rev. II 5–10; 5th year, V 6–10; 6th year, VIII 9–14.

32 The Lexical Lists (MEE 4), nos. 1240, 1241 have: gál-“tag₄” (no equivalence); giš-gál-“tag₄” = [ba]-du-um, [b]a-da-um, cfr. Akk. *petûm* “to open,” see Krecher 1984: 142.

aries define this area longitudinally, corresponding practically with the Orontes basin: Luban, mentioned also in the Alalah tablets, therefore on the hills closing the Amuq, to the north; Hama(th) to the south. The third sanctuary, (L)arugadu, had to be to the west, in the mountains between Ebla and Ugarit, because *lrgt* is known from an Ugarit text in relation to the Moongod Yariḥ.³³ This name does not appear, however, in the administrative [227] documents. Hadabal³⁴ and Kura had the same destiny: they disappeared with the fall of Ebla.

The cult of Kura was based exclusively in the city of Ebla, whilst that of Hadabal extended primarily into the countryside. The procession which went from Luban (in month XI) passed through four villages before reaching Darib (i.e. Atareb, 30 km north of Ebla), from whence it then moved towards two villages before returning to Darib. Between Darib and Ebla (SA.ZA_x^{ki}) there was only one village: *Gú-ba-zu*^{ki}; the procession then probably turned west-wards, towards the Orontes, but did not pass by either (L)arugadu or Hamadu.³⁵ Luban had to be just an isolated sanctuary, because all the passages referring to it are only in relation to Hadabal and his “Lady.” The administrative center of Ebla (SA.ZA_x^{ki}) had also a temple or a chapel of the god. The other places reached by the procession appear rarely (even in the agricultural documentation) or are hapax legomena. The journey to Luban by the šeš-II-ib confraternity thus travelled in rural areas, touching on sparsely populated places of little agricultural importance. The cult places had to be mostly shrines with small buildings if not simply open air places. Many sanctuaries of the same deity in such a limited area would have been very strange. The journey delineated a sacred landscape in a territory devoted to a single hyposthesis of a god. The sanctuary of Hadabal at (L)arugadu had in fact its own festival, moreover in another month (IX). The journey seems like a consacration of the countryside, while (L)arugadu and Hamadu (not included) delimited the region pertaining to Hadabal in other directions.

33 KTU 1.100: 26: *ql bl 'm yrḥ lrgth* “lleva mi grito a ND, a NL,” del Olmo Lete – Sanmartín 1996: 248.

34 Fronzaroli has suggested interpreting the name 'A₅-da-BAL as /hadda-ba'l/ “Hadda the Lord” (Fronzaroli 1997: 288–89). The writings for ba'l are either *ba-al*₆ or BAD. BAL as an archaic writing for ba'l is excluded since Ebla had a very short writing tradition.

35 The place names listed in TM.75.G.2377 and 2379 for the procession of Hadabal (šu-mu-nigin^d 'A₅-da-“bal”) are: *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}, *Mar-dum*^{ki}, *Zi-da-ik*^{ki}, *Za-ra-mi-i*^{ki}, *Ib-sa-ri-ik*^{ki}, *Da-ri-ib*^{ki}, *Ib-su*^{ki}, 'A₅-a-ne-ik^{ki}, *Da-ri-ib*^{ki}-II, *Gú-ba-zu*^{ki}, SA.ZA_x^{ki}, *A-da-ti-ik*^{ki}, *A-ri-gú*^{ki}, *Ar-zú*^{ki}, *Ga-na-at*^{ki}, *Iš-da-mu-gú*^{ki}, *Ša-da-du*^{ki}, *Da-ra-um*^{ki}, *Du-u₉-bù*^{ki} tur, *Ar-ga*^{ki}, *Na-na-bí-iš*^{ki}, *Du-u₉-bù*^{ki} máḥ, *Ū-du-rúm*^{ki}, *Šè/Ši-à-mu*^{ki}, *A-du-bù*^{ki}, *A-du-bù*^{ki}-II, *Za-bu*₁₄^{ki}, *Bù-ra-an*^{ki}, *Sì-da-mu*^{ki}, *Da-ri-in*^{ki}, Ambarki URI, *A-ba-um*^{ki}, *Gàr-ru*₁₂^{ki}, *Du-ši-du*^{ki}, *Ū-ra-an*^{ki}, 'A₅-a-bù-du^{ki}, *Ar-u₉-gú*^{ki}, *Ik-dar*^{ki}, *Lu-te*^{ki} (Archi 1979a* [615–624]).

The ritual of “the opening,” *giš-gal-“tag₄,”* celebrated in the ninth month in (L)arugadu does not help in understanding the function of this god.

Hadabal was therefore a deity of that countryside which constituted part of the core of the kingdom. With the development of Ebla as an urban center, two of his hypostases were housed also in the city itself. Hadabal became the most important god together with Kura. While the sovereignty of Kura and Barama was reflected in the royal couple (2.2.5), two of the king’s daughters [228] became “spouses of Hadabal,” representing a human reflection of the Lady of this other god.

All these factors indicate that the cult of Hadabal and his Lady defined a religious landscape whose cosmological meaning escapes us entirely.³⁶

2.5 Kingship

The need of renewal, this time in term of human generations, finds its full expression in the marriage ritual for the royal couple. The ineluctable desire for survival is satisfied, to some extent, in transmission of one’s position in society to one’s offspring. In the case of the king and queen, their community’s representatives in relations with the gods, this passage assumes a cosmic value.

2.5.1 The Ritual of the Royal Wedding

The rituals prescribed for the wedding of the last two kings were set down in two parallel documents: ARET 11.1 for Irkab-damu (the last-but-one king) with Kešdud (A), and 11.2 for Išar-damu, the last king (and Irkab-damu’s son) and his spouse Tabur-damu (B) (11.3, C, is an outline of the ritual). The ceremony was perceived, first of all, as the wedding of the queen, ARET 11.1 § 104 (last section): *níg-mu-sá ma-lik-tum Ib-la^{ki} níg-ba ma-ḥa-ra* “(goods:) gifts received

³⁶ For L. Ritsvet these pilgrimages were not a refashioning of a religious landscape by a regional state in formation which had to reorganize its space. She suggests that “the ritual in honor of Hadabal, the region’s god, probably seeks to insert Ebla and its elite into a preexisting ceremony. The different nature of these ceremonies – where royal power is underplayed rather than overstated – might well correspond to the different nature of political and economic contacts here” (Ristvet 2011: 23). This thesis could be in agreement with our practical rationality. The social strategies in Ebla of the 3rd millennium probably gave different cognitive representations of the cultic and the symbolic. See the discourse on “rationalities” in Sahlins 1995: 148–66.

(for) the wedding of the queen of Ebla”.³⁷ Only when the royal couple had been formed through this marriage ceremony did Eblaite kingship achieve its full potential.

The timing and actions are highly ritualised: the two documents present only minimal variations. *A* is performed in month IV (*gi-NI*), *B* in month V (*ḥa-li-NI*). On the first day of the month, the queen sacrifices one sheep to the Sun and one sheep to a royal ancestor: Ibini-lim, the eleventh king of the dynasty (*A* § 2 // *B* § 2). The Sun-goddess did not generally have any particular relevance in the cult. In this ritual, the presence of the Sun is noted since it marks the beginning of the entire ritual (the first day), and the beginning [229] of individual rites on some other days, *A* §§ 37, 40; *B* §§ 43, 54.³⁸ The initial situation of liminality of the queen is stressed: the gifts for the gods are those “of her father’s house; until she has entered the temple of Kura (the god of the city), she does not enter inside the walls (*si-in bād^{ki}*)” (*A* §§ 4–5 // *B* §§ 6–7). On this first day, the queen was not allowed to enter the city, or to visit the temple of Kura, the most sacred site, which stood beside the royal palace.³⁹ The future bride (belonging to an Eblaite family, as can be shown for Tabur-Damu) resided by her family’s estate (*A* § 2: *é a-bī-iš* // *B* § 2: *a-m]u-[iš]*). The following day, “the queen reaches the SA.ZA^{ki} (the center of the city) bringing gifts to the temple of Kura” (*A* § 17, *B* §§ 15–16). She passes through “the gate of Kura,” perhaps the north, north-west gate of the city (*A* § [9] // *C* § 3). In the temple, the queen offers to Kura (the god of the city), to his spouse Barama, to Išhara (the tutelary god of royalty), and two other minor gods (*A* §§ 8–15; *B* §§ 15–17). “It is in the third day of month IV / V that the queen enters the temple of Kura” (*A* § 19 // *B* § 19).

“On the 4th day, king and queen move in the direction of NEnaš” (*A* § 20 // *B* § 20). “On the 5th day, king and queen seat on the throne of their fathers by the Waters of Mašad, those of Nīrar” (*A* § 21; *B* § 21). This obscure reference expresses, however, the meaning of this ritual journey: seated on the throne of the fathers, the royal couple will take the place of their ancestors (*A* § 61 // *B* § 64). The royal train is formed there. The god Kura, his consort Barama and the (otherwise unknown) god Aniru, moving from Kura’s temple, travel on separate carts, pulled by oxen. It is possible that king and queen travelled on a cart pulled by mules (*A* § 29 // *B* § 29). The major officials of the cortege are

37 See also ARET 11.1 § 3: // 2 § 3: *si-in / in ud nīg-mu-sá* (GIŠ-bur-kak¹) *ma-lik-tum*; see Fronzaroli 1992: 184.

38 See, further *A* §§ 62–63 // *B* §§ 65–66: “we wait the presence of the Sun; when the Sun rises ...,” *al₆-gāl^dUtu / ^dUtu è*; similarly, *A* §§ 69, 81 // *B* §§ 72, 85.

39 For the temple of Kura (the Red Temple), see above, n. 5.

few. Amazau, “the man of the gods,” lú dingir-dingir (his son Enna-il in B), that is the high priest of Ebla, together with the “attendant,” *pa₄-šeš*, of Kura are concerned with the cart of Kura according to A; Adulu (who was an attendant of Kura) and “the son of Iša-il of Irad” with that of Barama; a certain Bašalu and “the son of Irda-malik” with that of Aniru (A §§ 25–28 // B §§ 25–28). The cortege is completed by “the man of Harugu” (who will take part in the rites at NEnaš); the three scribes Azi, Damdail and Ennulum (probably with the duty of controlling on a written document that the ritual prescriptions are observed); “the woman of NEnaš” (A § 33 // B §§ 35–36); the minister Arrukum (A) or Ibrum (B).

The procession passes through a number of small settlements. “On the 4th day they move in the direction of NEnaš by the road to Lub. At the crossroad of Lub, they go out to Irad” (A §§ 35–36 // B § 38–39). At Irad, on the [230] 5th day an offering is made to the divinized Abur-lim (dingir A.), the sixteenth king (A § 37 // B § 40); they leave for Uduḥudu. Next day, at Uduḥudu, offerings are made to the divinized Hamana (dingir H.), the fifth king (A § 40 // B § 43). On the way to NIap, offerings are given to some minor gods; at NIap to Kamiš (A § 49 // B § 52).

On the next day (the 7th) they arrive in NEnaš. The king and queen enter, together with the statues of Kura and Barama, in “the house of the death”, é *ma-tim* /bayt mawtim/, the mausoleum⁴⁰ (A §§ 51–56 // B 55–59). Offerings are made to three divinized ancestors: Ibbini-lim, Šagiš and Išrud-damu, the tenth, eighth and eleventh kings (A § 60 // B 63). At this point, “the king and the queen sit on the two thrones of their fathers”, tuš *al₆* 2 GIŠ-uštil *a-bù-sù* (A § 61 // B § 64). It is evident that (through the ritual) the king and queen ‘take the place’ of their ancestors. The Mother-god Nintu “makes an announcement, and the announcement that Nintu makes is that there is a new god Kura, a new goddess Barama, a new king, a new queen”, en gibil *ma-lik-tum* gibil (A §§ 63–65 // B §§ 66–68). That this act meant the assumption of sovereignty on the part of the new sovereigns (although according to B, Išar-damu had already been on the throne for thirteen year, having ascended to the throne as a child, and Irkab-damu had to be king already from five years) is explicitly stated in the administrative text MEE 7.34, of the same year as the celebration of the ritual for Išar-damu (B), rev. VII 9–13: “(for) the purification of the mausoleum of NEnaš for the enthroning of the king,” tu₂₂:a é *ma-tim* NE-na-âš^{ki} *ma-lu-gi-iš* en; XVII 8–9: “(on the occasion of) the king’s attaining to sovereignty,” šu-da₅-lik en.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Fronzaroli 1993: 39.

⁴¹ Fronzaroli 1992: 184.

The following rites in NEnaš are organized in three cycles of seven days each. In each such cycle, Kura and Barama, and the divinized ancestors Šagišu, Ibbini-lim and Išrud-damu receive offerings (A §§ 85–92 // B §§ 89–93).

When the cortege comes back to the palace at Ebla (A § 97 // B 107!), the “renewed king”, gibil en, offers in the temple of Kura one sheep each to the divinized Šagišu and Hamana (the eighth and the fifth kings), to the divinized Igriš-Ḫalab (the father of the king: A) // to Hamana, Igriš-Ḫalab and [Irkab-damu] (the grandfather and father of the last king: B), and to Išhara, the goddess of the royal house (A §§ 96–97 // B §§ 106–107). Lastly, the queen “lies in the temple of the gods of the king”, é / dingir-dingir(-dingir) en / ki(/túg)-ná, (B § 119 // C § 29).

The marriage of the king and queen was a consecration of cosmic value. It represented the celebration of the union between the male and the female principles which was renewed in heaven as on earth: “a new Kura, a new [231] Barama; a new king, a new queen” (A § 65 // B § 68). This rite enabled the king “to attain to sovereignty” to the full from the moment the royal couple sat “on the two thrones of their fathers”. He is, therefore, “a new king,” en gibil (A §§ 96, 97, 98 // B §§ [106], [107], [108]). As already noted, all of the events are highly ritualised. Both versions begin on the first day of a month: the fourth month for Irkab-damu, the fifth month for Išar-damu. Seven days are dedicated to the preliminary rites and the procession towards the mausoleum at NEnaš. There, 3 seven-day cycles are completed, *sa-ba-tum* /šaba‘tum/: “the first one”, maḥ; “the middle one”, /qablīt-/ , /qabliyat-/; “the last one”, /’ḫīr-/.⁴² Lastly, the rites in the temple of Kura, on their return to Ebla, required a further 2 cycles of seven days each (A § 103; B §§ 114–115; C §§ 23–24), for a total, therefore, of six weeks.

This long ritual was centred upon two places: the temple of Kura, inside the city itself, and the mausoleum in NEnaš, where some ancestors were buried. NE-na-āš/su^{ki} could be read Bi-na-āš/su^{ki}; in this case, it could relate to the modern site of Biniš, north of Idlib, about 25 km west of Ebla.⁴³ The places where the royal procession stopped were Ma-sa-ad^{ki} (Ma-ša-du^{ki}), NI-ra-ar^{ki}, Lu-ub^{ki}, Ir₁₁-ad^{ki}, Ū-du-ḫu-du^{ki}, Bir₅(NAM)^{ki} and NI-ap^{ki}, all in the immediate vicinity of Ebla. At Lub there was the second sanctuary of Hadda (not mentioned in the ritual). Only Nlrar and Nlap had some relevance according to the

⁴² For *sa-ba-tum*, see Fronzaroli 1993: 47–48, and for the other terms: 158, 147, 138 respectively.

⁴³ Biniš had a small tell, at the present practically cancelled by the modern settlement (S. Mazzoni by Fronzaroli 1993: 29).

agricultural administration.⁴⁴ At Mašad of Nīrar the cortege formed; Lub is only mentioned as a geographical point of reference. At Irad and Uduḫudu offerings were made to the two divinized ancestors: respectively, Abur-lim and Hamana. At Bir offerings are received by the god Išru; at Nīap by A'aldū, Dai'n and Kamiš (gods who are otherwise unknown, with the exception of Kamiš). Kura, the tutelary god of Ebla, and his spouse Barama, accompanied the royal couple on the pilgrimage which had as its destination the “house of death,” *é mâtim*, the mausoleum where at least three ancestors were buried: Ibini-lim, Šagišu and Išrud-damu. Hamana was the fifth king of a dynasty which had its 26th and last member in Išar-damu, for whom ritual *B* was celebrated.⁴⁵ Assigning only 15 years to each king, the ritual traces dynastic connections referring to even 300 years earlier (ca. 2700 BC)! [232]

With the funeral offerings at Irad and Uduḫudu, and those at Nenaš, it is as though the ritual wanted to mark out the territory from which the dynasty took its origin in immemorial time. The pilgrimage had the function of legitimizing the Eblaite kingship: “the announcement of the Mother-goddess is that (there is) a new Kura, a new Barama; a new king, a new queen!”⁴⁶

44 On these place names, see Fronzaroli 1992: 175–178; ARES 2: s.v.

45 As already said above, Šagišu was the eighth king; Ibini-lim and Išrud-damu respectively the tenth and eleventh; Abur-lim the sixteenth. The lists of the Eblaite kings have been commented on several times by the present writer, see lastly Archi 2012*: 5–7 [522–526].

46 On the burial strategies adopted at Ebla, see Archi 2012*: 12–14 [538–541], who tries to adopt the paradigm traced by E. Peltenburg in explaining the heterogeneity emerging in the mortuary evidence along the Middle Euphrates during the third millennium B. C. Peltenburg draws a kind of trajectory from extra-mural to intra-mural mortuary monuments and suggests that “changing mortuary rituals, placement of tombs and refurbishment of facilities do not passively reflect socio-political changes but were the materialisation of strategies by which the social was repeatedly brought into being” (Peltenburg 2007–2008: 219).

L. Ristvet remarks that a phenomenological approach in interpreting landscapes privileges the symbolic and does not pay adequate attention to relations of power (Ristvet 2011: 3). She suggests, therefore, that “(the Ebla coronation) ritual journeys throughout the countryside are potent reminders of the power of the ruler” (Ristvet 2011: 11). She follows the strategy generally adopted in archaeological research in recent times, dictating first a model (an unavoidable mantra!) on the basis of theoretical studies, and then adapting the evidence to this. A pragmatic approach can lead to different results. The analysis of the ritual shows that the pilgrimage, heavily characterized by the symbolic, ran through a territory very close to the city, belonging to it from time immemorial, and through settlements of no political or economic relevance. This in a period in which Ebla had already been a regional power for fifty years, extending as far as the Euphrates to the east, and along the Orontes valley to the west. The invoked “emic perception of landscape”, therefore, had to be symbolic, stressing the remarkable continuity of the Eblaite kingship.

2.5.2 The Commemorative Ceremony of the Royal Wedding

The monthly documents concerning assignments of clothes attest to an annual rite which began at Ebla and had its completion at NEnaš (Archi 2012*: 10–11 [533–534]).

A first ceremony concerning a *maš-da-bù*, a kind of *pallium*, fell in month II. The god Kura received the offering of 6 sheep “on the occasion of the *mašda-bu*.” A mantle and some wool was given to “the woman of NEnaš (as reward for) having done the *mašdabu*.” This woman is mentioned also in the wedding ritual, because she provided the queen on that occasion with some garments, such as the veil (PAD, *gú-du-mu* /kutummu/) for her face and hands (A § 33 // B § 36; A §§ 78, 80 // B 82–84).

The *pallium* was woven by this woman using 1 measure of black and white wool; it was brought to NEnaš by Enna-il, the attendant (*pa₄-šeš*) of Kura, who succeeded his father Adulu in this duty. [233]

The festival of “dressing (*sa-da-bi-iš*) the king and the queen at NEnaš” fell in month V (iti *ḥa-li*) (e.g. ARET 4.25 § 27). This yearly rite was therefore commemorative of the wedding ritual, because that of the last king, Išar-damu, fell in the same month! A document concerning the sheep offered and expended for the fourth month (iti *gi-NI*) of the last but one year of Ebla, TM.75.G.1945 rev. V 4–9, registers the delivery of animals provided for the ceremony of the dressing of the royal couple of the following month: “15 sheep (for the ceremony of) the *maš-da-bù*; Enna-i(l) received the delivery.”

Through the dressing of the king and the queen in NEnaš the royal couple must, therefore, have renewed annually the mandate passed down to them by their ancestors, with the blessings of Kura and Barama, when they seated “on the two thrones of their fathers” for the marriage rite.

2.6 The Goddess Ganana

The goddess Ganana (^d*Ga-na-na*) was the consort of the Lord of Ganana (^dBAD *Ga-na-na-im*). The yearly ceremony of the delivery of a *pallium*, *maš-da-bù*, at NEnaš, could have another *pallium* given to Ganana. TM.75.G.2353 (month II, iti *ig-za*) rev. X 1–8: “1 shawl, 2 measures of wool (to) the woman (for) doing

The heterogeneous material examined by Ristvet (2011), relating to different areas and periods of Syria, invalidates her suggestion of the existence of a typical “Syrian ritual” with cultic processions related to “the construction of political authority.”

the *pallium* (of NEnaš). 1 measure of wool, 1 buckle (to the woman for) the *pallium* (for) the temple of Ganana.”⁴⁷

In month IV or V there was the rite of “purification of the goddess Ganana on the occasion of the opening (of the temple),” (i-giš-sag ... *in ud a-ba-i*). Some documents are more precise. TM.75.G.2417 is a monthly document referring to the wedding of king Išar-damu with Tabur-damu (text *B*). The text mentions the journey of the divine couple Kura and Barama to the mausoleum of NEnaš, and “the opening (of) the gate of (the temple) of the goddess Ganana” (GIŠ-gál-tag₄ kâ ^d*Ga-na-na*) on that occasion (rev. XVI 9–16). This gate was opened annually when the king and queen returned to NEnaš to commemorate their wedding ritual.

Ganana may have had a temple at NEnaš, since she had the task of determining favourable “destinies”, nam(-nam) for the king and queen when they sat “on the two thrones of their father”, in the mausoleum, on the occasion of their wedding and, probably, in the same month every year afterwards. The response, however, was determined two months after the commemorative ceremony, in month VII. [234]

3 The Time of the Gods and the Ritualization of the Territory

The canonical celebrations of the gods followed an annual cycle, as expected. The intercalation of a month enabled a synchronization with the seasons. In the intercalary month (the second according to our conventional way of counting: iti še-kin-II, corresponding to iti *iq-za* of the ‘common Semitic Calendar’) the usual rites were performed in the city of Ebla without any particular celebration in other sanctuaries (TM.75.G.10060).

Calendar-based rites were organized according to months. Monthly documents concerning deliveries of sheep list the occasions (unfortunately in cryptical formulations) of these kinds of offering, many of which occurred regularly, month after month.⁴⁸ The third section of the documents concerns the sheep to be offered outside Ebla or for travelling officials. It begins regularly with “2 sheep: (the first day) of the new month in Aleppo (for the Storm-god of Aleppo); 2 sheep: (the first day) of the new (month) in Lub (for the Storm-god of

⁴⁷ For the rite for the goddess Ganana described here, see Archi 2012*: 17–18 [547–550].

⁴⁸ Four of these documents were published in Pettinato 1979a.

Lub); 2 sheep in the eighth (day of the month) in Aleppo (for the Storm-god of Aleppo)” (Pettinato 1979a: 155, ll. 8–18; 173, ll. 4–13).

A calendrical organization of time encompassing the space of several months is represented by the fragment TM.75.G.12297. It concerns the core of the Ebla kingdom: “ [...] Hadabal of Hamadu (Hamath). Then, on the tenth day of month XI until [...] until the seventh day of the new (month) the members of the šeš-II-ib confraternity (are) in Hadani (towards the Amuq region) (for) performing their brotherhood office (for Rašap). [...] The fourth day until the twenty-eighth day ... of Kamiš ... in Neau (later Niya, Qal’at el Mudiq) ...” (Archi 2003c: 36–38).

Although all of the major gods received offerings every month from the king and queen, the hereditary prince and his spouse, other princes, the king and the hereditary prince, Ir’aq-damu, or an official, also travelled annually to those sanctuaries from which the cults of individual gods had their origins.

One year, the king and hereditary prince travelled to Aleppo for Hadda in month III. The next year, in the same month, they went, instead, to Hadani to worship Rašap, and were represented by substitutes during the celebrations in the sanctuary in Aleppo, because the annual celebrations for both gods fell in month III (above, 2.2.2 and 2.2.3). In month VIII the king was once again in Aleppo for the second annual celebration in honour of Hadda.

In month IV he travelled to Nlap to honour Kamiš.

In month IX fell the festival of “the opening” for Hadabal of (L)arugadu (above, 2.2.4.2).

[235] The ritual cycle, therefore, occupied the royal family month after month, almost day after day, in rites at Ebla. Personnel sent from the capital together with local personnel performed rites in temples in the countryside. For particular annual festivals, the king, together with his designated heir, travelled to some of the main sanctuaries.

35 Cult of the Ancestors and Funerary Practices at Ebla

[...] the story of
the primary preoccupations of mankind through the ages,
love and death,
and concern for survival in communion with the departed
and hope for generations to come.
*M. H. Pope*¹

1 The cult of the ancestors²

1.1 A scribal exercise

The about 32 lenticular tablets found near the bottom of a jar set into the ground in L. 2586, a room to the north of the wall which delimits the Audience Hall, were written by the same scribe who used certain particular writing conventions, not employed by the scribes of the central archive. These tablets all deal with administrative matters, with one exception, TM.74.G.120, which would appear to be a scribal exercise. It opens with the name of the last king, Išar-damu, followed by the name of his father, Irkab-damu, and a further nine names which, in another document, ARET 7.150, are given the title of king (Sumerian en). Following a further 15 personal names, we find the name of the city of Ebla (fig. 1). There are then six personal names which cannot be qualified in any way, and a list of thirty-nine personal names listed in order of the initial element: *Du-bí-* “my goodness”, *Du-bù-ḫu-* “sacrifice”, *En-na-* “mercy”, *Ru₁₂-zi-* “my help”, *Ib-du-* “servant”, *Ib-ḫur-* “he gathered”.³

This must be a scribal exercise by means of which the scribe aimed, more or less directly, to obtain some form of promotion, possibly in the central ar-

Pp. 5–31 in *(Re-)Constructing Funerary Rituals in the Ancient Near East. Proceedings of the First International Symposium of the Tübingen Post-Graduate School “Symbols of the Dead” in May 2009*, eds. Peter Pfälzner, Herbert Niehr, Ernst Pernicka, Anne Wissing. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag. 2012.

1 Pope 1981: 179.

2 A first study on this subject has been given by Archi 1988d.

3 Archi 1988b: 212–15.

chives. In line with his role as a faithful member of the palace bureaucracy, the scribe took into consideration first and foremost, the ancestors of the king he served. Collective memory regarding the dynasty, therefore, reached back to at least as early as the beginning of the 28th century, if we assign 17/20 years to each king. Succession generally had to be patrilineal and only exceptionally fratrilineal.⁴ The start of the dynasty dates, therefore, from the period of the ‘second urbanisation’. The tablets mention the kings in reverse chronological order, as was the custom in lists of ancestors stemming from oral tradition.⁵

1.2 The offering lists of sheep

Unlike in TM.74.G.120, which aims purely to demonstrate mnemonic and writing skills, some of these names of kings appear in various kinds of administrative documents where they are always preceded by the Sumerogram dingir, “god”, e.g. dingir / *Īr-kab-da-mu*, precisely as we find in the Ugaritic lists, e.g. dingir ¹*Niq-me-pa* / *’il nqmp*⁶. In the Eblaite documents, dingir is written usually in the case preceding the PN. There is no doubt that dingir indicates that the king in question was deified.⁶ The lexical lists has VE 800: [6]

4 The last two kings of Ebla, Irkab-damu and Išar-damu, reigned on the whole almost 46 years (11? + 35). During the 13th century, Ugarit had five kings, Karkamiš four and Ḫatti seven.

5 For the Eblaite royal lists in relation with other orally preserved genealogies, see Archi 2001: 4, 9–11. The second section of the Assyrian King-List, with ten ancestors of Šamši-Adad, is also in the reverse chronological order. This list can be consulted in Larsen 1976: 34–36. The Ugaritic Royal List, follows, instead, the usual order, contrary to what was suggested on the basis of a fragmentary ritual, RS 24.257, see Pardee 1988a: 174, with previous literature. This was demonstrated by the list in Akkadian cuneiform, preserved in four manuscripts and published by Arnaud 1999. This list begins with the name of Ugarānu and has as 26th and last king Niqmepa (VI), who reigned around 1300 BC (the number of the kings is the same of the Eblaite list!). The manuscripts in Akkadian demonstrate that this list did not depend directly from the oral tradition.

6 This expression has to be interpreted rather “the deified spirit of the departed” than “the patron deity of PN”, see Archi 2001: 12 with n. 31. Pardee 1988a: 173 n. 25, remarks: “Par ‘divinisation’ nous n’entendons pas que les rois défunts auraient rejoint les grands dieux du panthéon ugaritique; s’ils rejoignaient les *rapa’ūma*, il s’agissait bien d’une catégorie de divinités inférieures. [...] le chercheur moderne doit essayer d’ériger, à partir des données qui existent, une représentation de la structure des panthéons anciens et des niveaux qui devaient exister à l’intérieur de ces panthéons”. See also van der Toorn 1999: 144: “The term ‘god’ can also be applied to the dead. Various Middle Babylonian inheritance texts from Emar mention a ‘god’ or ‘gods’ belonging to the main house and inherited by the eldest son. These gods are a designation of the dead, as intimated by the fact that the son had to invoke (*nubbū*), honour (*palāḫū*) and tend (*kunnū*) them. The term usually occurs in the hendiadys ‘the gods and the dead’ (*ilī u mēṭē*), which must be understood as ‘the deified dead’”. See, on this point, however, Scurlock 2003.

Fig. 1: The rulers of Ebla.

TM.74.G.120	ARET 7.150 (dingir in the preceding case)	Other Sources (ARET 11: dingir in the preceding case)
<i>Iš₁₁-ar-da-mu</i>	(26)	
<i>[l]-kab-[d]a-mu</i>	(25)	<i>[l]-kab-da-mu</i>
<i>[l]g-rī-[i]š-[t]a-lab_x</i>	(24)	<i>lg-rī-iš-<ḥa>lab_x</i>
<i>[A-d]ub-da-mu</i>	(23)	<i>A-dub-da-mu</i>
<i>[Kūn]-da-mu</i>	(22)	<i>Kūn-da-mu</i>
<i>I-šar-ma-lik</i>	(21)	<i>I-šar-ma-lik</i>
<i>En-ār-da-mu</i>	(20)	<i>En-ār-da-mu</i>
<i>Ba-ga-da-mu</i>	(19)	<i>Ba-<ga>da-mu</i>
<i>I-bī-da-mu</i>	(18)	<i>I-bī-da-mu</i>
<i>A-gur-li-im</i>	(17)	<i>A-gur-li-im</i>
<i>A-bur-li-im</i>	(16)	<i>A-bur-li-im</i>
<i>Tal-da-li-im</i>	(15)	(en-en; dingir- dingir-dingir en-en)
<i>Ig-su-ud</i>	(14)	
<i>Iš₁₁-ru₁₂-ud-ḥa-lab_x</i>	(13)	
<i>*I-si-du</i>	(12)	<i>al₆-tuš</i>
<i>Iš₁₁-ru₁₂-ud-da-mu</i>	(11)	<i>Iš/[Iš₁₁-ru₁₂-ud-da-mu</i>
<i>I-bī-ni-li-im</i>	(10)	<i>I-bī-ni-li-im</i>
<i>[D]a-NE-n[u]?</i>	(9)	
<i>Sa[-g]-s[u]</i>	(8)	<i>Sa-gi-iš/su</i>
<i>Da[-x]-x?</i>	(7)	
<i>Na-ma-nu</i>	(6)	
<i>EN-ma-nu</i>	(5)	<i>*Ā-ma-na</i>
<i>Zi-a-lu</i>	(4)	
<i>[Sa]-mi-ù</i>	(3)	<i>^dSa-mi-ù</i>
<i>AŠ-so-nu</i>	(2)	
		ARET 11.2 § 107 ARET 11.1-2
		ARET 9.17 § 22 ^a ARET 9.17 § 21 ^b ARET 9.17 § 20
		<i>^dI-šar-ma-lik</i>
		<i>[^dEn]-ār-[da]-mu</i>
		<i>[^dBa-<ga>da]-mu</i>
		<i>A-bur-GIM</i>
		ARET 9.1-2
		ARET 9.1-2 ARET 9.1-2
		ARET 9.1-2
		ARET 9.1 ^c
		ARET 9.17 § 13 ^d

(1)

KUL-ba-nu
 lb-la
 Du-mu-dar
 Bir₅-bi-la-nu
 A-bù-gâr
 La-da-ù
 Š[u³]-x³-[...]
 Sa-kûn-e

- a** dingir *l-šar-ma-lik* is also attested in the offering list TM.75.G.2598 obv. XIV 3–4, and in TM.75.G.1318 rev. II 6–7. In 1536 obv. I 4; ^d*l-šar-ma-lik*.
- b** dingir *En-âr-da-mu* is also attested in the offering lists TM.75.G.1764 obv. X 20–21; 2075 obv. VI 3–4; 2238 rev. I 8–9; 2397 obv. VIII 22–23.
- c** dingir *EN-ma-nu* is also attested in the offering lists TM.75.G.10167 obv. II 21–III 2 (in *Ù-du-hu-du^(k)*).
- d** dingir *Sa-mi-ù* is also attested in the offering lists TM.75.G.2397 obv. IX 5–6; 2403 obv. XI 22–23.

AN.EN = *ma-’à-um* /mahhalum/ from *nhl “to rest”. This *ma12a3* form can be interpreted as a substantive “resting (person)”, referred to the deceased king (^den). In VE 801: AN.EN.EN = *na-u₉-lum*, the D Stem form /nahhulum/ can be interpreted as an intensive form: “(the deceased kings) who are resting (^den-en)”. Akk. *šalālu* “to be asleep, to be at rest”, is the usual euphemism for the condition of the deads, as well as Sumerian *ná/nú*.

The remains of the deceased king, in some way retaining his spirit, provided his tutelary presence. In the twenty-two monthly documents concerning sheep offerings (to be dated about to the last two years of the city), only some few of the deceased kings receives an offering. These texts present three sections: 1. sheep immolated to the gods in the temples of the city (é-é dingir-dingir) = *a*; 2. sheep for consumption at the palace (SA.ZA_x^{ki}) = *b*; 3. sheep for offerings outside Ebla and as provision for the messengers = *c*. These are the kings venerated according to the lists:⁷

- *Sa-mi-ù* (3rd king) 1) TM.75.G.2397 (month XI) obv. VIII 32–IX 3: 1 udu dingir *S. I-da-NE* (a prince) *šu-du₈* (section *a*); [7] 2) TM.75.G.2403 (month IX) obv. XI 21–23: 1 udu dingir *S.* (section *a*).
- *EN-ma-nu* (5th king) 1. TM.75.G.10167 (month VIII) rev. II 20–III 2: 2 udu dingir *E.* in *Û-du-ḫu-du^{ki}* (section *c*) (the 2 sheep are offered in the small center of Uduḫudu, where this former king received offerings also on the occasion of the wedding ritual for the royal couple, ARET 9.1 § 40, 2 § 43; the name is written in these two passages *’Ā-ma-na*).
- *En-àr-da-mu* (20th king) 1. TM.75.G.1764 (month III) obv. X 19–22: 1 udu ^dAMA-ra dingir *E.* (section *a*); 2. TM.75.G.2075 (month X) obv. VI 1–4: 2 udu izi-gar dingir *E.* (section *a*); 3. TM.75.G.2238 (month III) rev. I 9–12: 1 udu ^dAMA-ra dingir *E.* (section *a*);⁸ 4. TM.75.G.2397 (month X) obv. VIII 20–23: 1 udu izi-gar dingir *E.* (section *a*).
- *I-šar-ma-lik* (21th king) 1. TM.75.G.2598 obv. XIV 2–8: 1 udu dingir *I.* in ud TE.KAL é ^dKu-ra (section *a*).

Only in the case of Enar-damu can we deduce that he was the object of a regular cult twice a year, in the months III and X. No regular offering of sheep once a year can be identified for the other three kings.

⁷ The word for “god”, dingir, is always in the preceding case.

⁸ For these three passages, see respectively, Pettinato 1979: 136, 150, 169.

1.3 The bread offerings at the palace

It was the custom to offer bread daily to Kura, the god of Ebla, and to “the gods of the neighbourhood” (of Ebla) (dingir-dingir eri-bar).⁹ Notable quantities of bread were offered to Kura, far more than to the gods of the neighbourhood. According to the documents ARET 9.5–16, the king and the elders (ābba) received 125 *gú-bar* measures of bread and 120 *gú-bar* of beer each month; some visitors from the city of Armi 7 *gú-bar* of bread and 7 *gú-bar* of beer; the god Kura: 10 *gú-bar* of bread; the gods of the neighbourhood (dingir-dingir eri-bar): 6 *gú-bar* of bread. The amount for Kura stands out, representing as it did the equivalent of $\frac{1}{12}$ of the bread destined for the king and the elders. The bread destined for the gods of the neighbourhood, instead, amounted to only $\frac{1}{20}$. It is possible that the amounts offered to Kura were also destined for the other gods of the city and their personnel, whereas the “gods of the neighbourhood” were those of the surrounding area, who could, perhaps, receive also local deliveries.

There is one document in the archive L. 2752 relating to food supplies for the palace which lists bread for the gods who are mentioned by name, ARET 9.17. Some of these are minor gods, including a number of deceased kings. First, there are Rašap of Hadani, Ingaladu (a hapax), Išḫara of Zidara, Ganana, Timudu, Išḫara of Guwanu. Then, sections § 12–22 have: dingir *K[ūn-da]-mu*(?); dingir *Sa-mi-ū*; ^dTU (the Mother-goddess); ^dGibil₄ (“the Fire,” cfr. ^d*Ī-sa-du*); ^d*Ša-ma-gan*; dingir en é-siki, “the God of the king, of the treasure”; ^dEn-ki; ud-zal-ud-zal (“the Past days”); [dingir *Ba-ga-da*]-*mu*; [dingir *En*]-*ār-[da]-mu*; din-gir *I-šar-ma-lik*.¹⁰ The colophon is in part damaged: “255 *gú-bar* of barley: delivery of 1 month [...] of the *ma-wa-tim* ceremony¹¹ (and) of the regular offerings (sá-

⁹ The dingir-dingir eri-bar are mentioned also in two monthly offerings list concerning sheep. Both passages refer to the town of Hadani(du) (ARES 2: 124–28). TM.75.G.1764 rev. VI 11–15: “(Rašap in Hadani; 4 sheep Maḫ-damu has held in Hadani); 6 sheep (for) the gods of the neighbourhood (dingir-dingir-dingir eri-bar) in [Hadani]; (... in Hadani),” (Pettinato 1979a: 140). TM.75.11010(+) rev. VI 19–23: “(R[āšap of Hadanidu]); 4 sheep (for) the gods of the neighbourhood (dingir-dingir eri-bar); (the goddess Adamtum in Hadanidu)”.

¹⁰ The names of the kings are directly preceded by dingir.

¹¹ The term *ma-wa-tim* has been interpreted as another writing for: (é) ma-tim (**bayti mawa-tim*, Fronzaroli 1993: 144) by Milano ARET 9: 58, commenting ARET 9.17. Pomponio – Xella 1997: 73 ad no. 44: “(au jour) des morts (?)”. In the annual mu-DU documents this term qualifies (*in m.*) the deliveries to the palace in the second part of the year, in opposition to: *in ir-mi/me*, a ceremony which can give also the name to month IX (whose usually name was: iti NI-*la-mu*, according to the local calendar, Milano ARET 9: 353), see MEE 12.3 § 25 and § 48. As Waetzoldt MEE 12: 70 ad § 48 has noted, the deliveries *in ma-wa-tim* fell in several months, what is confirmed by the monthly documents concerning sheep deliveries, which show also that this ceremony concerned many gods, and did not refer, therefore, to the cult of the dead.

du₁₁-ga”). The presence of Rašap, as well as the Past days(?), and Ea/Enki,¹² is not sufficient evidence, however, to attribute these offerings to a funeral cult. Although this document dates to the very last years of Ebla, there is no mention of Igrīš-Ḫalab or Irkab-damu (nos. 25–26), the immediate predecessors of Išar-damu. The deceased kings are Baga-damu, Enar-damu, Išar-damu, Kun-damu (?) (nos. 19–22), as well as the third king: Samiu.

1.4 The mausoleum of NEnaš and the role of the deceased kings in the ritual for the wedding of the royal couple

The rituals prescribed for the wedding of the last two kings were set down in two parallel documents: ARET 11.1 for Irkab-damu, and 11.2 for Išar-damu and his spouse Tabur-damu, (11.3 is an outline of the ritual).¹³

- a) The first action performed by the future queen is to take offerings to the Sun-goddess and to the divinized Ibbini-lim (dingir / I.), the tenth king, “in the house of his (i.e. the king’s) father”, [8] é *a-bī-iš* / a-mu-iš, 11.1 § 2, 2 § 2. This may be a definition of the palace in terms of the ritual. Offerings are made to Kura (the god of the city), to his spouse Barama, to Išḫara, the tutelary god of kingship, and two other minor gods.
- b) On the 4th day, the royal couple moves towards NEnaš accompanied by priests, scribes and other officials. The caravan passes through a number of small settlements. At Irad, on the 5th day an offering is made to the divinized Abur-lim (dingir / A.) the 16th king, 11.1 § 37; 2 § 40. On the 6th day, at Uduḫudu, offerings are made to the divinized Hamana (dingir H.), the 5th king, 11.1 § 40, 2 § 43.
- c) On the 7th day they arrive in NEnaš, in “the house of the dead”, é *ma-tim* / bayt mawtim/, that is to say the mausoleum,¹⁴ which the king and queen enter, together with the statues of Kura and Barama that had been transported there on a cart, 11.1 §§ 51–56, 2 §§ 55–59.¹⁵ In the mausoleum offer-

¹² Archi 2010e*.

¹³ The ceremony was perceived, first of all, as the wedding of the queen, ARET 11.1 (104, last section): níḡ-mu-sá *ma-lik-tum Ib-la*^{ki} níḡ-ba *ma-ḫa-ra* “(goods:) gifts received (for) the wedding of the queen of Ebla”. See also 1 § 3 // 2 § 3: si-in / in ud níḡ-mu-sá GIŠ-bur-kakⁱ *ma-lik-tum*; see Fronzaroli 1992: 184.

¹⁴ Fronzaroli ARET 11: 39.

¹⁵ TM.75.G.2417, a monthly document of textile deliveries, refers to this event registering the garments for the two gods going to NEnaš, rev. XIII 26–XIV 2: mu₄^{mu} *Ku-ra wa Ba-ra-ma* DU.DU *si-in NE-na-áš*^{ki}, XIV 25–31: dam *NE-na-áš*^{ki} è *Ku-ra si-in é ma-tim* “(gifts to) the woman of NEnaš for the going out of Kura to the mausoleum;” XVI 9–16: *Ku-ra si-in NE-na-áš*^{ki} | 1 zi-

ings are made to the divinized Ibbini-lim (dingir / I.), Sagiš (dingir / S.) and Išrud-damu (dingir / I.), the 10th, 8th and 11th kings, 11.1 § 60, 2 § 63. At this point, “the king and the queen sit on the two thrones of their fathers”, tuš *al*₆ 2 GIŠ-uštil *a-bù-sù*, 11.1 § 61, 2 § 64. Through this ritual, the king and queen ‘substitute’ their ancestors. The Mother-god Nintu “makes an announcement, and the announcement that Nintu makes is that there is a new god Kura, a new goddess Barama, a new king, a new queen”, en gibil *ma-lik-tum* gibil, 11.1 §§ 63–65, 2 §§ 66–68. That this act meant the assumption of sovereignty on the part of the new sovereigns is explicitly stated in the administrative text MEE 7.34, of the same year as the celebration of the ritual for Išar-damu (ARET 11.2), rev. VII 9–13: tu₂₂:a é *ma-tim* NE-na-áš^{ki} *ma-lu-gi-iš* en “(for) the purification of the mausoleum of NEnaš for the enthroning of the king”; XVII 8–9: *šu-da₅-lik* en “(on the occasion of) the king’s attaining to sovereignty”.¹⁶

- d) The following rites in NEnaš are organized in three cycles of seven days each. In each such cycle, Kura and Barama, and the divinized Sagiš, Ibbini-lim and Išrud-damu receive offerings, 11.1 §§ 85–92, 2 §§ 89–93.
- e) When the cortege comes back to the palace at Ebla, 11.2 § 99, the “renewed king”, gibil en, offers in the temple of Kura one sheep each to the divinized Sagišu and Hamana (the 8th and the 5th king), to the divinized Igriš-Ḫalab (the father of the king), and to Išḫara, the goddess of the royal house, 11.1 §§ 96–97. In the parallel ritual for the wedding of the last king, Išar-damu, his father appears instead of Hamana; the divinized ancestors are: dingir / *Sa-gi-šu*, dingir / *Ig-rí-iš-Ḫa-la-ab*, [dingir *Īr-kab-da-mu*], 11.2 § 107.
- f) An offering (nída) for the divinized Sagišu is performed in the temple (é dingir / S.). At this point, a statuette of the king and one of the queen are presented as *ex voto* 11.2 § 108, cfr. 1 § 98.¹⁷ Lastly, the queen “lies in the temple of the gods of the king”, é / dingir-dingir(-dingir) en / ki(/túg)-ná, ARET 11.2 § 119; 3 § 29.¹⁸

rí siki lú KIN siki GIŠ-gál-tag₄ ká ^d*Ga-na-na* “(for) Kura to NEnaš. 1 *zi-rí*-measure of wool, of KIN wool, (for) opening the gate of the goddess Ganana”, see below 3.2 c.

16 Fronzaroli 1992: 184.

17 Notice, that a votive small statue representing the king and the queen was devoted also(?) at NEnaš, MEE 7.34 (TM.75.G.1730(+), the annual document dated to the year of the wedding) rev. VI 18–32: 1 gín DILMUN 3 NI kù-gi nu₁₁-za *ba-na-i-sù wa íb-lá-sù wa šu-kešda-gùn-sù* 39 gín DILMUN kù-babbar *a-dè* 1 an-dùl *sa-du* en wa *ma-lik-tum si-in* NE-na-áš^{ki} “10 g of gold: sheet (for decorating) their faces, and his belt and her sash; 305 g of silver: value of 1 statue, which is that of the king and the queen, for NEnaš”.

18 In some documents é dingir-dingir stays for the plural: é-é dingir-dingir “the temples (of the city of Ebla)”, e.g.: “Total: x sheep for the temple(s) of the gods”, see TM.75.G.1173 obv. XII 10–11 (é); TM.75.G.1945 obv. X 1–2 (é-é). In some cases, the singular form could have a cumula-

The marriage of the king and queen was a consecration of cosmic value. It represented the celebration of the union between the male and the female principles which was renewed in heaven as on earth: “a new Kura, a new Barama; a new king, a new queen”. This rite enabled the king “to attain to sovereignty” to the full from the moment the royal couple sat “on the two thrones of their fathers”. All of the events are highly ritualised. Both versions being on the first day of the month: the fourth month for Irkab-damu, the fifth month for Išar-damu.¹⁹ Seven days are dedicated to the preliminary rites and the procession towards the mausoleum at NEnaš. There, three seven days cycles are completed, *sa-ba-tum* /šaba‘tum/: “the first one”, maḥ; “the middle one”, /qablīt-/ /qabliyat-/; “the last one”, /’ ḥīr-/.²⁰ Lastly, the rites in the temple of Kura, on their return to Ebla, required a further two cycles of seven days each, ARET 11.1 § 103; 2 §§ 114–115; [9] 3 §§ 23–24.²¹ A total, therefore, of six weeks. The ritual centred upon two sites: the temple of Kura, inside the city itself, and the mausoleum in NEnaš, where some ancestors were buried.

The king and queen had access to the mausoleum, alongside which they had their rooms. The mausoleum (or part of it) had to be, therefore, a structure above the ground.

1.5 The cult of the deceased kings at Darib

ARET 7.150 § 1 lists the ten predecessors of king Išar-damu (the last king) in the reverse order (dingir / PN), qualified as “kings”, en-en, (obv. III 6).²² Section § 2 has eight gods (six in pair): Hadabal and his Lady, Rašap and Adamma, Agu and Guladu, [...r]aru of Darib, Išḫara. Each deity of section § 2 receives the offering of one sheep. According to the colophon in the following section § 3,

tive meaning, as in TM.75.G.10234 obv. VI 27–VII 1: *A-šu-ur-ì lú é dingir-dingir si-in ÊxPAP* “(clothes for) Ašur-i(l), the man of temple(s) of the gods, for (his) funerary ceremony”. Ašur-i(l) was attached to the temple(s) of the gods, see, e.g., TM.75.G.1770 obv. XV 1–4: *A. lú é dingir-dingir-dingir*.

¹⁹ Fronzaroli 1992: 165.

²⁰ For *sa-ba-tum*, see Fronzaroli ARET 11: 47–48; for the other terms, *ibid.*: 158, 147, 138 respectively.

²¹ The foundations of the temple of Kura have been identified by P. Matthiae north to the royal palace, below Temple D of the Middle Bronze period, during the excavations in the years 2007–2008 (Matthiae 2009b).

²² In rev. III 2, read: en-en (cursive form), not uru-uru! A small fragment (LXXXIII) completes obv. I 1, showing that this case was empty, see Archi 2001: 3, fig. 1. The deified kings did not receive, therefore, the sheep offerings!

the document concerns “the gods of the kings (i.e. the deified kings) resident in Darib”, dingir-dingir-dingir en-en al₆-tuš in *Da-ri-ib*^{ki}.

Darib is probably to be identified with *Tā-ra-b* of the geographic list of Thutmosis III, and with presentday Atareb, a village 30 km north of Ebla and 27 km NNW of Aleppo, from which came a nearly life-size stone head, probably belonging to a royal statue of the period of the archives of Ebla.²³

1.6 Other administrative documents

- a) A monthly document concerning deliveries of clothes, of the time of minister Ibrum, TM.75.G.1318 rev. II 6–7, registers: “1 linen cloth (as) dress for the divine Išar-malik”, 1 gada-TÚG mu₄^{mu} dingir *I-šar-ma-lik*.²⁴
- b) An account of cereals of “Irkab-damu, king of Ebla”, TM.75.G.1536, opens with “72 jars of flour, 12 *gū-bar* measures of barley (for) the house (ê) of the divinized Išar-malik”.²⁵

1.7 Places where the ancestors were worshiped

	Palace	Palace (?)	NEnaš	Darib	Irād	Uduḥudu
Samīu (3)	1.2; 1.3					
Ha/ENmanu (5)	1.2; 1.4e					1.4b
Sagišu (8)	1.4e,f		1.4c,d			
Ibbini-lim (10)	1.4a		1.4c,d			
Išrud-damu (11)			1.4c,d			
Abur-lim (16)				1.5	1.4b	
Agur-lim (17)				1.5		
Ibbi-damu (18)				1.5		
Baga-damu (19)	1.3			1.5		
Enar-damu (20)	1.2; 1.3			1.5		
Išar-malik (21)	1.2; 1.3	1.6		1.5		
Kun-damu (22)	1.3 (?)			1.5		
Adub-damu (23)				1.5		
Igriš-Ḥalab (24)	1.4e			1.5		
Irkab-damu (25)	[1.4e]			1.5		

²³ Matthiae 1980.

²⁴ dingir is in the same case of the PN.

²⁵ dingir is in the same case of the PN. The text has been published by Archi 1986b: 195–197.

1.8 en-en: usually “the (foreign) kings”

In a few rare cases en-en may refer to the previous kings of Ebla. In ARET 7.150 § 3 the meaning is clear: “the gods of the kings”, dingir-dingir en-en, are the ancient deified kings of Ebla (“resident in Darib”), (1.5).²⁶ Several passages of the monthly lists of sheep offerings, as TM.75.G.2403 obv. XII 17–19: “4 sheep (for consumption, to) the sons of the kings (dumu-nita-dumu-nita en-en)”, refer instead to the sons of the reigning king, those of the previous king(s), and presumably to the sons of kings of other city-states present at court (in the preceding line, XII 16, prince Iḫšub-damu is mentioned).²⁷ [10]

Rev. II 1–3 of the same document refers to some kings of other city-states: 10 udu GIŠ-pan IGI.DUB en-en, because in II 5–6 the king (en) of Garmu is mentioned, and then again the king of Garmu and those of Ibubu, Dub, Burman and GudadaLUM (II 25–III 4). This group of documents present in general several registrations concerning sheep delivered for consumption to kings who had to be present as guest at Ebla, as TM.75.G.10160 obv. IX 1–5: 141 udu kú *Du-bù-ḫu*-^d’*À-da wa* en-en “141 sheep (for consumption to) Tupuḫu-Hadda (son of minister Ibbi-zikir) and the kings”.²⁸

When foreign kings participated in the Eblaite cults (a rare occurrence), the palace provided the sheep for the sacrifices. These kings offer to Rašap of Hadani and Hadda, TM.75.G.1764 obv. XI 20-rev. I 4: 20 udu *in* ud ^dAMA-ra ^dRa-sa-ap’*’À-da-ni*^{ki} en-en nídba 18 udu *in* ud ^dAMA-ra ^d’*À-da* en-en nídba.²⁹ A first passage in TM.75.G.10103 obv. II 6–11 is not complete: 19 udu en-en *in* ^dA-dam-ma [...] *ì-na-sum* “19 sheep the kings in month I (Adamma) [...] have given”; then, these kings offer to Aštapiḫ, VII 5–10: 18 udu ^dÁš-da-bíl en-en nídba *in* ud *še-šu-šum*.

The presence of foreign kings at court is confirmed by the allocations of cereals and beer for the last three years. We find “the sons of the kings (of Ebla and other cities)”, dumu-nita(-dumu-nita) en-en; “the friend(s) of the king”, ku-li en-en; “the representative(s) of the kings”, maškim en-en; “the kings and the messengers”, en-en *wa kas₄(-kas₄)*. Therefore, in the numerous passages

²⁶ For other four passages where en-en should refer to the deceased ancestors, see below 1.10 and 3.3.

²⁷ Cf. other passages as TM.75.G.2238 rev. IV 12–15: “30 sheep (for) the consumption of the kings’ sons (kú dumu-nita-dumu-nita en-en)”; TM.75.G.2398 obv. VII 10–15: “23 sheep (for) the consumption of the kings’ sons of the king’s house (é en)”, that is the princes of the royal house of Ebla.

²⁸ See also obv. VI 2–8: 198 udu kú en-en *wa* SA.ZA_x^{ki} é *Du-bù-ḫu*-^d’*À-da* “198 sheep (for) consumption (to) the kings and the palace (together with) the house of Tupuḫu-Hadda”.

²⁹ See Pettinato 1979a: 136–37.

where we find: en ... en-en, (ARET 9 obv. I 5–6: 2 ninda en 2 ninda en-en “2 (measures of) bread (for) the king; 2 (measures of) bread (for) the kings”), this is not an offering to the ancestors performed by the king during his meal, but a meal for the king to which the kings of friendly cities were admitted.³⁰

1.9 Regular festival at NEnaš

The assignments of foodstuffs to the palace for the last three years (archive L. 2712: ARET IX, X) show that the king and his retinue frequently travelled to NEnaš, site of the mausoleum:

- beer bread for the king at N., ARET 9.20 § 11;
- beer bread and flour for the elders who stayed 18 days with the king at N.; beer bread, flour and bread for the travel to N., ARET 9.27 § 28, § 31;
- 600 loaves of beer bread of “the house of the king” for N., ARET 9.35 § 7;
- 6 jars of aromatic oil and 6 jars of fragrant oil brought to N. for anointing (šu-i) the men (guruš-guruš); 2 jars of oil of the god Kura to N.; 1 jar of oil for anointing at the palace those who were present at N., ARET 9.82 § 10;
- malt for the presence of the crown prince Ir’aq-damu at N., ARET 9.95 § 9
- malt for the people present at N., ARET 10.89 § 9.
- 20 jugs (GIŠ-šú) for the going of the king to N., ARET 10.7.

Similarly to ARET 9.82, TM.75.G.2598 (an offering list of sheep for month VII of the last two years) registers also the presence of the king and his retinue in NEnaš, obv. XI 3–XIII 7: “17 sheep for consumption (to) the sons of the king, when the king (was) in NEnaš; 50 sheep (for) the men of the king’s house for the presence of the king in NEnaš; 30 sheep (for) consumption (to) the elders and the men of the house of the king on the occasion (of the presence) of the king in NEnaš; 2 sheep: FPN has received the delivery (for) the servants (gême-gême) of the king on the occasion of the king in NEnaš; 1 sheep (to prince) Iḫsub-damu on the occasion of (his) departure to NEnaš”.

The monthly documents concerning assignments of clothes enable us to identify an annual rite which needed two ceremonies, the first at Ebla and the second at NEnaš.³¹

- a) A first ceremony concerning a *maš-da-bù*, a kind of *pallium*,³² fell in the second month (iti še-gur₁₀-kud = *ig-za*). “6 sheep the king offered (to) the

³⁰ The passages are listed in ARET 9: 384.

³¹ Archi 2005e. On the dressing of the royal couple, see, previously, Pasquali 1997: 251–53. For the role of the goddess Ganana in these regular festivals, see below 3.2.

³² For an analysis of the term *maš-da-bù*, see Fronzaroli 1993: 27–28.

god Kura on the occasion of the *maš-da-bù* (nídba in ud m.), TM.75.G.2635 obv. II 9–14. Many monthly accounts of deliveries of textiles attest for this month the delivery of a mantle and wool to “the woman of NEnaš (as reward for) having done the *maš-da-bù*”, already from the time of minister Arrukum. “The woman of NEnaš” weaved the *maš-da-bù* at Ebla; it was brought to NEnaš by Enna-il, the *pa₄-šeš* of the god Kura. Before him, this duty was probably performed by his father Adulu.

- b) The festival of “dressing (*sa-da-bí-iš*) the king and the queen at NEnaš” fell in the fifth month (iti *ḥa-li*) (e.g. ARET 4.25 § 27). The wool necessary for the *maš-da-bù* (the *pallium*) was 1 measure of black and white wool (1 *zi-rí siki* ge₆ babbar). It was brought to NEnaš by Enna-il, the attendant or servant (*pa₄-šeš*) of the god Kura. This yearly rite was commemorative of the wedding ritual (it fell in the same months!) (1.4). The document concerning the sheep offered and expended for [11] the fourth month (iti *gi-NI*) of the last but one year of Ebla, TM.75.G.1945 rev. V 4–9, registers: “15 sheep (for the ceremony of) the *maš-da-bù*; Enna-i(l) received the delivery”. This delivery of animals was provided clearly for the ceremony of the dressing of the royal couple of the following month.

The god Kura was directly connected with the yearly renewal of the dressing ceremony of the king and the queen in the mausoleum of NEnaš, as it is proved also by the participation of Enna-il, the *pa₄-šeš* of the god, in both the ceremonies. The commemorative nature of this ritual emerges also from the fact that the task of preparing the *maš-da-bù* was entrusted to the “woman of NEnaš”, who played a relevant role in the wedding ritual, providing the veil (PAD, *gú-du-mu* /kutummu/) for the face and the hands of the queen, ARET 11.1 §§ 78–80; 2 §§ 82–84.³³

There is one document testifying to a cult of *ḏī-lam* a NEnaš, TM.75.G.2075 rev. III 26–IV 2: 3 udu *ḏī-lam I-bí-zi-kir* nídba in NE-na-su^{ki}.

1.10 ÉxPAP en(-en): the hypogeum of the royal Palace G?

The Lexical Lists give the following equivalences for É.PAP = *’à/’ar-ra-tum* (VE 065); [s]*a²-u₉-[bù]-jum(?)*³⁴ (VE 315); *sa-’à-bù* (VE 1425). The second term is obscure; *’à/’ar-ra-tum* is cognate to Akk. *arūtu(m)* “(clay) pipe (through which

³³ “The woman of NEnaš” received during the wedding ritual some cloths and 2 toggle-pins of bronze, ARET 11.1 § 33; 2 § 36.

³⁴ Cf. Conti 1990: 117 with n. 249.

libations to the dead are made)".³⁵ The administrative texts present exclusively the writing ÊxPAP.³⁶ Both the Sumerian and the Semitic terms refer to a physical place: the place of the funerary libation. The Eblaite contexts (gifts for PN *si-in* ÊxPAP) need clearly: "interment, burial; funerary ceremony", with a semantic shift from "place of funerary offering; grave".³⁷ Weapons for the men and jewels for the women constituted the funeral gifts and were, therefore, necessary *for the burial*. These objects were given not only to living members of the royal family but also to those of the minister and certain officials as a sign of the king's participation. Similarly, gifts were also sent on the death of members of royal families with particularly close links to Ebla, probably "consigned", *šu-mu-tag*₄, after the funeral ceremonies given the time required to receive the news and send a messenger with the gifts (whose arrival would not, however, had led to the tomb being reopened!).

There are, however, very few passages where ÊxPAP has the physical meaning of "grave, tomb".

TM.75.G.1739 obv. V 4–VI 1 registers 25 *ma-na kù-gi* 11 *ma-na kù-babbar* ÊxPAP en "11.75 kg of gold, 5.17 kg of silver (for) the grave of the king". The text has to refer to the burial of king Irkab-damu, because it mentions *Ba-ga-ma* and *Ḫal-za-um*, two officials who appear also in the first documents of Ibrium, who became minister few months before Irkab-damu's death; Bagama: TM.75.G.1705 rev. XII 17 (Ibrium I); TM.75.G.2362 obv. III 6, rev. IX 16 (Ibrium II); Ḫalzaum: TM.75.G.2362 rev. I 10 (Ibrium II). TM.75.G.1739 mentions also *Ga-nu-LUM*, who appears in Arrukum's documents, e.g. TM.75.G.2596 obv. IV 10.

35 CAD, A II: 324.

36 The equivalence 'à/àr-ra-tum, explained by Akk. *arūtu(m)*, (Civil 1987: 33; Pettinato 1988: 312) proves that Ê.PAP and ÊxPAP are just variants, *pace* PSD, A I: 134–35, s.v. a-pap. For an etymology of the Semitic word, see Fronzaroli 1997b: 16–17. *Archaic HAR-ra A* no. 378 lists: *GIŠ-ÊxAŠ-tenû* ("wooden) drain pipe," ARES 4: 146.

37 Archi 2002b*: 164–65 n. 9 [764]; see already 1996b: 17–18. Similarly, Waetzoldt MEE 12: 347, ad II 11: ÊxPAP "Grab-Bau", but: "Grab(-Zeremonie)" in the translation of the passage (p. 264 ad II 11). Pettinato 1988: 312, translated: "cemetery" (giving several passages at pp. 315–16). Biga understands always: "tomb" (Biga 2007-08: 250–54), because the preposition *si-in* may express an allative, directive action (*si-in* GN) (ibid.: 250–54). *si-in* is used, however, also for a cause or purpose ("for"), and to express an indirect object: "(to give) to" (Archi 2002c: 8–10). TM.75.G.1938 rev. XIII 14–17 is not a conclusive evidence for the meaning "tomb"; the passage is: 4 "KIN" siki 4 dam *ra-zi-ma-tum al₆* ÊxPAP *Îr-kab-da-mu* "4 measures of wool to 4 women who are crying at the tomb of (king) Irkab-damu"; (translation by Biga 2007-08: 253–54). Although the preposition *al₆* "indicates a physical presence 'on' something", it is possible that this passage means simply that the "weeping women" were present *at* the funerary ceremony, as it is shown by other passages (Archi 2002b*: 186 [786], where the passage in TM.75.G.1938 had been already quoted).

This passage requests the meaning “(for fitting out) the grave of the king” (in case of the amounts of gold and silver for the set of funerary gifts, the list of the objects is usually given).

TM.75.G.2596 (of the very last year of minister Arrukum, including probably also the beginning of Ibrium’s mandate) has in obv. VI 12–VII 5: *ša-pi [kù-gi] 1 dib Du-bí-zi-kir lú Puzur₄-ra-ì lú ÉxPAP en-en* “313 g [of gold]: 1 plate to Dubi-zikir of Puzurra-i(l) the man of the grave/tomb of the kings”; rev. VIII 6–IX 5: *AN.ŠÈ.GÚ 4 ma-na 33 gín DILMUN kù-gi è lú mu-DU I[b-rí-]um wa tag₄ kù-gi ÉxPAP en-e[n]* “2.136 kg of gold: issue of the delivery of Ibrium and remainder of the gold (for) the grave of the kings”.

These two documents provide evidence of the decoration of a royal grave. They relate to the same period which undoubtedly falls between the end of the mandate of minister Arrukum and the start of that of Ibrium, a period which corresponds to roughly the last year of Irkab-damu and the start of the reign of his son, Išar-damu.³⁸

Excavations carried out in the years 1992 – 1995 in the West Sector of Royal Palace G (about 22 m east of [12] the tower enclosing the staircase of four ramps that led from the Audience Hall to the royal apartments on the first floor), brought to light Hypogeum G4, the floor of which is roughly 5.85 m below that of the palace.³⁹ The collapse of the ceiling of the hypogeum destroyed completely the flooring above it. The grave consisted of two large, communicating rooms (L. 5762 and L. 6402), each roughly 5.2 × 4 m in size, and built of well-cut blocks of calcareous stone (which have been sacked to a great extent), and with a fine lime floor (figure 2). The entrance to the grave (not yet recovered) might have been through the east side. The progressively protruding blocks towards the middle of the rooms proves that their covering was a corbelled vault. The very hard stone of these blocks was otherwise never used in buildings of the Early Bronze Age, nor was it employed later, during the Middle Bronze Age. The two rooms were completely empty. Since it is unlikely that not even a single fragment of funerary furnishing would have survived the later sacking, we can conclude that this hypogeum was rarely if ever used. The written evidence discussed above suggests that the construction of a royal grave was probably completed at the start of the reign of Išar-damu. This could have been the hypogeum of Royal Palace G. Since the last two deceased kings (Igriš-Ḫalab and Irkab-damu) are mentioned by name only at the end of the wedding ritual (1.4), and they do not receive regular offerings at the palace,

³⁸ Archi 1996b: 23–26.

³⁹ Matthiae 1997.



Fig. 2: Hypogeum G4.

we have no firm evidence to suggest that the remains of Irkab-damu were preserved at Ebla.

Another document, ARET 2.13 § 22 (the yearly mu-DU document of Ibrum VII), attests that there were several (royal/princely) graves entrusted to Bagama

(see TM.75.G.1739, here above), apparently outside the city of Ebla: “626 g of gold, 626 g of silver: the remainder of silver and gold (for) the graves (ĒxPAP-ĒxPAP) which Bagama has received in returning to the palace (gaba-ru *in* šu-mu-nigin SA.ZA_x^{ki})”.

1.11 Burial strategies

The cults practiced at NEnaš show without any doubt that Sagišu, Ibbini-lim and Išrud-damu, were buried in the mausoleum there. They received an offering from the king and queen when they arrived at NEnaš, and again during each of the three seven-day cycles of rituals. It is in the mausoleum that “the king and the queen sit on the two thrones of their fathers”. These kings, the eighth, tenth and eleventh in order of succession, could have ruled roughly 300 years before the two wedding rituals.

Furthermore, in the city of Ebla, Ibbini-lim received a sacrifice the day before the ritual (1.4a) and Sagišu received two upon the return of the royal couple (1.4e, f). These two ancestors were obviously remembered also at Ebla because they were particularly illustrious. At Ebla Irkab-damu also worshipped his predecessor, Igriš-Ḫalab, at the end of the ritual, but together with the ancestors Sagišu and EN/Hamanu, [13] ARET 11.1 § 97. Similarly, Išar-damu, the last king, worshipped his father there, Irkab-damu, together with Igriš-Ḫalab and Sagišu, but not Hamanu, ARET 11.2 § 107.

The fact that the royal procession made offerings to Hamanu in Uduḫudu and to Abur-lim in Irad during its journey to NEnaš, shows that these two early kings were linked to these two small centres (1.4b). Since ENmanu/Hamanu was worshipped at Uduḫudu also according to an offering list of sheep (1.2), he was probably buried there and may also have had a residence in the same place.

There is a remarkable continuity in these ancestors cults of Ebla. Tradition was so strong that for centuries the wedding ritual was celebrated in the mausoleum of NEnaš, where three of the earliest kings were interred. The last ten kings, instead, were worshipped at Darib. It is here that the ten deified predecessors of Išar-damu “reside”, *tuš* (1.5). This term would suggest that these kings were buried at Darib (possibly Atareb, 30 km from Ebla). This contrasts with the Syrian tradition established as early as the middle of the third millennium at Tuttul/Tall Bi’a (later also at Ebla with the hypogeum below the royal palace), by which the ancestors of the kings of a developed urban state were buried close to or beneath the residence of the living.

The irregular frequency of the offerings for the deified kings in the city of Ebla would appear to confirm the hypothesis that there was a mausoleum at

Darib. In fact whilst, on the one hand it is anomalous that such a mausoleum is mentioned only in ARET 7.150, on the other hand it is significant that a cult for the two immediate predecessors of the last king is recorded only at the end of the wedding ritual, and never in the offering lists (the last two or three years of the city are rather well documented in this respect, because the texts discussed in 1.2 cover the last twenty-two months; those in 1.3 belong to the last three or four years). Only three deified kings, Samiu, Enar-damu and Išar-malik, appear in the offering lists (1.2). In only one list relating to the distribution of bread, ARET 9.17 (1.3), do we again find Samiu (the third king of the dynasty), and four more recent kings: Baga-damu, Enar-damu, Išar-malik and Kun-damu(?) (nos. 19–22); there is no mention, however, of Adub-damu (whose reign, according to the economic documents, must have been quite brief) or, more significantly, of the last two kings: Igriš-Ḫalab and Irkab-damu. Išar-malik still had a “house”, é, possibly a residence outside Ebla.⁴⁰ He is mentioned once again in relation to a delivery of one cloth (1.6).

It is possible that the bread “(for) Kura”, recorded in the monthly lists of foodstuffs for the court (1.3), was used for offerings also to the other gods, either daily or with some other frequency. The documents, however, make no direct reference to a solemn repast in honour of the ancestors, a *kispu*, which in Babylonia fell at the end of the month.⁴¹

An extraordinary heterogeneity is emerging in the mortuary evidence along the Middle Euphrates during the third millennium BC, an area stretching from Birecik as far as the confluence of the Khabur and Euphrates, which has been the object of intense archaeological research during the last decades because of several rescue projects. E. Peltenburg has offered a convincing explanation of this peculiar situation, drawing a kind of trajectory from extra-mural to intra-mural mortuary monuments, suggesting that “changing mortuary rituals, placement of tombs and refurbishment of facilities do not passively reflect socio-political changes but were the materialisation of strategies by which the social was repeatedly brought into being”.⁴²

⁴⁰ Similarly, the last two kings had residences in (L)arugadu (a major sanctuary of the god Hadabal); Hazan (ʿĀ-za-an^{ki}); Lub; Mabardu; Mara (*Ma-rá*^{ki}, usually transcribed *Ma-du*^{ki}); see Archi 1988b: 249.

⁴¹ For the daily offering at the libation place, ki-a-nag, of the deceased kings, see DP 77 from Lagaš (III 9: sā-dug₄-ki-a-nag-kam) listing the offerings for the deceased priest Dudu (Bauer 1967: 168–176); for the Ur III period, and the additional offering at the full moon, see Sallaberger 1993, 1: 63–65. For the *kispu* ritual, see Tsukimoto 1985. The *kispu* at Mari fell on the first and the 16th of the month, Jacquet 2002: 51–55.

⁴² Peltenburg 2007-08: 219.

The Eblaite written evidence allows the following application of Peltenburg's paradigm. At least at the beginning of the 28th century a state organisation formed on the plain of Ebla, an area corresponding to the heart of the Idlib region where climatic conditions made rain-fed agriculture viable. This region was occupied by a sedentary population settled in villages. The texts concerning agricultural production and the organization of manpower mention more than 200 names of villages in an area stretching from Hama towards Aleppo. This settlement landscape must have been the heritage from previous centuries. Already at that time, Ebla (located on an elevation in the south-east of this area) must have been one of the dominant centres. The very first names in the list of kings could be those of village chiefs. Of the six names which precede *Ib-la* (without the geographical determinative KI), *Bir₅-bí-la-nu* is also the name of a village and *La-da-ù* is derived from *La-da*^{ki}. *KUL-ba-an* and *Zi-a-lu*, the names respectively of the first king and the fourth king, are also geographic names. This is fairly common for the Eblaite onomasticon.⁴³ That these ancient kings were considered as founders of the ruling dynasty is shown by the offerings received by Samiu and Hamanu (the third and fifth kings) at the palace.

The peculiarity of the evidence from Ebla lies in the fact that this enables us to trace the strategy adopted by a single dynasty for its royal mortuary monuments [14] over the span of three centuries (even if this extraordinary continuity is revealed to us indirectly through documents relating to the last forty years of the city).⁴⁴ Contrary to the trajectory: cemeteries – elite burial complexes – royal tombs beneath palaces, established by Peltenburg for the formation of archaic states in western Syria on the evidence of Gre Virike, Banat, Bi'a and Umm el-Marra, Ebla attests to a continuity in the use of extra-mural burial complexes for interments or (in the case of the most ancient tomb, at NEnaš) for rituals concerning kingship. These mortuary complexes, although not identified, were undoubtedly located at some distance from the city of Ebla

⁴³ Archi 2001: 8.

⁴⁴ This continuity not only in strategy but even in using the oldest mortuary monument for the royal wedding until the last generation rules out the thesis formulated by Bonechi that a line of rulers having a semi-nomadic way of life existed prior to the dynasty of Palace G with its hypogeum (Bonechi 2001). One of the major contribution of the Eblaite documentation is to have eradicate the idea that semi-nomadism was genetically bound to the Semitic-speaking populations. Pastoralism was an important economic activity also in the period of the archives, which involved however limited segments of population. Different was the situation concerning the state of Ibal, laying in the sub-desert strip east of Qatna, consisting of different centres, each under the control of a chief (ugula), to whom sometimes the title of king (en) was also given.

itself. It is as though the dynasty wanted to mark out its territory with funeral cults at Irad, Uduḥudu, NEnaš and, lastly, at Darib, where “the gods of the kings (i.e. the deified kings) (were) resident”. Even when Ebla had become a well-consolidated city-state, the kings continued to be interred in monuments outside the city, probably because the Eblaite elite, in power for so long, had no need to legitimize its authority.⁴⁵ The passage to a regional state under the last three kings (which placed Ebla on a level comparable to that of Mari, Nagar and Kiš) led to a marked increase in the quantity of goods entering the city as well as a greater centralisation of power.⁴⁶ This provoked also a restriction in the access to the royal ancestors. An intra-mural hypogeum was built below the royal palace, marking a radical change in the mortuary strategy.

2 The God of the king, the God of the father, the God of the queen

2.1 “The God of the king,” dingir en

1. ARET 9.17 registers bread offerings to some major and minor gods and five divinized king's ancestors. “The God of the king of the wool house (i.e. of the treasure)”, dingir en é-siki, appears in section § 17 between Šamagan and Enki.⁴⁷ This offering was performed in the city of Ebla. Parallel to it, is the offering of the king to the God of his father in the treasure, ARET 2.15 § 8: 1 ḫb-III-TÚG sal en in ud dingir a-mu-sù nídba é-siki šu-ba₄-ti “1 fine loin-cloth the king has received when he offered the God of his father (in) the treasure”. Both documents are to be dated to the last king, Išar-damu.
2. The monthly list of sheep offerings TM.75.G.2441 gives a more complex picture. Za'aše, the daughter of the minister Ibbi-zikir, married the crown prince Ir'aq-damu, thus becoming second in rank after the queen, Tabur-damu and, consequently participated in the official cult of the royal family. In obv. IV 22–V 16, she offers, at Ebla: to Rašap *gunu*; 3 sheep to the God of the king (dingir en); 2 sheep to the God of the father (dingir a-mu); to

⁴⁵ This is, instead, the evaluation given by G. Schwartz to the mortuary complex at Umm el-Marra (Schwartz 2007).

⁴⁶ The role of the “lords”, lugal-lugal, was reduced during the mandate of Ibbi-zikir, the last minister (Archi 2000d: in particular pp. 43–44).

⁴⁷ The list of the gods is given above, 1.3. For é-siki, see ARET 7: 11.

the Sun-goddess. The queen offers also to the God of the king, dingir en, in Ebla: obv. IV 7–11. In rev. VII 5–9, instead, 2 sheep are offered to the God of the king in NEnaš, dingir en in NE-na-su^{ki}.

The God of the king was worshiped, therefore, in the administrative quarter of the royal palace and also in the mausoleum of NEnaš, where some ancestors were interred (1.4). He had, in any case, a kind of chapel (é DN, translated conventionally “temple of DN”) in Ebla, according to the following two passages:

3. TM.75.G.2520 obv. VIII 12–IX 13: (1 + 1 + 1 clothes) *I-in*^d *Ā-da* dumu-nita en nig-a-dé i-giš *a-li-iš* sag *Iš-ru*₁₂-ud nin-ni *Du-si-gú* é dingir en “(clothes for) I., the son of the king, (when) he poured the oil on the head of I., the sister of Dusigu (the king’s mother) (in) the temple of the God of the king”. This document belongs to the period of the minister Ibrium; the passage refers to the ceremony of the marriage of In-Hadda with Išrut.
4. TM.75.G.1730 (MEE 7.34) (Ibrium 14) obv. VI 15–20:] dumu-munus en *’Ā-gi* BAD-da-mu in ud DU.DU nídba é dingir en “(gifts for) PN], the king’s daughter, H. (and) B on the occasion of (their) going (to) offer (in) the temple of the God of the king”.

The following situation is obscure,

5. TM.75.G.2243 obv. I 8–19: (3 + 3 + 3 cloths) 2 dumu-nita *Ib-du*^d *Aš-dar* wa 1 dumu-nita *I-da-ni-ki-mu* il *Ri-ì-du* dumu-munus en gaba dingir en “(clothes to) 2 sons of Ibdu-Ašdar and 1 son of Idanikimu (who) brought Ri’tu, the daughter of the king in front of the God of the king”.

The following passages are from the monthly lists of sheep offerings, and refer to offerings in the city of Ebla: [15]

6. TM.75.G.2238 (month III) obv. V 20–24: 1 udu dingir en *Ìr-’à-ag-da-mu* nídba.
7. TM.75.G.2598 (month VII) obv. X 15–19: (Za’aše offers to Kura in ud TE+KAL) | 2 udu dingir en *Za-’à-šè* nídba TE+KAL.
8. TM.75.G.2403 (month IX) obv. IV 22–31: 4 udu dingir a-mu *ma-lik-tum* nídba 5 udu dingir en *ma-lik-tum* nídba.
9. TM.75.G.2397 (month X) obv. XI 9–12: 1 udu NE-gar dingir en.
10. TM.75.G.2398 (month XII) obv. III 22–26: 1 udu dingir en *Kéš-du-du* nídba.
11. TM.75.G.11010 (MEE 12.41) (month XI) obv. V 14–18: 1 udu UB.GUD.GUD dingir en *Ìr-’à-ag-da-mu* nídba; VII 31–35: 1 udu UB.GUD.GUD dingir en *Za-’à-šè* nídba.

When the offerer to the God of the king is mentioned, he or she is very close to the king, as the crown prince Ir'aq-damu and his wife Za'aše, or Kešdud, the daughter of the king and the queen, who had to marry in few months a prince of Kiš. The offering for the NE-gar ceremony, text (8), that at NEnaš, text (2), and the bread offerings in the wool house, ARET 9.17, were probably committed to the cult personnel.

The NE-gar rite fell at Ebla in the tenth month of the “Semitic calendar” (iti i-ba₄-sa); iti NE-gar appears in some texts instead of iti *hur-mu*, the tenth month of the “local calendar”. In that month this rite was celebrated for the God of the king, the king, the queen: NE-gar dingir en NE-gar en NE-gar *ma-lik-tum*, ARET 8.542 IV 7–13; TM.75.G.1246 obv. III 1–7; TM.75.G.2439 obv. IV 4–16; TM.75.G.10185 obv. IV 1–12. In other documents, only the NE-gar of the king and that of the queen is mentioned.⁴⁸

The NE-NE-gar festival was celebrated in Babylonia in honour of the spirits of the deceased in the fifth month of Abu (July/August).⁴⁹ It's not sure that the NE-gar rite at Ebla had the same implication.⁵⁰ In the passages quoted above, the God of the king is mentioned in parallel with the king and the queen. The two offering lists for month X (*hu-ru₁₂/lu-mu*) show that a sheep could be given both to a god or to a person on the occasion of the NE-gar. One of these two lists, TM.75.G.2075⁵¹ obv. I 14–19, has: 1 udu NE-gar ^d*Ku-ra* 1 udu NE-gar en “1 sheep (for) the NE-gar (to) Kura / (to) the king”. Prince Ir'aq-damu offers two sheep to Kura “on the occasion (*in ud*) of the NE-gar”, (III 9–14); “1 sheep (for) the NE-gar (to) Ir'aq-damu”, 1 udu NE-gar *Ir-'â-ag-da-mu* (IV 7–9); another sheep is given to the queen on the same occasion (V 4–6).

The other list, TM.75.G.2397 obv. IV 21–V 2, has similarly: 1 udu NE-gar ^d*Ku-ra* / en / *Ir-'â-ag-da-mu* / *ma-lik-tum* / *Za-'â-šê* “1 sheep (for) the NE-gar (to) Kura / the king / (the crown prince) Ir'aq-damu / the queen / Za'aše (spouse of Ir'aq-damu)”. Many gods, not connected with the Netherworld, receive a sheep on the same occasion (TM.75.G.2075 obv. V 20–VIII 19).⁵² The Ebla documents do not offer any evidence in favour of NE-gar as a All Souls' yearly celebration.

⁴⁸ For all these passages and a discussion of some other elements of the NE-gar rite at Ebla, see Archi 2003c: 39–42.

⁴⁹ Tsukimoto 1985: 48–51; Cohen 1993: 454–465; Sallaberger 1993: 125–27, 206.

⁵⁰ According to TM.75.G.10013 obv. II 11–III 4, the rite could have taken place in the temple of Kura, Archi 2003c: 40.

⁵¹ Pettinato 1979: 147–59.

⁵² Ibid.: 150–52.

2.2 “The God of the father,” dingir a-mu

1. ARET 2.15 § 8: 1 íb-III-TÚG sal en in ud dingir a-mu-sù nídba é-siki šu-ba₄-ti “1 fine loin-cloth the king has received when he offered the God of his father (in) the treasure”. Also the God of the king, dingir en, received an offering in the “wool-house”, i.e. the treasure, ARET 9.17 § 17.⁵³ Both documents are to be dated to the last king, Išar-damu.
2. TM.75.G.2417 rev. VII 6–18: (garments) *Ti-ti-nu* maškim *Ib-rí-um* níg-mul ama-gal en máš sa₆ lú dingir a-mu *Da-bur-da-mu ma-lik-tum Ib-la*^{ki} “(garments to) Titinu, the representative of (the minister) Ibrium, (who) brought the news (to) the king’s mother of the favourable omen of the God of the father (concerning) Dabur-damu, (who could become) queen of Ebla”.⁵⁴

The mention of the God of the father in these two passages is in connection with two particular occasions. The following passages are instead from the monthly documents of the offerings to the gods, pertaining to the regular cult at the court. All the offerings were performed at Ebla.

3. TM.75.G.2517 (month I) obv. I 26–29: (... in *ma-wa-]tim*) | [1] udu [dingir a]-mu en nídba | (*áš-da* 2 ud-zal); III 16–19 1 udu dingir a-mu en nídba.
4. TM.75.G.10103 (month I) obv. II 12–16: (en-en in ^d*A-dam-ma*) | 1 udu dingir a-mu en nídba; IV 1–5: (*áš-da* 2 ud-zal) | 1 udu dingir a-mu en nídba | (^dEn-ki in GIŠ-nu-kiri₆).
5. TM.75.G.2635 (month II) obv. II 21–24: 1 udu dingir a-mu en nídba; VII 1–5: 2 udu dingir a-mu *ma-lik-tum* nídba.
6. TM.75.G.2238 (month III) obv. XI 29–XII 4: 2 udu dingir a-mu *Kéš-du-du* nídba.
7. TM.75.G.1945 (month IV) rev. II 11–13: 1 udu dingir a-mu en nídba | (*áš-da* 2 ud-zal).
8. TM.75.G.10169 (month VI) obv. VI 4–7: 6 udu dingir a-mu *ma-lik-tum* nídba.
9. TM.75.G.2403 (month IX) obv. IV 22–26: 4 udu dingir a-mu *ma-lik-tum* nídba | (5 udu dingir en *ma-lik-tum* nídba). [16]
10. 2075 (month X) obv. II 26–29: 1 udu dingir a-mu-sù; IV 10–13: (NE-gar *Îr-’à-ag-da-mu*) | 5 udu dingir a-mu-sù *Îr-’à-ag-da-mu* nídba.
11. TM.75.G.11010 (month XI) obv. III 5–8: 1 udu dingir a-mu en nídba | (*áš-da* 2 ud-zal); VIII 22–25: 1 udu dingir a-mu *Kéš-du-du* nídba | (1 udu dingir a-mu *ma-lik-tum Kéš-du-du* nídba).

⁵³ See above 2.1.

⁵⁴ This passage has been interpreted by Biga 1999.

12. TM.75.G.2441 (month x) obv. V 9–12: (3 udu dingir en [Za-’à-šè nídba]) | 2 udu dingir a-mu Za-’à-šè nídba.
13. TM.75.G.3858(+) (month x) obv. I 12–15: 2 udu dingir a-mu Īr-’à-ag-da-mu nídba; II 6–9: 2 udu dingir a-mu ma-lik-tum nídba.

2.3 “The God of the queen(s),” dingir ma-lik-tum

1. TM.75.G.2598 (month VII) rev. II 11–15: 5 udu dingir-dingir ma-lik-tum-ma-lik-tum Za-’à-šè nídba “5 sheep (to) the Gods of the queens Za’aše has offered”. Za’aše, the spouse of prince Ir’aq-damu, had offered (in the previous lines) “the Gods of the house of the king”, dingir-dingir-dingir é en, at Gá^{ki} (perhaps a section of a religious building), and the dingir 2 DAG.
2. TM.75.G.10167 (month VIII) obv. I 26–II 2: 4 udu dingir-dingir ma-lik-tum-ma-lik-tum Īr-’à-ag-da-mu nídba “4 sheep (to) the Gods of the queens Ir’aq-damu has offered (in Ebla).” It follows an offering by prince Ir’aq-damu for “the temple of the gods”, é dingir-dingir-dingir.
3. TM.75.G.11010 (month XI) obv. VIII 22–30: 1 udu dingir a-mu Kēš-du-du níd-ba 1 udu dingir a-mu ma-lik-tum Kēš-du-du nídba “1 sheep (to) the God of the father, Kešdud has offered; 1 sheep to the God of the queen, Kešdud has offered”.

The offerings to the God(s) of the queens were not performed in a particular place.

2.4 Considerations

The God of the king, dingir en, and the God of the father (of the king) dingir a-mu, coexisted: both received an offering in the treasure (“the house of the wool”), that is in the administrative quarter, 2.1 (1) and (2), 2.2 (1), when Išar-damu was king. The God of the king had a cult place (é: tempel or chapel), 2.1 (3) and (4). He could be worshiped also in the mausoleum of NEnaš, 2.1 (2). Both gods were the divine patrons of the king and have to be kept distinct from the collectivity of the ancestors. The offerings to these gods known from the administrative documents refer to particular situations, not to the regular cult.

- a) *God of the king*, 2.1. Text (3) concerns the marriage of a son of the (former) king (Irkab-damu) with the sister of the last king’s mother (Išar-damu). Texts (6), (7), and (11) concern the offerings from the side of the crown prince Ir’aq-damu and Za’aše, the daughter of minister Ibbi-zikir, who had married about two years before. Text (10) has an offering from Kešdud, the

daughter of the royal couple, about in the period in which was concluded the agreement of her marriage with a son of the king of Kiš. Particular situations are also in (4) and (5), but not in (8), with an offering of the queen.

- b) *God of the father, God of the queen(s)*, 2.2, 2.3. In some cases, it is the king who offers to the God of (his) father: 2.2 (1), (3), (4), (5), (7), (11). Also in (2) reference is done probably to the God of the father of the king. In (6), (10), (11), (13), concerning the offerings of the princes Ir'aq-damu and Za'aše, one could interpret "(to) the God of (his / her) father", that is the ruling king Išar-damu. The queen offered to the God of (her) father: 2.2 (5), (8), (9), (13). The three passages in 2.3 attest also a God of the queen(s), to whom Za'še and her spouse Ir'aq-damu offer one at the time (Ir'aq-damu was probably not the son of Tabur-damu, the *maliktum* of his father, king Išar-damu) 2.3 (1), (2). The plural, *ma-lik-tum-ma-lik-tum*, shows that the tutelary god concerned in this case the queens as a category (the former queens belonging to different families). Kešdud offered, instead, to the tutelary god of her father (Išar-damu) and that of her mother (Tabur-damu), 2.3 (3).

3 Commemorative cults

3.1 The garden: a burial place at Ebla?

The most important hypostases of Rašap, a god of the underworld according to the later and more detailed sources, were those of 'Ā-da-ni(-du)^{ki}, *Du-ne/ni-ib*^{ki} (Tunip), the palace (SA.ZA_x^{ki}) and *gú-nu/núm*^(ki), to whom also a chapel or temple, é, was devoted, e.g. ARET 15.28 § 97.⁵⁵ Since it has been suggested that Ug. *gn* "garden" could mean "(royal) cemetery", one has assumed that at Ebla, too, this term indicates a place for the cult of deceased kings in the area of the royal palace.⁵⁶ There is, however, not one passage which clarifies the precise

⁵⁵ For the hypostases of Rašap, see Pomponio and Xella 1997: 297–313.

⁵⁶ Xella 1995. See however, Pardee 2000: 597, concerning RS 24.250(+): "Voir ici dans *gn* l'évocation d'un cimetière et identifier notre texte à partir de cette interprétation comme un rite funéraire ne trouve donc aucun appui dans les restes archéologiques: au palais royal, comme dans le plus grand nombre des habitations ougaritiques à cette époque, la tombe se situait sous une pièce à l'intérieur de la maison. Le rite se déroulant au jardin tirera plutôt sa signification de la saison de l'année" (see also *ibid.*: 600). A "zone funéraire" has been identified inside the Royal Palace of Ugarit, in the north-east section, Niehr 2009: 326–28.

meaning of *gunu(m)*, a term only found in connection with this god and, extremely [17] rarely, with his spouse, Adamma.⁵⁷ Moreover, there are no funerary contexts that contain Rašap. This god (without the epithet *gunum*) is sometimes associated with Ea, also at Ebla a god of the subterranean fresh-water and fertility. Rašap is, however, more frequently encountered in connection with the Sun-goddess (ARET 12.35: [nídba ^dRa-sa-ap] *gú-núm wa* ^dUtu; TM.75.G.2369 rev. VIII 2–5: nídba ^dRa-sa-ap ^dUtu; TM.75.G.1688 obv. VIII 9–IX 6 and TM.75.G.2478 rev. V 7–15: du₁₁-ga nídba ^dRa-sa-ap *gú-nu ...* du₁₁-ga nídba ^dUtu; TM.75.G.1221 rev. VIII 8–11: du₁₁-ga nídba ^dUtu ^dRa-sa-ap *gú-núm*), as well as with Kura or other gods.⁵⁸

GIŠ-nu-kiri₆ (nu-GIŠ₆kiri₆), when used as profession name, means simply: “gardener”,⁵⁹ that is who was in charge of a garden. TM.75.G.2164 obv. XII 1–5 and TM.75.G.2467 obv. XII 10–15: (clothes) GIŠ-nu-kiri₆ *lú Ib-rí-um in Sa-du-úr^{ki} / Bar-ga-u₉^{ki}* “(clothes for) the gardener of (minister) Ibrum in S. / B”.

GIŠ-nu-kiri₆ / GIŠ-kiri₆ is never related to Rašap in the monthly lists of sheep offerings. 1 sheep was offered in the garden on the occasion of the *i-lum*: TM.75.G.2517 obv. III 4–10: 1 udu *in* GIŠ-nu-kiri₆ *en nídba in* ud *i-lum*. 77 sheep were offered to the goddess Išhara for the purification (siki) in the garden, TM.75.G.10222 obv. II 3–8. In three documents Ea was celebrated in the garden; he was therefore a tutelary god of nature.⁶⁰ There is no evidence either that GIŠ-(nu-)kiri₆ meant “cemetery”, or that *gunu(m)* was its phonetic reading (the Lexical Lists, *ad* VE 443, have no Eblaite equivalence).⁶¹

3.2 The goddess ^dGa-na-na and the yearly rite of “opening” (a-ba-i) her temple at NEnaš

It has been suggested that ^dGa-na-na could be a goddess of the Netherworld, because her name should be related etymologically to *gunu(m)*, assuming that this was the royal “cemetery,” and because she appears in some rites at NEnaš.⁶²

57 Pomponio – Xella 1997: 14.

58 The element *-gú-nu* in the name-giving could stay for (Rašap) *gunu*, see the list of names in Pomponio – Xella 1997: 413–414.

59 ARET 3: 380; ARET 4: 298; ARET 7: 231.

60 Archi 2010e: 31–33 with n. 45 [672–673].

61 For *si-dù-si-dù en-en in* GIŠ-kiri₆, see 3.3.

62 Pasquali – Mangiarotti 2005; Pasquali 2007.

^d*Ga-na-na* was the consort of ^dBAD *Ga-na-na(-im)*, a god worshiped also by people from Emar and Mari.⁶³ “Lord of Ganana” is the sole case in which the name of the god is apparently derived from that of his goddess (the opposite case is attested for “the Lady”, ^dBAD. MUNUS / ^d*Ba-al₆-tum*, of Hadabal, Kamiš, Rašap). This couple is anomalous also because the cults attributed to the goddess differ from those of her spouse; these merit further investigation. Here below we examine the cults of Ganana (not the Lord of Ganana!) related to the regular festival celebrated at NEnaš.

- a) The yearly ceremony of the delivery of a *pallium*, *maš-da-bù*, at NEnaš, handed over by the attendant (*pa₄-šeš*) of the god Kura in month II (iti še-gur₁₀-kud = *ig-za*),⁶⁴ could have another *pallium* given to Ganana. TM.75.G.2353 (iti *ig-za*) rev. X 1–8: 2 túg-NI.NI 2 KIN siki dam UNKEN-ak *maš-da-bù* 1 na₄ siki 1 kù-sal *maš-da-bù* é ^d*Ga-na-na* “1 shawl, 2-KIN measures of wool (to) the woman (for) doing the *pallium* (of NEnaš). 1 na₄-measure of wool, 1 buckle (for) the *pallium* (for) the temple of Ganana”. TM.75.G.2653 (iti *ig-za*) rev. III 2–7: 1 túg-NI.NI 2 KIN siki 1 dam UNKEN-ak *maš-da-bù* in NE-na-aš^{ki}; X 16–19: 1 na₄ siki 1 kù-sal kù-babbar *maš-da-bù* é ^d*Ga-na-na*.
- b) In month IV or V (iti *gi-NI*; *ḥa-li-du*), there was the rite of “purification on the occasion of the opening”, (i-giš-sag ... in ud *a-ba-i*).⁶⁵ ARET 1.17 (month IV) (58): 1 KIN siki i-giš-sag ^d*Ga-na-na* in ud *a-ba-i* “1 KIN-measure of wool (for the) purification (unction of the head) of the goddess Ganana on the occasion of the opening(-rite)”. ARET 3.256 (month [x]) rev. I 1–3: [1 KIN siki i-giš-sag] ^d*Ga-na-na* in ud *a-ba-i*. ARET 4.13 (month V) (76): 1 GIŠ-KIN siki tur i-giš-sag ^d*Ga-na-na* in ud *a-ba-i*. ARET 12.239 (month [x]) II 1–3: [1 KIN siki i-giš-sag] ^d*Ga-na-na* in *a-ba-i*.

⁶³ For several passages concerning ^dBAD *Ga-na-na* and ^d*Ga-na-na*, see respectively Pomponio – Xella 1997: 92–95, 144–46.

⁶⁴ See above, 1.9.

⁶⁵ It has been suggested that *a-ba-i* means “hypogeum,” deriving this word from the root **p(H)*, “to open; to dig” (cf. Ug. *ap* “opening”); *a-ba-i* should have been received by the Hurrians as *a-a-bi* (Pasquali – Mangiarotti 2005). According to the Hurrian rituals of the Hittite archives, *a-a-bi* was just a hole through which it was communicated with the deities of the Netherworld, not a grave. In Tell Mozan (ancient Urkeš) a monumental shaft was found close to the palace of a Hurrian dynasty of the end of the third millennium, whose interpretation as an *a-a-bi* seems likely, having been used for offerings, not as a tomb (Kelly – Buccellati 2002). Similarly, in the WSem. documentation, see Loretz 2005. For Emar, see Minunno 2009.

TM.75.G.1772 (month [x]) rev. V 4–8: 1 KIN siki ì-giš-sag ^dGa-na-na in ud a-ba-i.

- c) The opening-rite concerned the temple of Ganana, TM.75.G.1884 (Ibrium; month VI) rev. VIII 4–9: 1 zi-rí siki GIŠ-gál-tag₄ é ^dGa-na-na in ud a-ba-i “1 zi-rí-measure of wool (for) opening the temple of Ganana on the occasion of the opening(-rite)”.

TM.75.G.2417 is a monthly document of distribution of garments to be dated to the 14th year of minister Ibrium, the year of the wedding of king Išar-damu and Tabur-damu,⁶⁶ documented by [18] the ritual ARET 11.2 and by the annual document TM.75.G.1730 (MEE 7.34). Passages of TM.75.G.2417 mention the journey of the divine couple Kura and Barama to the mausoleum of NEnaš on that occasion and “the opening the gate (of the temple) of the goddess Ganana”, GIŠ-gál-tag₄ ká ^dGa-na-na.⁶⁷

The gate of the temple of the goddess Ganana at NEnaš was opened annually when the king and queen returned to NEnaš to commemorate their wedding ritual. This took place in month IV or V, since the wedding ritual of Irkab-damu (ARET 11.1) was celebrated in month IV (gi-NI); that of Išar-damu (ARET 11.2) in month V (ḥa-li-ì/du).⁶⁸ The two following texts mention the dressing (sa-da-bí-iš /šatāp-iš/, ša-dab-tiš) of the royal couple for the ceremony at NEnaš, together with the opening of the temple of Ganana. ARET 3.467 rev. VIII 16–22 (Ibrium; month [x]): 1 zi-rí siki tur GIŠ-gál-tag₄ ká ^dGa-na-na | 1 zi-rí siki ge₆ babbar ša-dab-tiš en [wa ma-lik-tum si-in NE-na-áš^{ki} A-du-lu šu-mu-tag₄].

ARET 4.25 (Ibri-zikir; month V) (27)–(28): 1 zi-rí siki ge₆ babbar 1 kù-sal kù-babbar sa-da-bí-iš en wa ma-lik-tum si-in NE-na-áš^{ki} En-na-ì lú A-du-lu šu-mu-tag₄ | 1 zi-rí siki GIŠ-gál-tag₄ 2 ká ^dGa-na-na “1 zi-rí-measure of black (and) white wool, 1 buckle of silver for dressing king and queen for NEnaš. Enna-i(l) (the man of the gods), son of Adulu, has consigned. 1 zi-rí-measure of wool (for) opening the 2 gates of Ganana”.

Other monthly documents mention the opening of the gate of Ganana for other years.

ARET 12.313 (minister?; month [x]) rev. VII 2–15: 1 zi-rí siki maš-da-bù en wa ma-lik-tum in NE-na-áš^{ki} 1 zi-rí siki lú KIN siki GIŠ-gál-tag₄ ká ^dGa-na-na Da-ba-a-du [šu]-ba₄-ti.

TM.75.G.1790 (Ibrium; month IV) rev. XI 21–25: 1 siki na₄ GIŠ-gál-tag₄ ká ^dGa-na-na.

⁶⁶ See the passage quoted above, 2.2. The name of the month is lost.

⁶⁷ The passages are quoted in n. 15, above.

⁶⁸ See ARET 11: 155, s.v. iti.

TM.75.G.1588 (Ibbi-zikir; month V) rev. VIII 5–14: 3 KIN siki ge₆ babbar si-in NE-na-āš^{ki} al₆-tuš ḫúl-ḫúl X GIŠ-gál-tag₄ ká ^dGa-na-na.

TM.75.G.1942 (Ibbi-zikir; month IV) rev. IX 1–5: 1 KIN siki 1 kù-sal GIŠ-gál-tag₄ ^dGa-na-na.

TM.75.G.1944 (Ibbi-zikir; month [x]) rev. X 25–28: 1 zi-rí siki GIŠ-gál-tag₄ é [^dG]a-na-na.

TM.75.G.2334 (Ibbi-zikir; month V) rev. X 1–5: 1 zi-rí siki 1 kù-sal kù-babbar GIŠ-gál-tag₄ 2 ká ^dGa-na-na.

TM.75.G.2369 (Ibbi-zikir; month [x]) rev. IX 1–5: 1 na₄ siki 1 kù-sal 1 buru₄-MUŠEN GIŠ-gál-tag₄ ká ^dGa-na-na.

TM.75.G.2573 (Ibbi-zikir; month [x]) rev. VIII 12–22: 1 zi-rí siki ge₆ babbar maš-da-bù si-in En-na-ì šeš:pa₄ ^dKu-ra | 1 na₄ siki GIŠ-gál-tag₄ ^dGa-na-na NI-da-ba-du šu-ba₄-ti.

TM.75.G.10136 rev. IX 5: 1 KIN siki 1 kù-s[al] GIŠ-gál-tag₄ ká ^dGa-na-na.

- d) It is understandable that no god of the Netherworld (e.g. Rašap) appears in the wedding ritual (ARET 11.1–3), or in the ceremonies conducted at the mausoleum at NEnaš. The goddess Ganana, more specifically “the opening of the gate(s) (of the temple) of Ganana”, GIŠ-gál-tag₄ ká ^dGa-na-na, is recorded in the monthly document of the wedding of king Išar-damu (TM.75.G.2417). This rite of the opening the gate is recorded regularly in subsequent years, when the wedding was commemorated at NEnaš in the same month in which it had been celebrated. Two documents (ARET 3.467; 4.25, above, in c) relate the opening of the gate to the dressing of royal couple. The only funerary aspect related to Ganana could be the purification rite ì-giš-sag (passages in b).⁶⁹

Ganana may have had a temple at NEnaš, since she had the task of determining favourable “destinies”, nam(-nam) for the king and queen when they sat “on the two thrones of their father”, in the mausoleum, on the occasion of their wedding and, probably, in the same month every year afterwards. The response, however, was determined two months after the commemorative ceremony, in month VII (ga-šum).

The relevant passages are: 1 túg-NI.NI 1 zi-rí siki (1 kù-sal) níg-ba ^dGa-na-na in ud (nam-)nam-sù “1 shawl, 1 zi-rí-measure of wool, (1 buckle), gift (to) Ganana on the occasion of her (establishing) the fate”, TM.75.G.1250 (Ibbi-zikir) obv. XI 1–5; similarly: TM.75.G.1262 (Ibrium) obv. VIII 16–20; TM.75.G.1743 (Ibbi-zikir) rev. XI 12–16; TM.75.G.2443 (Ibbi-zikir) obv. VI 14–17; TM.75.G.10233 (Ibbi-zikir?) obv. VII 17–21.

⁶⁹ For the purification rite ì-giš-sag celebrated by the relatives of a deceased, see 4.5, below.

3.3 (ki-sur / íb-tag) si-dù-si-dù en-en

The monthly offerings list TM.75.G.2238 obv. XII 17–26 has: 1 udu ki-sur si-dù-si-dù en-en *En-na-ì šu-du₈*, which has been translated: “1 sheep for the chapel of the lamentations of the kings. Enna-i(l) has taken”.⁷⁰ There are three other parallel passages, the first one is in the same document, obv. IV 21–25: 20 udu si-dù-si-dù en-en *Ír-’à-ag-[da-mu nídba]*; the other two passages are in TM.75.G.1764 obv. II 26–III 4: 1 udu íb-tag si-dù-si-dù en-en *En-na-ì šu-du₈*, III 5–12: 20 udu *áš-da* si-dù-si-dù en-en in *GIŠ-kiri₆ en nídba* “20 sheep by the s. of the kings in the garden”.⁷¹ [19] Both texts are dated to month III: iti ^dAMARA. The 22 documents of this genre cover as many months, the rite was therefore annual. The first offering (of just one animal) was performed in both years by Enna-i(l) (the “man of the gods”, *lú dingir-dingir-dingir*, or the *pa₄-šeš* of the god Kura); the second ones, of 20 sheep, by the king or by the crown prince.

The context is difficult. According to the Lexical Lists (VE 1116), the equivalence of si-dù is *ti-mu-mu*, derived by Pettinato from **dmm* “to mourn; to be silent.”⁷² íb-tag is probably an hapax; ki-sur is “boundary” at Ebla as in Mesopotamia (not “hypogeum”!). The evidence is given by two parallel passages, referring to the same event.⁷³ ARET 1.13 § 7: (2 + 2 + 2 garments) *Dar-zi-mu Sar-mi-lu* (1 + 1 + 1 garments) *Išbù-du ma-za-lum-sù Ar-mi^{ki} tag₄ ì-ti in da-ma-ti ki-sur* “... who were present for the erected stone of the boundary;” TM.75.G.10074 obv. X 8–26: *Dar-zi-mu ... Sar-mi-lu ... Iš-bù-du ma-za-lum-sù éš DU.DU da-ma-ti-iš ki-sur Ib-la^{ki} wa Ar-mi^{ki} kaskal libir-rá*; XI 1–13: *Sar-mi-lu ... Iš-bù-du ma-za-lum-sù Ar-mi^{ki} éš DU.DU da-ma-ti-iš ki-sur DU.DU tak₄* “... went for the erected stone of the boundary (between) Ebla and Armi ...”.

Both *da-ma-ti* and si-dù appear in the wedding ritual of the royal couple: a) ARET 11.1 § 32 // 2 § 32: “(an object of silver) to donate to him (the god Aniru) *al₆ da-ma-ti*,” b) ARET 11.1 § 13 // 2 § 12: 2 si-dù ^d*Ku-ra* 2 *gilim* ...; c) 1 § 77 // 2 § 81: *wa(-a) i-a-ba-ad* si-dù en 3 ù si-dù *ma-lik-tum* 3-ma. The context in c: “and ... the si-dù of the king 3 (times) and the si-dù of the queen three (times),” is preceded and followed by a form of *karābu* “to pronounce formulas of blessing”. TM.75.G.1730 (MEE 734), the annual document of the same year of the

70 Pettinato 1979a: 168, 115; 1988: 313 translates ki-sur with “hypogeum”.

71 See Pettinato 1979a: 163 and 131.

72 Ibid.: 115.

73 The two passages have been presented already in Archi 1996a: 46–47 with n. 19, together with a discussion on *da-ma-ti(-iš)*; the meaning “boundary stone” for *da-ma-ti* has been suggested in Archi 1998a: 23 [718–719].

wedding of king Išar-damu (ARET 11.2), is parallel in rev. IX 20–27 to passages b–c: 3 NI kù-babbar 1 bar-ús lú dur 2 si-dù en *wa ma-lik-tum* “4 g of silver (for) 1 staff⁷⁴ of ... of the 2 *emblems*⁷⁵ of the king and the queen”.

The si-dù-si-dù en-en referred to a yearly commemorative rite for the royal ancestors “(at) the boundary, precinct”, ki-sur (/ íb-tag), “in the garden”, in GIŠ-kiri₆. The term si-dù(-si-dù) seems to mean “pole, emblem”; it is in relation with living and dead persons.

Another term *da-mi-mu*, with the variants: *da-mi*, *da-mu*, *da-a-mu*, appears in connection with a purification ritual of the house of the king (NAGA:A é en) performed in the last years by Enna-i(l), the *pa₄-šeš* of the god Kura (the same personage in the two passages quoted here above from TM.75.G.2238 and TM.75.G.1764). This term has to refer to “one who recites, laments”, not, however, to dead persons.⁷⁶

4 Funerary practices

4.1 ÉxPAP “burial, funerary ceremony”

Although the first meaning of ÉxPAP, at Ebla, should be “grave, tomb” (1.10), most of the contexts request the translation “funerary ceremony, burial”. The unusual syntactical construction of ARET 15.51 § 15 would appear to support this interpretation: (goods) en *Bur-ma-an*^{ki} [PN(?)] šu-mu-tag₄ in ud nídba ÉxPAP *a-bù-sù* “(goods for) the king of the city of Burman, [PN] has consigned, on the occasion of the offering (for) the funerary ceremony of his father”. The occasion for this sending of gifts by the king of Ebla must have been the death of the king’s father and subsequent funerary ceremony, and not some unspecified commemorative rite at the father’s tomb.⁷⁷ ARET 15.47 §§ 103–104 has: (goods) *Sag-da-mu* dumu-nita en ÉxPAP / (1–1 cloth) en ÉxPAP. The two clothes

⁷⁴ For (GIŠ-)bar-ús, see Conti 1997: 57–59.

⁷⁵ Derksen 1988 has explained si-dù as “bend horn”, followed by Pettinato 1992: 187–188, who changed his previous interpretation, connecting *ti-mu-mu* with Akk. *timmu* “pole, stake”. For si-dù, see further TM.75.G.2417 XII 18–XIII 6: 1 íb+III-TÜG gùn A-tèš dumu-nita A-du-ba A-ru₁₂-gú^{ki} a-bí-du si-dù en DU.DU-sù si-in Lu-ba-an^{ki}.

⁷⁶ The passages are collected by Bonechi, who puts in relation *da-mi-mu* with *ti-mu-mu*, the lexical equivalence of si-dù, Bonechi 1989: 131–134, 140–41.

⁷⁷ Cfr. ARET 15.26 § 25: (1 cloth) *Áb-su*^{ki} ÉxPAP *A-bù* nídba. See, further, ARET 4.8 § 24: (1 + 1 + 1 clothes) PN *Du-lu*^{ki} níg-mul ÉxPAP a-mu-sù en *Du-lu*^{ki} húl “(1 + 1 + 1 cloths) (to) PN of the city of Dulu, who brought the news (that) the king of Dulu celebrated the funerary ceremony of his father”.

would be given by the king (Irkab-damu) for the funerary ceremony of his son Sag-damu (not for his own grave!).⁷⁸

The syntactical construction concerning ÉxPAP in the documents of the period of minister Arrukum is the following: goods – PN₁ (+ function or dependence name) – ÉxPAP – (PN₂ šu-mu-tag₄) “goods (for) PN₁ (for) (his/her) funerary ceremony (PN₂ has consigned)”. The string: PN₂ šu-mu-tag₄ is generally found when the deceased did not reside at Ebla, ARET 15.10 § 34: (goods) en NI-ra-ar^{ki} ÉxPAP PN šu-mu-tag₄ “(goods) (for) the king of the city of Nīrar (for) the funerary ceremony, PN (a man from Ebla) has consigned”.⁷⁹ In most of the documents of the [20] ministers Ibrium and Ibbi-zikir, the preposition *si-in* (ÉxPAP) “for (the funerary ceremony)” is added.⁸⁰

4.2 The funerary gifts

Ebla provides an excellent observatory for determining the kinds of precious goods presented to the deceased, the majority of which have been stolen from the graves (a notable exception being the Middle Bronze Age hypogeum of Qatna). The evidence is, however, virtual, consisting as it does purely of textual data the imprecision of which, moreover, is determined by the difficulty to identify some of the objects. The information is only partial as it relates solely to clothing and objects decorated with precious metals destined for the elite of Ebla and other city-states (with a small proportion of the people in their service). If we base our considerations solely on this then we would have to conclude that there was no bronze or copper weaponry! A further distortion is

⁷⁸ See the commentary in ARET XV,1: XXI.

⁷⁹ See, e.g., ARET 15.8 § 31, § 36, § 46; 10 § 34; 11 § 55; 12 § 19; 19 § 41, § 42, § 43, § 44, § 55, § 67, § 85; 20 § 39, § 49; 21 § 45; 23 § 24; 24 § 35. The syntactical order is anomalous in ARET 15.2 § 9: goods – ÉxPAP – PN “goods (for) the funerary ceremony of PN”; 8 § 57: goods en GN PN šu-mu-tag₄ ÉxPAP; 12 § 45: goods – PN – ÉxPAP – nu-kiri₆ “goods (for) PN, (for his) funerary ceremony, the gardener”; 23 § 60, § 61 and 24 § 10, § 32: goods – NP₁ – ÉxPAP – lú NP₂ “goods (for) PN₁ (for his) funerary ceremony, (the son) of PN₂” (see the commentary in ARET 15.1: 251); 17 § 33: 1 zara₆-TÚG 1 má-da-ma-tum 1 níg-lá-sag 2 bu-di 10 (gín) kù-babbar dam ÉxPAP Ìl-ba-sar Ra-’à-ag^{ki} Ib-dur-i-sar di-kud šu-mu-tag₄ “1 (women’s) mantel, 1 scarf, 1 band for the head, 2 toggle pins of 78.3 g of silver (for) the wife, (for her) funerary ceremony, of Ilbašar of the city of Ra’ag, Ibdur-išar, the judge, has consigned”; toggle pins were a gift reserved to women (see the commentary in ARET 15.1: 172). See, further, some obscure passages as ARET 15.43 § 45: (1 cloth) ugula Ša-da-du<^{ki}> in ud PN ÉxPAP “1 cloth (to) the overseer of GN on the occasion of the funerary ceremony of PN”; 47 § 7: (1 cloth) PN i-ti ÉxPAP “1 cloth (to) PN, when he was present (from) the funerary ceremony”.

⁸⁰ See, e.g., ARET 1.1 § 58, § 67; 3 § 72; 9 § 18; 10 § 27; 44 § 20; not in 11 § 26.

created by the fact that certain types of documents (for example, the annual texts) only record metal goods, ignoring clothes. The monthly texts, instead, relate to clothing and sometimes omit the long lists of precious metal goods.

The basic goods were clothes for dressing the dead. When possibly, the corpse was not merely wrapped in a shroud, and jewels and weapons were given to high-ranking individuals.

- a) Some workers and lower officials received just one cloth. ARET 1.1 (58)–(59): 1 sal-TÚG PN lú ninda-TIN *si-in* ÉxPAP | 1 sal-TÚG PN ugula GN *si-in* ÉxPAP; I 9 (18): 1 gu-mug-TÚG NP nagar *si-in* ÉxPAP; IV 9 (17): 1 sal-TÚG PN nar *si-in* ÉxPAP; IV 24 (33): 1 sal-TÚG NP ugula ú-a *si-in* ÉxPAP. The sal-TÚG had to be a long thin clothing. In some cases, a loin-cloth was added, ARET 4.24 § 32: 1 sal-TÚG 1 íb+III-TÚG-gùn PN ur₄ *si-in* ÉxPAP. This is also the case of some “merchants”, lú-kar, from Mari, who apparently died at Ebla, ARET 4.2 § 26, § 49, § 54. Gisadu, the wetnurse of king Išar-damu, received instead a kind of long robe (a showl) or mantel, TM.75.G.2247 rev. VI 1–6: 1 túg-NI.NI *Gi-sa-du* ga-du₈ en *si-in* ÉxPAP.⁸¹ Mašgasadu, a woman of the king (dam en), received a more precious mantel: 1 zara₆-TÚG, TM.75.G.2492+2506 obv. IV 9–14.
- b) A middle rank official received a set of clothes (1 cloak, 1 skirt or tunic, 1 loin-cloth) and 1 bracelet, ARET 4.5 § 13: 1 'à-da-um-TÚG 1 aktum-TÚG 1 íb+IV-TÚG-gùn-sa₆ 1 gú-li-lum-II a-gar₅ kù-gi PN *si-in* ÉxPAP.⁸² ARET VII 116 (1): 1 'à(-da-um-TÚG) 1 a(ktum-TÚG) 1 (íb+IV-TÚG-gùn-)sa₆ 1 gú-li(-lum)-I ab-si Ír-am₆-da-mu di-kud (“the judge”) *si-in* ÉxPAP. TM.75.G.1356 rev. II 7–III 1: 1 'à-da-um-TÚG 1 aktum-TÚG 1 íb+III-TÚG-gùn-sa₆ 1 gú-li-I 20 (gín) a-gar₅ kù-gi Ír-am₆-ma-lik Zì-ig^{ki} *si-in* ÉxPAP PN šu-mu-tag₄. TM.75.G.2593 obv. VI 3–7: 1 'à-da-um-TÚG 1 aktum-TÚG 1 íb+III-TÚG-gùn-sa₆ 1 gú-li-lum-I 10 (gín) a-gar₅ kù-gi En-zu-wa-rum lú dingir-dingir-dingir (“the man of the gods”) *si-in* ÉxPAP.
- c) The funerary goods for an important official as Zibada (who died in the year Ibbi-zikir X) consisted of a set of clothes (1 cloak, 1 skirt or tunic, 1 loin-cloth), 1 belt with frog decorated with gold of the value of 313 g of

⁸¹ Biga complains that “Gisadu, a lady who spent her entire life at the Eblaite court in the service of the king she nursed, received a modest textile for her burial” (Biga 2007–08: 258). The túg-NI.NI was, however, a clothing of a certain value. The 26 most important women at the court of king Irkab-damu received a zara₆-TÚG each, the other 73 a túg-NI.NI. It was the same clothing that nurses and midwives of the queen used to wear alive, see ARET 1.15 §§ 16–17 (Archi 1999a: 49 [315–316]), (similarly, the other dead people received garments they were used to wear). The wet-nurse of Gimini-zadu, sister of the queen, received just a simple sal-TÚG, TM.75.G.2647+2650 obv. X 19–23.

⁸² See also ARET 4.8 § 22.

silver, 1 bracelet of copper and gold of 235 g, 1 dagger decorated with gold (consigned by Enna-i(1), probably his son, from the side of the palace): 1 'à-da-um-TÚG 1 aktum-TÚG 1 íb+IV-TÚG-gùn 40 (gín) kù-babbar 1 íb-lá 1 gír-kun MAŠ-MAŠ kù-gi 1 gú-li-lum-II a-gar₅-gar₅ ku-gi 30 (gín) 1 gír mar-tu kù-gi Zi-ba-da si-in ÉxPAP En-na-ì di-kud šu-mu-tag₄.

- d) The kings of the other cities of the region received instead only a set of clothes and 1 belt with sheath and frog of 235/157 g of gold: ARET 4.9 § 2 (the king of Garmu); TM.75.G.2492 obv. I 1–9 (the king of Dub); TM.75.G.1763 obv. V 11–17 (the king of Burman, who received also 1 mantel, zara₆-TÚG). The king of Ursa'um received 1 belt with sheath and frog of 157 g of gold for his funerary ceremony; the same gift was sent to the new king for his purification ceremony (i-giš-sag), TM.75.G.10202 rev. XIV 2–16.
- e) The usual gift for an important foreign lady was a mantel (1 zara₆-TÚG), other clothes and two toggle pins (*bu-di*) of 10 or 20 shekels silver (78.3 or 156.6 g), possibly with their heads covered with gold; sometimes these pins were in gold. TM.75.G.1688 obv. II 8–III 4 (for the mother of minister Ibrium): 1 zara₆-TÚG 1 gíd-TÚG ú-ḥáb 20 (gín) kù-babbar 2 *bu-di* sag-sù kù-gi ama-gal *Ib-rí-um* ÉxPAP. ARET 4.24 § 9 (for the wife [21] of minister Ibbi-zikir): 1 zara₆-TÚG 1 gíd-TÚG ú-ḥáb 20 (gín) kù-gi 2 *bu-di* *Dab-du-da-mu si-in* ÉxPAP. TM.75.G.1328 obv. VI 4–11 (for the mother of the king of the city of Ra'ag): 1 zara₆-TÚG 10 gín DILMUN kù-babbar 2 *bu-di* amagal en Ra-'à-ag^{ki} ÉxPAP PN šu-mu-tag₄. ARET 1.10 § 27 (for the queen of the city of Kakmium): 1 zara₆-TÚG 1 gíd-TÚG 20 (gín) kù-babbar 2 *bu-di* 2 sag-sù kù-gi *ma-lik-tum Kak-mi-um*^{ki} *si-in* ÉxPAP. TM.75.G.2523 obv. V 2–12 (for the daughter of the king of the city of Kakmium): 1 zara₆-TÚG 20 (gín) kù-babbar 2 *bu-di* dumu-munus en *Kak-mi-um*^{ki} *si-in* ÉxPAP PN ugula ká šu-mu-tag₄. Even Tiša-lim, the queen of Imar, who probably belonged to the royal family of Ebla, received just 1 mantel (zara₆-TÚG) and 2 toggle pins of 313 g of silver whose heads were decorated with gold, TM.75.G.1763 obv. V 18–VI 7 (minister Ibbi-zikir). The queen of the city of Manuwat received a double set of clothes and 2 toggle pins of 157 g of gold (Ibrium): TM.75.G.1324 obv. IV 4–13: 1 zara₆-TÚG babbar 1 zara₆-TÚG ú-ḥáb 2 gíd-TÚG ú-ḥáb GIŠ-ir-zú 2 níg-lá-ZI.ZI ú-ḥáb babbar 2 *bu-di* GÁxLÁ 20 gín DILMUN kù-gi *ma-lik-tum Ma-nu-wa-ad*^{ki} ÉxPAP PN₁ di-kud PN₂ šu-mu-tag₄.
- f) In particular cases, the delivery from the administration could supplement the goods given by the deceased's family. This seems to have been the case of ARET 1.11 § 11, concerning the ceremony for the mother of Dusigu, that is king Išar-damu's grandmother: 4 aktum-TÚG ti-TÚG A-da-da ama-gal *Du-si-gú* ÉxPAP.⁸³

83 See the 4 aktum-TÚG in the set of clothes for *I-in-d'À-da*, below 4.4 a 3.

- g) The gifts for the funerary ceremony of minister Arrukum were 1 + 1 cloths, 2 mantels and 2 loincloths, 1 plate of 470 g of gold, 1 belt of 470 g of gold, 1 dagger, ARET 15.47 obv. IX 13–X 3: 1 túg-gùn 1 *gu-zi-TÚG* 2 zara₆-TÚG 2 íb-III-gùn-sa₆ 1 díb GÁxLÁ 1 ma-na kù-gi 1 íb-lá GÁxLÁ 1 ma-na kù-gi 1 gír mar-tu [...] *Ar-ru*₁₂-*gúm* ÉxPAP.⁸⁴ Those for his successor, Ibrium, who was in charge for seventeen years, were much richer. The last annual document concerning his last year registers first a long list of goods offered by the sick minister to the gods for a purification rite, TM.75.G.1923(+) obv. VII 4–VIII 24: ... sikil ... *al*₆ tu-ra *Ib-rí-mu*. The gifts for his funerary ceremony is listed in XIII 8–XIV 25: 470 g of gold for the harness of two (mules) and the two wheels (of a chariot); 117 g of gold for the harness of a he-donkey; 940 g of gold for 1 belt with sheath and frog, 1 plate; 313 g of silver for the decoration (ti₈-MUŠEN) of a helmet; 470 g of silver: value of 1 dagger decorated with gold; 1 vessel (*ma-da-la-um*) of 235 g of gold, and its frog (kun) decorated with 47 g of gold; 2,35 kg of silver for 1 cup and 1 goblet (GIŠ-šú, níg-bànda) for the hands (lú 2-šu) of Ibrium.
- h) The gifts for the funerary ceremony of king Irkab-damu were probably registered in TM.76.G.672 (the annual document of Ibrium I), in a lost part of the text. ARET 14.64 has the deliveries (mu-DU) of several kings sent to Ebla for the ceremony of purification (ì-giš-sag) of Irkab-damu's wife, Dusigu.
- i) ARET 2.4 § 17 has the gifts sent from Ebla to Mari for the funerary ceremony of queen Paba, the spouse of Iplu(s)-il: 1;10 ma-na kù-gi za_x *Pa*₄-*ba*₄ 1 GIŠ-šú 1 níg-bànda kù-babbar 3 ma-na kù-babbar 1 zara₆-TÚG babbar 1 zara₆-TÚG ú-háb 1 níg-lá-ZI.ZI babbar 1 níg-lá-ZI.ZI ú-háb 10 kun kù-gi 1 si kù-gi 1 *gu-zi-tum* ú-háb 1 *má-da-ma-tum* babbar *Du-bí-šum* ur₄ *Pa*₄-*ba*₄ ÉxPAP “548 g of gold: goods (for) Paba, 1 cup 1 goblet of silver of 1.41 kg of silver, 1 white mantel, 1 brown mantel, 1 white band Z., 1 brown band Z., 10 frogs of gold, 1 horn of gold, 1 brown cloth g., 1 white m., Dubi-šum, the collector (has brought for) Paba's funerary ceremony”. King Iplu(s)-il received for the purification ceremony, because his wife's death, ARET 2.4 § 7: 1 gaba kù-gi 2.30 ma-na kù-gi 1 níg-sagšu 1.30 ma-na kù-gi 1 GIŠ-šú 3 ma-na kù-gi 1 íb-lá *si-ti-tum* gír-kun kù-gi 1 ma-na kù-gi [x ma-na] 50 (gín) kù-gi 6,10 ma-na kù-babbar 1 silig kù-gi ì-giš-sag lugal “1 pectoral/cuirass of gold of 1109 g, 1 helmet of gold of 705 g, 1 (kind of) shield/cup of 1410 g of gold, 1 belt 1 sheath 1 frog of 470 g of gold, [x] gold, 2.898 kg of silver: 1 war axe

⁸⁴ Syntactic unclear is TM.75.G.1379 rev. X 11–16 1 díb GÁx-LÁ 1 ma-na kù-gi lú *Du-bí Ar-ru*₁₂-*gúm* ì-na-sum *si-in* ÉxPAP.

(decorated with) gold (for) the purification ceremony of the king (of Mari).” The total sum of gold is of 3.694(+0.861) g.

- j) Ladies of the royal family received clothes and several kinds of jewels, as 1 pectoral, 1 cup, 1 goblet, 1 broche, 1 hairpin, 2 toggle pins, 2 earrings and so on.⁸⁵ GimiNI-(z)adu, sister of the queen, received two cloths: 1 túg-NI.NI ú-ḥáb 1 gíd-TÚG and jewels for 407 g of gold. The priestess Taribdamu got 14 aktum-TÚG 2 zara₆-TÚG ú-ḥáb 2 gíd-TÚG ú-ḥáb and 1.331 kg of gold. Her sister Tište-damu received 1 zara₆-TÚG and 1.214 kg of gold. Dusigu, the mother of the king: 518 g of gold. [22]

4.3 The wailing rites

The deceased, after having been washed, dressed and furnished with his ornaments, had to be shown and wailed over by his nearest and dearest. The task of bewailing the dead was entrusted to hired women (Lat. *praeficae*). These (possibly together with the relatives), expressed their sorrow also through ostentatious gestures and shaking their bodies. A female statuette (h. 15 cm) has a breast exposed; her left arm is bent at the elbow, the hand turned towards the left cheek.⁸⁶ This unusual pose must represent a gesture of condolence made during funeral rites: the mourning women on the sides of the Ahiram sarcophagus (like the Egyptian mourning women), with unlaced corsets, injure their breasts and tear their hair.

1. The most detailed passage concerning the wailing rites is TM.75.G.2334 obv. IV 17–VI 3: 1 túg-NI.NI 2 KIN siki 1 dam *mu-na-bí-tum* 12 KIN siki 6 dam eme-bal-sù 1 túg-NI.NI 3 na₄ siki 1 dam *mu-na-bí-tum* 15 na₄ siki 5 dam eme-bal-sù ér 1 gâr-su ge₆ ì-giš-sag en 1 níg-lá-ZI. ZI 2 *bu-di* 10 kù-babbar ì giš-sag *ma-lik-tum* ’Ā-ru₁₂-gú^{ki} 1 túg-NI.NI 1 íb-TÚG-gùn níg-ba-sù šu-mu-tag₄ lú úš *Dar-ib-da-mu* “1 shawl (and) 2 KIN-measures of wool (for) 1 woman (who was) the wailing woman; 12 KIN-measures of wool (for) 6 women (who acted as) the chorus (for) her. 1 shawl (and) 3 na₄-measures of wool (for) 1 woman (who was) the wailing woman; 15 na₄-measures of wool (for) 5 women (who act as) the chorus (for) her, (for) mourning. 1 black bag (for) the purification rite of the king. 1 headband, 2 toggle-pins of 7.83 g of

⁸⁵ The list of the funerary gifts for GimiNI-(z)adu, sister of the queen, those of the princess and priestess Tarib-damu and her sister Tište-damu, of Dusigu, mother of king Išar-damu, are collected in Archi 2002b*: nos. 5, 9, 10, 11.

⁸⁶ Matthiae has published this statuette, suggesting that it could represent the mourning queen (Matthiae 2009a: 283–89), see below, n. 99.

silver (for) the purification rite of the queen (in) Harugu. 1 shawl, 1 kilt: her gift, consigned for Tarib-damu's death."⁸⁷ Two groups of women were employed "for the funerary ceremony of (princess) Tarib-damu", *si-in Éx-PAP* (dumu-munus en) *Dar-ib-da-mu* (obv. IV 13–15). The first group was made up of 1 "wailing woman", /munabbītum/ (< *nabbû* "to wail, lament") and 6 women who had "to respond", *eme-bal*.⁸⁸ Each of the six women received 2 KIN-measure of wool. In the second group, the "wailing woman" was accompanied by 5 "responding women"; the first received 1 shawl and 3 *na₄*-measures of wool, the other five only 3 *na₄*-measures of wool each. These women had "to wail (over the dead person), to mourn", *ér*.⁸⁹

2. The ceremony of princess Tište-damu had only one group of mourning women, TM.75.G.2276 rev. I 3–11: 1 túg-NI.NI 3 *na₄* siki 1 dam *mu-na-bi-tum* 12 *na₄* siki 6 dam *eme-bal-sù*.
3. The mourners for the burial of Dusigu, the king's mother are listed in a different order 1962(+) rev. II' 1'- [1 túg-NI.NI dam *mu-na-bi-tum*] 14 [KIN siki] 7 dam *eme-ba[l]* dam *ér I[N]*² 1 túg-NI.NI dam *mu-n[a]-bi-tu[m]* 10 KIN [siki] 10 da[m] *ra-zi-ma-tum* 1 sal-TÚG 1 íb+III-TÚG-gùn al₆-èn-tar⁹⁰ ["[1 shawl (for) the woman soloist], 14 [KIN measures of wool] (for) 7 women (who acted as) the chorus (for) mourning; 1 shawl (for) the woman soloist 10 KIN measures [of wool] (for) 10 women, the mourning women; 1 fine garment 1 loin-cloth: the questioning woman [".
4. Four *ra-zi-ma-tum* who took part in the burial of king Irkab-damu are mentioned in TM.75.G.1938 rev. XIII 11–15: 4 KIN siki 4 dam *ra-zi-ma-tum al₆* ÉxPAP *Ír-kab-da-mu*. TM.75.G.1708 obv. II 1–4 (Ibrium I) refers to the same event: 2 zara₆-TÚG 2 sal-TÚG 2 dam *ér en*.
5. ARET 1.11 § 51 and § 56 concern the issue of garments to a girl and a woman for the lamentation in honour of Adada, the mother of Dusigu (the king's mother): 1 gu-mug-TÚG dumu-munus 'À-gi *ér ama-gal Du-si-gu*; 1 GIŠ-KIN

⁸⁷ This passage, and an analysis of the wailing rites, have been already presented in Archi 2002b: 183–86 [183–184].

⁸⁸ The Lexical Lists (VE 179) give several forms from the root *'pl, one of which is *da-da-bi-lu* /ta'tap(p)ilu(m)/, which has been translated as 'interpreter' on the basis of the meaning of the Sumerian word in later periods (Conti 1990: 94). In the context of the funerary ceremony, it means "respondent".

⁸⁹ Lexical Lists (VE 717) *ér* = *ba-ga-um* /bakāyium/; Akk. *bakû(m)*. Cfr Ug. *bkyt* "wailing woman".

⁹⁰ The Lexical Lists (VE 987) have *al-èn-tar* = *šá-ul-tum/du-um* /ša'ultum/ or /ša'últum/, from *š'l, cfr Akk. *šālu(m)* "to ask, to question", cf. Krebern timer 1983: 36. *al-èn-tar* is attested also in ARET 12.1035 III 2; TM.75.G.1444 rev. VII 18, see Edzard 1981a: 55.

siki *ra-zi-tum A-da-da* ama-gal *Du-si-gu*.⁹¹ The death of Adada is mentioned in section (26).

6. TM.75.G.1356 rev. II 9–III 14: *Îr-am₆-ma-lik Zi-ik^{ki} si-in ÊxPAP ...* (1 + 1 + 1 garments) *I-bí-zi-kir ér-sù lú úš Îr-am₆-ma-lik Zi-ik^{ki} in NE-a-u₉^{ki} šu-ba₄-ti*; TM.75.G.2287 rev. III 8–16: 1 *'à-da-um-TÚG ér I-bí-zi-kir in Maš-ga-du^{ki} šu-ba₄-ti lú úš dumu-munus dingir en*.

From these passages we can deduce that the wailing rites consisted of a kind of liturgical responsory, with a soloist, the *munabbītum*, and a responding chorus, dam eme-bal, of five/six women (passage 1 foresees the presence of two groups of women). Their task was “to mourn, to weep,” the dead: ér (passages 5, 6 and also 1). The dam ér were the dam *ra-zi-ma-tum* (passages 3 and 4).⁹² The burial of Dusigu also required the presence [23] of a “questioning woman”, al₆-èn-tar (passage 3).

4.4 Clothes for the former deceased

A peculiar custom characterized the funerary ritual. In case of the death of an important person (belonging to the royal family or that of the minister) garments were “consigned for the funerary ceremony”, šu-mu-tag₄ *si-in ÊxPAP*, also for some illustrious ancestor, first of all the previous kings Igriš-Ḫalab and Irkab-damu. Only if the deceased was a woman, did female ancestors receive clothes together with two silver togglepins. In some cases, the former minister Ibrium also appears among the illustrious deceased of the royal family.⁹³

a) male deceased of the royal family

1. *A-bur-da-si-in dumu-nita en* “son of the king”, probably of Igriš-Ḫalab. ARET 12.298 (Arrukum) obv. IV 1–9: 1 *gu-zi-tum-TÚG A-burda-si-in ÊxPAP* 4 *gu-zi-TÚG* 1 *zara₆-TÚG* 1 *aktum-TÚG* 2 *íb+III-gùn-sa₆ en-en ÊxPAP* | 1 *zara₆-TÚG* 1 *bu-di* 4 *níg-lá-ZI.ZI ma-lik-tum ÊxPAP* (the ancestors are “the kings”, en-en, and “the (former) queen”, *ma-lik-tum*).

⁹¹ For the interpretation of *ra-zi-tum* /rāzittum/ as the sg. form of *ra-zi-ma-tum*, from Arabic *rzm “to cry,” see Pasquali and Mangiarotti 1999.

⁹² For ér related to a PN, see ARET 13.14 § 6, § 16, § 20. P. Fronzaroli translates gù-dé-gù-dé “to cry” in relation to ér, in sections (5) and (6).

⁹³ This custom was first noted in Archi 1996b: 26 n. 67, and later studied in Archi 2002b: 183–84 [783–784]. A first list of passages was given already in Archi 1988b: 216.

2. *I-da-ni-ki-mu* dumu-nita en, son of Igriš-Ḫalab or Irkab-damu. TM.75.G.11549: 2 'à-da-um-TÚG-II 2 íb+IV-TÚG-gùn-sa₆ *Ig-rí-iš-Ḫa-lab_x [Ìr-kab-da-mu]*.
3. *I-in^d-à-da* dumu-nita en, probably son of Irkab-damu. TM.75.G.2374 (Ibrium XVI) obv. XI 10-rev. I 1: 1 'à-da-um-TÚG-II 1 aktum-TÚG 1 íb+III-TÚG-gùn-sa₆ 4 aktum-TÚG ti-TÚG 1 íb-lá 1 *si-ti-tum* 1 gír-kun 30 (gín) kù-babbar 2 *gú-li-lum* a-gar₅-gar₅ kù-gi *I-in^d-à-da* dumu-nita en ÉxPAP | 2 'à-da-um-TÚG-II 2 íb+III-TÚG-gùn *Ig-rí-iš-Ḫa-lab_x Ìr-kab-da-mu* šu-mu-tag₄ *si-in* ÉxPAP.

b) *female deceased of the royal family*

4. *A-a-gi-du* dumu-munus en “daughter of the king”. TM.75.G.1335 (Ibbi-zikir I) obv. IX 7–X 1: 1 zara₆-TÚG 10 (gín) kù-babbar 2 *bu-di A-a-gi-du si-in* ÉxPAP 3 'à-da-um-TÚG-II 3 íb+IV-TÚG-gùn-sa₆ *Ig-rí-iš-Ḫa-lab_x Ìr-kab-da-mu Ib-rí-um* (the minister, who follows here the two deceased kings, died in the preceding year) | 2 gíd-TÚG *Kéš-du-ud wa NE-ti-bù-du* šu-mu-tag₄.
5. *Dar-ib-da-mu*, daughter of the king, priestess. TM.75.G.2334 (Ibbi-zikir XIV?) obv. III 10–IV 16: (goods) mu-DU *I-bí-zi-kir Dar-ib-da-mu* dumu-munus en dam-dingir *si-in* ÉxPAP šu-mu-tag₄ 6 gíd-TÚG babbar 6 níg-lá-ZI.ZI lú é-ti-TÚG 10 (gín) kù-babbar 2 *bu-di* 15 (gín) kù-babbar 6 *bu-di* 5 (gín) lú é-siki *Du-si-gú Di-rín-da-mu Kéš-du-ud Dar-kab-da-mu Gi-mi-NI-za-du Iš-ru₁₂-ud* | 4 'à-da-um-TÚG-II 4 aktum-TÚG 4 íb+IV-TÚG-gùn-sa₆ *Ig-rí-iš-Ḫa-lab_x Ìr-kab-da-mu Ìr-ib-da-mu Ib-rí-um si-in* ÉxPAP *Dar-ib-da-mu* šu-mu-tag₄ (Dusigu was the king's mother; Kešdud a former queen, the other ladies were princesses. Irib-damu was the uncle of the deceased).
6. *Gi-mi-NI-za-du*, sister of Tabur-damu the *malik-tum* spouse of king Išar-damu. ARET 4.9 (Ibbi-zikir) §§ 18–19: 2 zara₆-TÚG 2 gu-dùl-TÚG *Kéš-du-ud wa NE-ti-bù-du* | 3 'à-da-um-TÚG-II 3 íb+IV-TÚG-gùn-sa₆ *Ig-rí-iš-Ḫa-lab_x wa Ìr-ib-da-mu Ìr-kab-da-mu* (Kešdud was possibly the *maliktum* of Igriš-Ḫalab; NEti-butu (the queen's mother) was GimiNI-zadu's mother, and spouse, dam, of Irib-damu who also appears in this list being the father of the deceased).⁹⁴
7. *Kir-su-ud* dam en “woman of the king”. TM.75.G.2357 (Ibbi-zikir) rev. VI 14–VII 6: 1 gíd-TÚG *Kir-su-ud si-in* ÉxPAP 2 'à-da-um-TÚG-II 2 aktum-TÚG 2 íb+IV-TÚG-gùn-sa₆ [*Ìr-kab-da-mu*] *wa Ig-rí-iš-Ḫa-lab_x | 1 zara₆-TÚG Kéš-du-ud Kir-su-ud* šu-mu-tag₄.
8. *Maš-ga-sa-du*, woman of the king. TM.75.G.2506(+) (Ibbi-zikir) obv. IX 9–X 7: 1 zara₆-TÚG *Maš-ga-sa-du* dam en *si-in* ÉxPAP šu-mu-tag₄ *wa 1 zara₆-TÚG*

⁹⁴ See already Archi 2002b: 164–67, 183 [764–767, 783].

Kéš-du-ud / 2 'à-da-um-TÚG-II 2 aktum-TÚG 2 íb+IV-TÚG-gùn-sa₆ *Ig-rí-iš-Ḫa-lab_x* *Îr-kab-da-mu Maš-ga-sa-du si-in* ÉxPAP šu-mu-tag₄.

9. *Má-ga-ra-du*, woman of the king. TM.75.G.2337(+) (Ibbi-zikir) obv. VII 24–VIII 6: 1 zara₆-TÚG *Má-ga-ra-du* dam en *si-in* ÉxPAP šu-mu-tag₄ 2 túg-gùn 2 íb+IV-TÚG-gùn-sa₆ *Îr-kab-da-mu wa Ig-rí-iš-Ḫa-lab_x* | 1 zara₆-TÚG *Du-si-gú Má-ga-ra-du* šu-mu-tag₄.
10. *Ti-iš-te-da-mu* dumu-munus en “daughter of the king”. TM.75.G.2276 (Ibbi-zikir) obv. II 12–IV 8: mu-DU *I-bí-zí-kir Ti-iš-te-da-mu* dumu-munus en *si-in* ÉxPAP 3 'à-da-um-TÚG-II 3 aktum-TÚG 3 íb+IV-TÚG-gùn-sa₆ *Ig-rí-iš-Ḫa-lab_x* *Îr-kab-da-mu Ib-rí-um* 3 zara₆-TÚG 8 *bu-di* 15 (gín) kù-babbar *Kéš-du-ud Du-si-gú Dar-kab-du-lum* 4 zara₆-TÚG *Ti-rín-da-mu Gi-mi-za-du Iš-ru₁₂-ud Dar-ib-da-mu* 1 aktum-TÚG 1 íb+III-TÚG-gùn-sa₆ *Îr-ib-da-mu si-in* ÉxPAP *Ti-iš-te-da-mu* šu-mu-tag₄.⁹⁵
11. [FPN] ARET 3.240 III 3–5: 5 zara₆-TÚG 5 níg-lá-ZI.ZI *Kéš-du-ut Dar₅-kad-du-lum* [. [24]

c) *deceased of the family of the minister*

12. *A-zi-mu*, wife of Ibrium and ama-gal “mother” of Ibbi-zikir. TM.75.G.12116 obv. III 1: | *Du-si-gú* ama-gal en | 3 'à-da-um-TÚG-II 3 aktum-TÚG 3 íb+IV-TÚG-gùn-sa₆ *Ig-rí-iš-Ḫa-lab_x* *Îr-kab-da-mu Ib-rí-um si-in* ÉxPAP *A-zi-mu* (besides Azimu’s husband, there are the two previous kings and the king’s mother).
13. *Těš-má-da-mu*, daughter of Ibrium. TM.75.G.1829 (Ibbi-zikir X) rev. II 1–III 3: 1 zara₆-TÚG 1 pad-TÚG 2 *bu-di* 20 (gín) kù-babbar 2 sag-sù kù-gi *Těš-má-da-mu* dam *Iš₁₁-gi-bar-zú si-in* ÉxPAP 1 'à-da-um-TÚG-II 1 aktum-TÚG 1 íb+IV-TÚG-gùn-sa₆ *Ib-rí-um* / wa 1 zara₆-TÚG 2 *bu-di* kù-babbar 10 (gín) *Dab₆-du-da-mu* dam *I-bí-zí-kir Těš-ma-da-mu* šu-mu-tag₄ (*Dabdu-damu*, the minister’s wife, and sister-in-law of *Tešmadamu*, was already dead).
14. *Ti-lu-du*, woman of Ibrium, TM.75.G.2435(+) (Ibbi-zikir) obv. XI 6–14: 1 zara₆-TÚG 10 (gín) kù-babbar 2 *bu-di Ti-lu-du* [si-]in ÉxPAP 1 'à-da-um-TÚG-II 1 íb+IV-TÚG-gùn-sa₆ *Ib-rí-um Ti-lu-du* šu-mu-tag₄.

d) *others*

15. *A-da-da* ama-gal “mother” of Dusigu, the wife of king Irkab-damu. ARET 1.11 (Ibrium I) § 26: 1 'à-da-um-TÚG-II 1 aktum-TÚG 1 íb+III-TÚG-gùn a-mu *Du-si-gu* “father of Dusigu (and husband of the deceased)” šu-mu-tag₄.

⁹⁵ Ibid.: 176–77 [776–778].

16. *Bu¹(MUNU₄)-ma-ì lú geštin* “the man of the wine”. TM.75.G.1781 (MEE 7.50) (Ibbi-zikir) obv. V 11–16: 2 aktum-TÚG 2 íb+III-TÚG-gùn-sa₆ *Îr-kab-da-mu Ig-rí-iš-Ħa-lab_x si-in* ÉxPAP *šu-mu-tag₄*.
17. *Du-bí-šum lú Sá-gú-si*. ARET 15.27 (Arrukum) (26): 1 *gu-zi-tum* 1 íb+III-TÚG-gùn-sa₆ *Ig-rí-iš-Ħa-lab_x* ÉxPAP.
18. *I-ib-ma-lik*, brother of Dusigu, king Išar-damu’s mother. TM.75.G.1934(+) (Ibbi-zikir) rev. I 6–16: 1 ’à-da-um-TÚG-II 1 aktum-TÚG 1 íb+III-TÚG-gùn-sa₆ 1 *gú-li-lum-I a-gar₅ kù-gi 10 (gín) I-ib-ma-lik šeš ama-gal en si-in* ÉxPAP 1 zara₆-TÚG *Du-si-gu I-ib-ma-lik* *šu-mu-tag₄*.
19. *Îr-ba_x-zé*. TM.75.G.2529 (Ibbi-zikir) rev. V 12–VI 10: 1 ’à-da-um-TÚG-II 1 íb+III-TÚG-gùn *Îr-ba_x-zé si-in* ÉxPAP 2 ’à-da-um-TÚG-II 2 aktum-TÚG 2 íb+III-TÚG-gùn *Ig-rí-iš-Ħa-lab_x wa Îr-kab-da-mu* / 1 aktum-TÚG 1 íb+III-TÚG-gùn *I-šar* 1 zara₆-TÚG *Kéš-du-ud Îr-ba_x-zé* *šu-mu-tag₄*.
20. (PN). TM.75.G.1937 (Ibrium) rev. I 1–3:] *Ig-rí-iš-Ħa-lab_x wa Îr-kab-da-mu*.
21. (PN). TM.75.G.2644+10000 (Ibbi-zikir) obv. XIII 8–10: 3 ’à-da-um-TÚG-II 3 aktum-TÚG 3 íb+III-TÚG-gùn-sa₆ *gùn Ig-rí-iš-Ħa-lab_x Îr-kab-da-mu* [.

In the earliest text, no. 1 (the minister was Arrukum), the reference to the deceased kings is anonymous: “(for) the kings”, en-en, and 1 mantel “(for) the queen”, *ma-lik-tum*, probably Kešdud, who could have been the spouse of Igriš-Ħalab. The former kings, Igriš-Ħalab and Irkab-damu, are mentioned for two other princes (nos. 2, 3). In no case is there any mention of a king prior to Igriš-Ħalab.

In case of the funerary ceremony of a lady, female ancestors also appear as well as illustrious deceased related in some way to the royal family. For A’agidu (no. 4), alongside two former kings Ibrium appears, the minister who had died the previous year; to the former queen Kešdud is added NEti-budu, the mother of the queen Tabur-damu. Ibrium appears also in nos. 5, 10, 13. For GimiNI-zadu, the queen’s sister, both of her parents are mentioned: Irib-damu and NEti-budu. Irib-damu also appears in the passages nos. 5 and 10. Dusigu, the king’s mother, appears in nos. 5, 9 and 10. The funerary ceremony of Darib-damu (no. 5) concerned six deceased ladies: besides Kešdud, Dusigu and GimiNI-zadu (the queen’s sister), there are three princesses (*dumu-munus en*): Darkab-damu, Dirindamu and Išrud.

For two wives of minister Ibrium, only their husband was involved (nos. 12 and 14), while for a daughter of this minister her sister-in-law appears besides her father (no. 13).

Dusigu also appears in the funerary ceremonies of her mother and brother (nos. 15 and 18). The former kings could be related to the rites of some officials (nos. 16, 17, 19).

Clothing for the dead persons related to the deceased were of the same type as those which they would have worn whilst alive. They were definitely not miniature versions destined to clothe statuettes representing the ancestors. It is to be noted that it is *the deceased himself* who “consigns”, (š_u-mu-tag₄) the clothes for the ancestors on the occasion of his own funerary ceremony, ÉxPAP.⁹⁶

An initial explanation could be that, opening the tomb for the new deposition, the corpses of the closest ancestors were dressed in new clothes. In this case, the tombs must have been of a particular kind, the most remarkable examples of which are those of Tell Bi’a and tomb 7 of Tell Banat, with its five-room structure (similarly, the Middle Bronze mausoleum of Qaṭna). Since it is unthinkable that numerous graves or tombs for the mentioned ancestors were opened, the mausoleum must have been capable of holding all of the deceased of the royal family, male and female, as well as the minister Ibrium, what is unlikely. It is even more difficult to accept that, in this same mausoleum, the father and mother (Irib-damu and NEti-budu), [25] as well as the sister (GimniNI-zadu) of the last queen, Tabur-damu, were interred. In the case of the two wives of Ibrium, in the ceremony for the first (no. 12) two former kings are involved, Igriš-Ḫalab and Irkab-damu (as well as Ibrium). In the ceremony for the second wife (no. 14) only Ibrium appears. It is highly unlikely that these women, or certain officials, however faithful they may have been, (nos. 16, 17, 19) were buried in the royal mausoleum.

A simpler explanation is that such clothing was used to dress figures representing the most important ancestors (possibly just a skeleton of wood with a mask), which were exhibited during the funeral ceremony.⁹⁷ This hypothesis has now been confirmed by a passage where, on the occasion of the funeral of one of the king’s women, the image (alam) of another king’s woman who died previously, was provided with two cloths, TM.75.G.10079 (Ibrium XIII) rev. X 4–14: 2 aktum-TÚG 1 ti-TÚG-ti-TÚG 1 zara₆-TÚG Ra-ba_x-tum dam en ÉxPAP | 1 gu-dùl-TÚG 1 tóg-NI.NI al₆ alam Ti-nu-ud dam en ÉxPAP “2 + 1 + 1 garments (for) Rabatum, the woman of the king, (for her) funerary ceremony; 1 + 1 garments on the image⁹⁸ of Tinud, (a deceased) woman of the king, (for) the funerary ceremony (of Rabatum)”.⁹⁹

⁹⁶ Some texts are terse in this respect (e.g. nos. 1, 4, 17), others rather circumstantial (nos. 3, 5, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 18, 19).

⁹⁷ I have already pointed to the role of the wax *imagines* in the aristocratic funerals in Ancient Rome (and Peru), Archi 2002b: 184 [784].

⁹⁸ Alam means “image”. At Ebla, “statue(tte)” is an-dùl; in Presargonic Mari and in Old Akkadian: dùl; in Mari of the *šakkanakkū* period: an-dùl. alam for “statue” is used, instead, in the Sumerian inscriptions of the Presargonic period.

⁹⁹ This passage has been quoted in Biga 2007-08: 264. The documents do not present any other evidence of images or statues of deceaseds.

The presence of the ancestors, materialized in the funerary rites by means of images dressed with their usual garments, had the function of stressing the deceased's appurtenance to the former members of the family; to reaffirm his/her status; to introduce him/her in the Netherworld. There is no other evidence of images or statues of the deceased in the written documents.¹⁰⁰ The cult of the ancestors (en-en-né-ne) in pre-Sargonic Lagaš needed, among several kinds of offerings, also garments, very probably for statues, summarized as “garments to the spirits”, túg-gidim-e-ne kam (Fö 163 VI 1),¹⁰¹ or “to the ancestors,” KU.KU-ne (Fö 164 VII 6).¹⁰² This ancestor cult must, however, be kept distinct from the ritual actions related to the burial, as it is attested for Ebla.¹⁰³

4.5 The purification of members of the deceased's family: the ì-giš-sag rite

The funerary ceremony (ÉxPAP) was followed by the purification ceremony (ì-giš-sag “anointing of the head”) of the members of the deceased's family. When Dabdu-damu, Ibbi-zikir's wife, died, her husband received for this rite 1 cloak, 1 skirt or tunic, 1 loin-cloth; 1 belt with sheath and frog (1'â-da-um-TÚG 1 aktum-TÚG [1 íb+IV-TÚG-gùn-sa₆] 1 íb-lá 1 si-ti-tum 1 gír-kun ì-giš-sag I-bí-zi-kir), ARET IV 24 (9) and (11). The wife of minister Arrukum received 1 mantel and 2 toggle pins of 157 g of silver for her husband's death, ARET 15.10 § 70: 1 zara₆-TÚG 2 bu-di GÁXLÁ 20 gín DILMUN kù-babbar ì-giš-sag dam Ar-ru₁₂-

100 A female statuette, TM.07.G.231 (h. 15 cm), with a long black steatite gown from which a breast and the arms in silver (like the face) emerge, may represent only a mourning women. Matthiae relates this statuette to another one (h. 7 cm) representing a sitting lady covered with a kaunakes mantle of gold: this one should be the deceased queen, while the mourning figure should represent the new queen (Matthiae 2009a: 283–289).

101 Bauer 1972: 471. On the reading of this line, Talon 1974.

102 Bauer 1972: 476. The texts have been studied by Deimel 1920.

103 The literature on the written evidence concerning the worship of royal ancestors in the Early Dynastic III period in Mesopotamia has been discussed by Hallo 1992: 390–91. For a distinction between cult of the dead and caring for statues (Totenkult – Ahnenverehrung) see Jonker 1995: 79–81, with previous literature in n. 30. See, further, Cohen 2005: 104–105. On the desire to be remembered, see *Bilgames' Death* from Meturan, lines 298–301: “Men, as many as are given names, their statues have been fashioned since days of old, and stationed in chapels in the temples of the gods, so that their names, being read aloud, cannot be forgotten”, translation by Veldhuis 2001: 146; see, further, Wilcke 2004. For the representation of the deceased by a figurine for a commemorative ritual to be performed periodically, see Katz 1999: 109. On the concerning to preserve the appearance of the corpse as image of the deceased, see Assmann 2001: 105–106.

gúm. MEE 12.35 (an annual document concerning only gold and silver deliveries) registers in (4a) the usual: 1 íb-lá 1 *si-ti-tum* 1 *gír-kun* (of 235 g of gold) for the *ì-giš-sag* of the king of the city of Burman. This ceremony was in relation to the death of the wife of one of the king's sons, section (17); on this occasion, the diplomatic relations acknowledged the king of the city, not the widower.

These three passages show that the goods for the purification ceremony were exactly the same as those given to the deceased in the funerary ceremony and consisted of basic clothing for a man and a woman.

There was reciprocity between the royal houses in this regard. When king Irkab-damu died, the kings of Ra'ak and Manuwat each sent the usual cloak, skirt or tunic and loin-cloth; the former added a plate of 235 g of gold, ARET 14.54 § 40 and § 43. Moreover, the king of Manuwat sent 1 band and 2 toggle pins of 157 g of silver for the *ì-giš-sag* of Dusigu, the king's wife, while the minister Ibrium gave more generously for the same purpose (apparently from the palace treasury!): 1 mantel (*zara₆-TÚG*) and 2 toggle pins of 470 g of gold, sections §§ 44–45. [26]

According to the yearly mu-DU document for the year following the death of Dusigu, king Išar-malik's mother ARET 14.81 (Ibbi-zikir III), each of the kings of the friendly city-states sent the usual clothes and toggle pins (for a total of 948 g of gold) “(as) gifts (for) the mother of the king on the occasion of her death”, *níg-ba ama-gal en in ud úš*, that is for the funerary ceremony, section § 65. They were the kings of NÍrar, Kakmium, Dub, Kablul, Imar, Burman and Ra'ak. Then the minister Ibbi-zikir gave the usual set of clothes and belt (1'*à-da-um-TÚG* 1 *aktum-TÚG* 1 íb+IV-TÚG-gùn-sa₆ 1 íb-lá 1 *si-ti-tum* 1 *gír-kun*) for the *ì-giš-sag* of his king, and the usual mantel (*zara₆-TÚG*) and toggle pins for the *ì-giš-sag* of his queen, section § 66. Roughly the same clothes and objects for the *ì-giš-sag* of the king and the queen were also given by the kings of the cities of Imar, Dub, Ra'ak, NÍrar and Ḫarran.

Given the importance of the role of the minister at Ebla, the death of Ibrium was also a politically relevant event. The kings of Kakmium, Ra'ak, NÍrar and Utig sent the usual clothes and belt for the purification of the king of Ebla (*ì-giš-sag en*), ARET 14.71 §§ 31–34. The king of Kakmium added 2 *gu-dùl-TÚG* 2 *zara₆-TÚG* and 4 toggle pins of gold for the purification of the mother of the king and the queen (*ama-gal en wa maliktum*), section § 45.¹⁰⁴

The private ceremony (conducted within Ibrium's family) appears in the first annual document of his son, Ibbi-zikir, TM.75.G.1860 (MEE 10.20), which registers (obv. I 15–II 14) the usual toggle pins (of different weights) for the

104 See already Archi 1996b: 25–26.

purification ceremony of the fourteen wives of the minister: *ì-giš-sag A-zi-mu Ti-lu-ud Téš-má-^dUtu ... Ti-a-da-mu Kir-su-ud Ti-a-bar-zú ... Ḫa-lu-ud Ḫa-šu Ī-lum-’ā-gur-NI Da-mur-da-mu Na-mur-ra-du ... Ša-mu-nu-du NI-bū-du Ma-ga-na-du dam-dam Ib-rí-um.*

4.6 Final considerations

The administrative documents of Ebla record three moments from the funerary rite for members of the elite, those for whom valuable objects were required. These are: the personal belongings for the burial; the wailing rite; the purification of the members of the family.

- a) Gender-specificity is reflected in the funerary gifts (weapons for men; jewels for women) and in the choice of ancestors who were to introduce the deceased into the Netherworld. For the men, only male ancestors were taken into consideration whereas, for the women, both male and female ancestors were involved (4.4). This difference was due quite simply to the different functions of the two genders, and not to any disparity in status, since the value of the funeral gifts and the importance of the wailing rite were analogous. The marriage ceremony celebrated at the mausoleum of NEnaš also shows that the king and queen enjoyed the same status (1.4). If alongside three early ancestors their queens are not recorded this is probably simply because they had been forgotten. The cult of the deceased kings at Darib (1.5) ignored the queens because in the dynastic cult the political functions of the king were predominant. It is likely that the queen and secondary spouses were buried in the royal tomb.¹⁰⁵
- b) At Ebla (as at Umm el-Marra), it is possible that an equid was sacrificed on the occasion of the funeral of an important man. For the burial both of the minister Ibrium and of Dusigu, the mother of the king, gold decorations of the harness of two mules or he-asses and the wheels of a vehicle are recorded. TM.75.G.1923(+) obv. XIII 10–16: 1 ma-na kù-gi UNKEN-ak 2 ní-ganše-ak 4 kù-sal <2 BAR.AN(?)> wa nu₁₁-za 2 GIŠ-GAM.GAM GIŠ-gígir-II (Ibrium); TM.75.G.1962 obv. VII 3–8: ... nu₁₁-za 1 zag 1 GIŠ-ĒxGÍGIR ... 2 IGI.NITA (Dusigu). These chariots or carts undoubtedly served to transport the corpse to the grave. It may be noted that a 2-wheeled chariot (used

¹⁰⁵ The use to bury men and women of the elite in the same tomb is attested for the EB IV at Tuttul / Tall Bi’a, Strommenger – Kohlmeyer 1998: 53, 65; at Umm el-Marra, Schwartz 2007: 48; and for MB II and LB I, at Qatna. A different strategy was in use in the Neo-Assyrian period. References in Lion 2009: 280–285.

also in a battle) was reserved for the minister, whilst a covered cart was used for the mother of the king. We do not know whether the two animals that drew each cart were then killed. In the case of Ibrum there is also the harness of one he-ass, obv. XIII 24–26: 15 gín DILMUN kù-gi 1 níg-anše-ak 2 kù-sal 1 IGI.NITA. We have no explanation for the presence of this animal, most certainly not used to draw the chariot of the minister in war: for this purpose, a couple of mules was used (BAR.AN). One may, purely as a hypothesis, think that the ass was sacrificed.

- c) Anthropologists stress certain social aspects of the ancestor veneration. The ostentatious nature of the funerary rites and the dislocation of some mortuary monuments, instrumental for the elites in reinforcing of their authority and status, are ‘used’ to legitimize the social order of the present. A dramatic event, such as death (even that of others) is transformed into an aseptic laboratory exercise: “the transformative work of distilling a social person into a non-living entity often involves commemorative rites, expressions of mourning, religious observations, sanctioned processing of the physical bodies of the dead and the living, as well as remembering certain aspects [27] of that person and his or her life while forgetting others”.¹⁰⁶ In this manner we risk losing sight of another element: the profound emotion provoked by the loss of a dear one (together with a sense of fulfilment on the part of the person who inherits an important role). The complex wailing rites for the death of a member of Ebla’s royal family, (4.3) represented the ritualisation of this emotional reaction. Documents of different kinds and from other periods testify to the manner in which sorrow and disorientation were expressed in these situations. The hymn *Urnamma A* declares that “the days are full of sorrow”.¹⁰⁷ The Hittite funerary ritual starts with these words: “When in Hattusa a great disaster occurs: either the king or queen becomes god, all, big and small, take away their (drinking-)straw and start to wail”.¹⁰⁸ When El learns of Ba’l’s death, “he pours ashes of mourning on his head, dust of humiliation on his cranium, for clothing, he is covered with a girded garment. With a stone he scratches incisions on (his) skin, with a razor he cuts cheeks and chin...”¹⁰⁹
- d) The jewels used to adorn the princesses on their burial were exactly the same kind of jewels that they received as gifts for their wedding. The weap-

¹⁰⁶ Chesson 2007: 109.

¹⁰⁷ Flückiger-Hawker 1999: 154–55.

¹⁰⁸ Kassian – Korolëv – Sidelt’shev 2002: 46–47.

¹⁰⁹ Hallo – Lawson Younger 1997: 269–270; cf. Niehr 2009: 329–30. For the social relevance of the “bewailing”, *bikītum*, of the dead in the Old Assyrian documentation, see Veenhof 2008: 114–118.

ons for the men were decorated with gold.¹¹⁰ Those provided by the administration for the ministers Arrukum and Ibrium and for other officials (together with decorations for the chariots that carried the corpse) (4.2c, g) were quite definitely new. It is not certain whether the princesses' jewels were, instead, those they had owned whilst alive and which the administration considered, nevertheless, as outgoing goods. There was only one example of each kind of gift. A number of garments of the same type represented an exception.¹¹¹ It is, therefore, certain the precious goods for the grave have to be considered as exclusively *personal adornments*.¹¹² No implement such as mirrors, combs, tweezers or drinking-tubes can be identified in the lists. The precious goods did not concern the deceased's daily activity. Ladies received four kinds of vessels in precious metals: a "cup," an-zam_x, provided with a "lid", pad; a "jug," GIŠ-šú, and two kinds of "goblet", níg-bànda and zi-bar.¹¹³ The gifts for both Ibrium (4.2g) and Paba (4.2i), the spouse of Iplu(š)-il, included also 1 GIŠ-šú 1 níg-bànda "jug" and "goblet".¹¹⁴ The precious equipment served the purpose of displaying, for the last time, the social status of the deceased to those from whom he was now definitively separated, and of identifying his/her status in the afterlife. The vessels (in silver and gold for those of high rank) were for consuming the food given to them. Continuity between this life and the next was also emphasised by the clothes, of the same kind and colour as those worn whilst alive: white (babbar) and red-brown (ú-háb),¹¹⁵ not black (ge₆).¹¹⁶ There is no evidence of apotropaic objects to appease ghosts, nor of any precious gifts for deities of the underworld.¹¹⁷ Nor can it be claimed that precious objects other than those used to dress the corpse were hoarded

110 Archi 2002b: 178–82 [].

111 4.2e: for the queen of Manuwat; f: for the mother of Dusigu.

112 The scanty evidence on this subject from the written documentation of Amorite Mari and from the grave of a son of the *šakkanakku* Iddin-ilum point also in this direction. An inventory of the goods for a royal grave of Alalaḫ VII lists eleven vases in silver, a pectoral, the decoration of horses and a chariot; see Charpin 2008: 75–81.

113 Archi 2002b: 187, 190–91, 194, 199 [787, 790–791, 793–794, 797–798].

114 The GIŠ-šú for Iplu(š)-il (4.2i) could have been, however, a shield.

115 Or greenish, Scurlock 2008: 175 n. 70.

116 The king received instead a black bag (*gār-su*) for the purification ceremony, 4.3, 1. Pasquali thinks that white was "un symbole de renaissance, un emblème de vie", Pasquali 2005: 170. I prefer to see in it a sign of survival in the Netherworld.

117 These gifts are documented by an often quoted Neo-Assyrian text, K.7856(+) I 13–24: "Objects of gold and silver, everything worthy of a tomb, personal belonging that he (i.e. my father) used to love. I showed to Šamaš and placed with my father in the tomb. I offered gifts to the princely Anunnaki and the spirits who dwell in the underworld", McGinnis 1987: 2–4.

in the tombs. It is unlikely that the gifts sent by seven kings “(as) gifts (for Dusigu,) the mother of the king, on the occasion of her death”, (4.5) that is to say, 7 pairs of gold toggle pins and several garments, mostly of the same kind, were placed in Dusigu’s tomb after her burial. These were ritual gifts, as were the funerary gifts sent to Mari for the queen Paba (4.2i), or those sent for the kings of other cities (4.2d); their function concluded with their delivery.¹¹⁸

- e) The administrative documents give no indication of grave furnishings, nor could they in the case of pottery or stone vessels, wooden objects or food since the administration did not keep accounts for such goods.¹¹⁹ [28]
- f) The ancestors introduced the deceased into the Netherworld (4.4). At Ugarit, a thousand years later, the king achieved his privileged status in the Underworld greeted by his ancestors who had been evoked precisely for this purpose.¹²⁰
- g) The remains of the ancestors ensured their presence and protected the dynasty. The annual ritual at the mausoleum of NEnaš, which commemorated the marriage of the king and queen (1.9), represented a periodic renewal of the investiture of the royal couple by three of the earliest kings.
- h) The “offering/festival of the stele” *nídba* / *ḥúl na-rú* was not a funerary ceremony. It is attested also for living persons.¹²¹

118 For the Mari letter concerning the opening of Yaḥdun-lim’s grave for obtaining bronze, see Charpin 2008: 78–79.

119 On the possibility to distinguish between “Tracht-” and “Beigabensitte”, see Meyer 2000. For the interpretation of some objects found in the cemetery of Ur as the functional residue of ritual performances, see Winter 1999. In the hypogeum of Tell Ahmar (of about the same period of the Ebla archives), besides two skeletons, 1045 complete vessels and thirty-five copper or bronze weapons were found, suggesting continued reuse of the tomb and ritual performances.

120 Niehr 2009: 333–34. A similar situation could be deduced for Qatna of the Late Bronze period from the heading of a jewellery inventory: “Tablet of the jewellery of the gods of the king (*ša DINGIR^{MEŠ} LUGAL*)”, and the two notations: *ša DINGIR^(MEŠ) a-bi*, Fales 2004: 92–94.

121 Archi 1998a*: 20–22 [717–718]; Pomponio ARET 15,1: 77.

36 Hadda of Ḫalab and his Temple in the Ebla Period

For David Hawkins
as a token of a long friendship
and in admiration

During the twenty-fourth century BC, Aleppo, centre of cult of the weather god Hadda, was administered by an overseer under the control of Ebla, whose major god was Kura. Although Hadda had a temple in Mari, the region of the Middle Euphrates was dominated by the cult of Dagan, while Hadabal was the god of the Orontes valley. The king and his family played a regular role in the rites of Hadda at Aleppo. Twice a year, a renewal rite required the replacement of his mace and pair of bull's horns. Besides the mace, a chariot and two bulls with human faces were attributed to this god, an iconography which lasted into subsequent centuries.

1 The god Hadda and Aleppo

By midway through the third millennium BC the prestige of Hadda of Ḫalab already exceeded that of any other deity in northern Syria. According to the Ebla archives (ca. 2400–2350 BC) there were only two important hypostases of Hadda: those of Ḫalab (^dĀ-da Ḫa-lab^{ki})¹ and of Lub (^dĀ-da Lu-ub^{ki}; Lu₅-bū^{ki} is an uncommon writing). They occur in a ratio of roughly 3:1.² Ḫalab, there-

Iraq 72 (2010) 3–17.

¹ von Soden 1987: 84 (followed by Astour 1988: 147 and n. 50), and Lambert 1990: 641–43, have suggested identifying the toponym Ḫa-LAM^{ki} (often connected with Hadda) with Ḫalab. See also Steinkeller 1993b. Fleming 2000: 168 n. 129 remarks that the alternation *-m/-b* in the name of Ḫalab was still attested in the Emar documents, in the month name Ba'la(EN) Ḫalab. For Ḫa-la-ab, see Arnaud 1986: 427 no. 448 l. 21' (for this passage in the restored text of the *zuku*-ritual, see Fleming 2000: 264); Arnaud 1991: 143 no. 87 l. 36. For Ḫa-la-am, see Arnaud 1991: 44 no. 15 l. 20'. For Ḫa-la-ma see Beckman 1996: 91 no. 71 l. 35. A first study on Aleppo according to the Ebla documents has been published by Archi 1999c: 131–136.

² This ratio is derived from a thorough study of all the documents. Pomponio and Xella 1997: 42–50 list 56 passages for Hadda of Ḫalab and 26 for Hadda of Lub. The references given there at p. 42 for ^dĀ-da Du-ub^{ki} are based on wrong quotations in ARES 2: 220. They concern instead Hadda of Lub! Further, the passage quoted on p. 50: ^dĀ-da Ar-mi^{ki}, concerns a cultic action

fore, was the principal centre of the cult of this god. Lub, a village not far from Ebla, is also well known because the king maintained a secondary residence there, along with some of his women.³

Throughout the period of Ebla's supremacy, Ḫalab was a city-temple, administered by an overseer, ugula, who is rarely mentioned. From this we may deduce that the administrative structure was secondary to the cult of the god, which the Ebla dynasty maintained constantly.

We cannot determine when Ebla succeeded in including in its territory Ḫalab, which lies only sixty kilometres north of the city. Igriš-Ḫalab (the third from last king, who died at least forty years before the city was destroyed) campaigned against Abarsal (north-east of Ḫalab, on the other side of the Euphrates, possibly Tell Chuera); he or his successor, Irkab-damu, managed to impose on this city a treaty favourable to Ebla.⁴ Some of the oldest administrative documents (published in ARET 15, belonging to the period of Irkab-damu) show clearly that Karkamiš (105 km north-east of Ḫalab as the crow flies) was at that time firmly included in the kingdom of Ebla. It is therefore likely that Ḫalab had already belonged to Ebla for some generations, that is at least from the time of Kun-damu, the fifth from last king (Adub-damu, Igriš-Ḫalab's immediate predecessor, would appear to have had a somewhat fleeting reign). The name of Igriš-Ḫalab [4] "(The god of) Ḫalab has driven away (the opponent)"⁵ may commemorate a military campaign that resulted in Ebla gaining control over the territory north of the sanctuary of Ḫalab.⁶

Towards the east, the region of the Middle Euphrates was dominated by the cult of Dagan, with his famous sanctuary at Tuttul on the Baliḫ.⁷ To the west, the area of the cult of the god Hadabal, ^dḫ/A₅(NI)-*da-bal*, extended beyond the mountain ranges which form a natural border to the north-west and

for Hadda at Armi. In TM.75.G.1464 rev. I 13' (quoted on p. 50), read ^dḫ-*da Lu-u*[*b*^{ki}] instead of ^dḫ-*da Lu-ba-an*^{ki}. For Hadda of Luteu (*Lu-te-u*^{ki}), see below, n. 37.

3 ARES 2: 341.

4 ARET 14.1 § 2 records 431 minas of silver (202.57 kg) as tribute from Abarsal, while section § 1 concerns the silver hoarded by Kun-damu and section § 3 that of Igriš-Ḫalab. The dating of the treaty, ARET 13.5, to king Igriš-Ḫalab derives from the mention in section § 34 of *Ti-ir*, who was one of the highest officials of the period between Igriš-Ḫalab and his successor Irkab-damu, see Archi 2000d: 22–25. For the dating of this document see further the commentary by P. Fronzaroli in ARET 13: 56–57. An identification of Abarsal with Tell Chuera is suggested in ARES 2: 89–91.

5 For this interpretation of the name see Fronzaroli 1979a: 7. For the meaning "to drive away" of the verb *gšr in West Semitic, cf. *HAL* I: 196b; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 1996: 151.

6 For the kings of Ebla, see Archi 2001.

7 Archi 1990c* [391–400]. On Dagan, see now Archi 2008a* [648–655].

west of the Ḫalab plain. The numerous cult places dedicated to this god were situated mostly in rural centres west of Ebla, with three main sanctuaries: a) Luban, probably on the slopes of the Jebel Samaane, which runs between Ḫalab and the Antioch plain (‘Amq); b) (L)arugadu, towards the Jebel Zawiye, which delimits the narrow valley of the Orontes; c) Hamadu (‘Ā-ma-du^{ki}), modern-day Hama, roughly seventy kilometres south of Ebla.⁸

A common factor links Dagan to Hadda and Hadabal: the cult of these three gods did not spread on the wave of expansion set in motion by any great political centre. Controlling access from the south to the Baliḥ valley, where this river flows into the Euphrates, Tuttul undoubtedly occupied a dominant, strategic position. Notwithstanding this, however, it never became the capital of a state of any great size, as Mari’s predominance already extended over this area from the early twenty-fourth century.

A similar case is that of Rašap, another great god of the western area, whose principal sanctuaries were at Hadani and Tunip, two minor centres which Ebla early included in its territory.⁹ This phenomenon, of cults dedicated to major deities whose origins did not lie in the dominant political centres, is by no means limited to this historical period or to the Syrian area and may also be encountered, for example, in ancient Greece.

An offering-list, TM.76.G.223, presents some of the major gods of Ebla (the last part, not preserved, could have stated the occasion of the offerings; notice, however, that neither the city-god Kura and his spouse Barama, nor Iṣḫara, whose cult was connected with kingship, are mentioned): 1. [x] gud-gud ^dĀ-da wa [...]; 2. 10 gud ... ^dĀ-da lú Ḫa-lab^{ki}; 3. 2 gud ^dBAD Du-du-lu^{ki}; 4. 2 gud wa 7 ^dUtu lu-na-ab; 5. 2 gud ^dA₅-da-“bal”(KUL) A-ru₁₂-ga-du^{ki}; 6. 2 gud ^dRa-sa-ap ^rA⁻i-du^{ki}; 7. 2 gud ^dḪa-a-ba-du; 8. 2 gud ^dAš-da-bi-il^{ki}; 9. (objects) ^rd¹[‘Ā-d]a; 10. ^dAš-dar Šè-ti^{ki} [...]. The list has first Hadda, and then Hadda in his hypostasis of Ḫalab. His spouse Ḫalabatu (/Ḫalabāytu/) “She of Ḫalab” follows in seventh place. The second god is Dagan of Tuttul, followed by Hadabal represented by just one of his hypostases, that of Arugadu. The sun deity is qualified by an obscure epithet.¹⁰ Aidu and Šetil, which qualify Rašap and Aštar respectively, were two small, rarely mentioned villages (there was an Aštar of the Palace, SA.ZA^{ki}, otherwise this goddess was not usually associated with any place).

⁸ Archi 1979a* [615–621].

⁹ ARES 2: 124–28, 212–13.

¹⁰ The text has: 2 gud / wa / 7 AN.UD / lu-na-ab. In the incantation ARET 5.3 § 1, the sun goddess “makes bricks” /tilabban/, cf. Fronzaroli 1988b: 18. Is lu-na-ab a form with metathesis?

Although all of the Semitic population of Northern Syria must have known of and venerated Hadda at least from the start of the third millennium, the reasons for the predominance of Hadda of Ḫalab are to be sought among historical phenomena whose origins are hidden in the mists of time. Ebla itself undoubtedly played a part in promoting the spread of his cult when (presumably about sixty years before the city's destruction) it became a regional state, eventually capable of maintaining political and economic ties on an equal basis with both Mari and Kiš. The name of Hadda, however, may have reached Babylonia at least eighty years earlier than the Ebla archives, according to a tablet from Abū Šalābiḥ, IAS.518 VIII 2, with the following PN: AN-⁷RU-[(x-)]*ḫa*-LAM.¹¹ This was not the only Syrian deity known in Babylonia. Baliḥ, the river which flows into the Euphrates at Tuttul, already appears as a deity in the god list of Abū Šalābiḥ, in the usual dual form: ^dBa₄-li-*ḫa*.¹² [5]

The pre-Sargonic tablets from Mari attest to a “temple of the god of Ḫalab”, é ^dIl *Ḫa-lab_x*, that is Hadda, even in that city: Nos. 6 I 4 and 20 I 6. According to No. 22 III 6, “the god of Ḫalab”, DINGIR *Ḫa-lab_x*, received victuals.¹³ These documents are roughly contemporary with the period of the Ebla texts, although it is not possible to establish any precise synchronism. At Mari, as at Ebla, Ḫalab was used in the onomasticon as a circumlocution for the god of the town.¹⁴ A person from Mari with the name UR-*Ḫa-lab_x*^{ki}, TM.75.G.10074 obv. XXI 30, appears in a document which dates to roughly ten years before the destruction of Ebla. The presence of the cult of Hadda of Ḫalab at Mari can only be explained by the prestige of this god, for he cannot have been perceived there as a god of Ebla, the rival state.

2 Hadda in the pantheon of Ebla

Hadda and the Sun goddess are the only two deities invoked by name in the concluding paragraph of the political treaty with Abarsal, ARET 13.5, a city which (as we have said above) lay to the east of the Euphrates. Section (5')

¹¹ Pomponio 1991: 142, has suggested that *ḫa*-LAM in this PN is a circumlocution for Hadda of Ḫalab. The text was published by Biggs and Postgate 1978: 111.

¹² Alberti 1985: 14 no. 345; Mander 1986: 68–69. On this god see in general Archi 1992c: 8–9. That *Ba-li-iḫ* ruled over Kiš after the flood, succeeding his father Etana according to the Sumerian King List, cannot represent a simple case of homonymy. For the family name Baliḥu in NB Sippar, see Bongenaar 1997: 464–65.

¹³ For this evidence, see Lambert 1990: 641–643. The tablets were published by Charpin 1987.

¹⁴ On the Eblaite personal names of Ebla with the element Ḫalab, see below, Appendix 1.

runs as follows: “All (those who plot) with evil purpose, the sun deity, Hadda, all the *major* gods shall cause their words to perish as soon as issued”, *ga-^rlum⁻ma / a-dè / ħul kin_x-ag / ^dUtu ^dĀ-da dingir-dingir-dingir-dingir igi / du₁₁-ga-sù / in ^rzé^r zàḥ*. The Sun already appears here as the guarantor of treaties, as in the later cuneiform literature; this deity maintained order and justice because, from his viewpoint in heaven, no earthly event could escape him.¹⁵

Kura, the god of Ebla, is not mentioned in this international document. A local deity, he does however precede the other gods in a decree concerning a private matter, by which king Irkab-damu (Igris-Ḫalab's successor) confirms a gift of lands by the minister Ibrium in favour of his sons. The king calls as witnesses Kura (^d*Ku-ra*), the Sun, Hadda and (all) the gods (dingir-dingir), TM.75.G.1444 §§ 8 and 30.¹⁶ Kura and Hadda were the gods before whom a peace treaty was sworn by the king of Haddu (^ʾ*Ā-du^{ki}*), an important city probably to be identified with Tall Maḥat-ed-Derū.¹⁷ The king of Haddu, who attempted to walk a line between the expansionist tendencies of both Mari and Ebla, admitted to an agent of the king of Mari, that “I and Ebla have a pact of peace (lit.: of the ceremony of the oil). And the oath of the pact is before Kura and before Hadda (gaba ^d*Ku-ra wa gaba ^dĀ-da an-gàl*)”, ARET 13.19 §§ 15–16.

In fact, it was before Kura that peace treaties with Ebla were usually ratified on oath.¹⁸ Kura – not Hadda – was the god of kingship at Ebla. He received offerings of food on the occasion of the king's meal, in the sphere of the royal family's private cult, whilst the other gods received lesser and cumulative gifts. The deliveries of barley (še) follow this order: 1. food and drink (ninda ŠE+TIN) for the king (en; including some members of his family); 2. food for Kura (of the palace); 3. food for the gods of the suburbs (dingir-dingir-dingir eri-bar).¹⁹

In the marriage ritual of the royal couple, the king and queen were placed under the protection of Kura and of his consort Barama respectively, being considered the earthly projections of these two gods. The entire event was seen as a renewal rite: the mother goddess was called upon with the invocation for “a new Kura, a new Barama; a new king, a new queen”.²⁰

15 See the Šamaš Hymn, ll. 83–127, in Lambert 1960: 130–35.

16 Edzard 1981: 36–46, *giš ba-tuku ^dKu-ra wa ^dUtu giš ba-tuku wa giš ba-tuku ^dĀ-da wa giš ba-tuku dingir-dingir* [= ARET 16.27 §§ 8, 27].

17 This tell has been described by Kühne 1983.

18 See the passages quoted by Pomponio and Xella 1997: 223–40 nos. 14, 15, 40, 42–44, 52, 55, 57, 63, 155, 181, 183, 188–196, 201, 202. See, however, ARET 13.11 §§ 9–10, according to which the king of Ebla and the king of Manuwat send ritual offerings to Hadda.

19 ARET 9.4; 5; 6; 7, and the other passages listed there on pp. 371–72.

20 The ritual has been studied by P. Fronzaroli in ARET 11. For the invocation to the mother goddess, see nos. 1 § 65; 2 § 68.

The image of Kura was itself the object of a renewal rite, which prescribed the annual replacement of the silver mask that covered the statue. Whilst the weapons or decorative elements of the other gods were replaced, Kura was the only god whose very image itself was renewed yearly. The annual accounts which record the expenditure of silver and gold over more than thirty years begin with the delivery of “1 mina of silver (470 g) for the silver head of Kura”, 1 ma-na babbar:kù sag babbar:kù ^dKu-ra.²¹ [6]

An approximate criterion for establishing the hierarchy of the gods is the frequency with which they occur in the administrative documents. The volumes ARET 1–4, 7–10 and 12 concern every sector of the administration and offer the following data for the major gods: 1. ^dKu-ra: 160 (references); 2. ^dĀ-da-bal (all his hypostases) 141; 3. ^dRa-sa-ap: 53; 4. ^dĀ-da: 40; 5. ^dGa-mi-iš: 32; 6. ^dIšhara: 30; 7. ^dĀš-da-bīl: 24; 8. ^dEn-ki and 9. ^dUtu: 17; 10. ^dĀš-dar: 9; 11. ^dBAD Du-du-lu^{ki} (Lord of Tuttul, i.e. Dagan): 8; 12. ^dBAD Ga-na-na^(ki) (Lord of G.): 6. No fewer than 44 references of the 130 concerning Kura deal with the barley offerings during the king’s meal (ARET 9).

3 The regular offerings: the mace and the horns of a pair of bulls

The annual accounts of deliveries of objects in precious metals (AAM) and the monthly lists of offerings of sheep are the two kinds of documents which provide the most information on the gods of Ebla.²² The former provide a kind of hierarchy among the gods and indicate the most notable festivals and offerings, since, in general, it is only the most important gods who receive gifts of silver and gold, and then only on special occasions.

Eighteen AAMs are dated to the minister Ibrium and sixteen to Ibbi-zikir, his son and successor; they both acted during the reign of Išar-damu, the last king. Those dated to the son are richer in information as a result of the increase in the economic resources at Ebla’s disposal during its last years. TM.75.G.10074, attributed to the sixth year of Ibbi-zikir,²³ records the following for Hadda:

²¹ Archi 1996c: 73.

²² Many passages concerning offerings for Hadda have been collected by Schwemer 2001: 93–122, who also gives a sound portrait of this god at Ebla. For a general picture of the weather god of Ḫalab, Klengel 1965 is still useful.

²³ Archi 1996c; an up-to-date chronological list of these documents is in Archi and Biga 2003: 8–9.

- a) offering to Hadda of Ḫalab of the horns of a pair of oxen or bulls (si 2 gud) by the king: month I (obv. XIII);²⁴
- b) offering to Hadda of a belt with frog and sheath (1 íb-lá 1 si-ti-tum 1 gír-kun), and a buckle (kù-sal) for Ḫalabāytu “She of Ḫalab”, the consort of Hadda, by the king (obv. XIV);
- c) offering to Hadda of Ḫalab of a mace and two pairs of horns by the king: month III (obv. XIX);
- d) offering to Hadda of Lub of a mace: month IV (obv. XXIV);
- e) offering to Hadda of Ḫalab of a mace and two pairs of horns by the king: month VIII (rev. XII);
- f) offering to Hadda of Ḫalab by the king (rev. XIII) and the minister (rev. XVI) for their purification (sikal) by the god. This ceremony was performed in relation to various gods in the case of illness or other difficulty. Other sikil ceremonies by Hadda (without doubt, Hadda of Ḫalab) are also mentioned in obv. VIII and XXIV, rev. VI.²⁵

On the basis of this document and others of the same kind, we may obtain the following pattern. There were two regular offerings for Hadda of Ḫalab. These took place in months III, iti ^dAMA-ra, according to the local calendar, and VIII, iti ì-nun according to the “Semitic calendar” (that is the calendar in use in Babylonia, adopted by the scribes working for the central archive),²⁶ but in the local calendar significantly called iti nídba ^dÀ-da “month of the offering for Hadda”. Only one regular offering, however, was dedicated to Hadda of Lub, in month IV, iti gi-NI.²⁷ The other offerings (not only those for purification, sikil) were of an occasional nature.

Each of these three offerings consisted of a mace and two pairs of bull’s horns, and they were repeated year after year without any variation being introduced. The mace, EŠDA (ZATU 147: ŠITA+GIŠ) = *ḫa-bù*, was decorated with 117 g of silver; its handle (*ar-ra-su/sù*) with 47 g of gold.²⁸ The horns were covered in silver²⁹ to a total weight of 157 g: 15 gín DILMUN babbar:kù nu₁₁-za 1 EŠDA / *ḫa-bù* ... 6 gín DILMUN kù-gi nu₁₁-za 1 *ar-ra-sù* 20 gín DILMUN bab-

²⁴ Charpin 1982 suggested that the first month of the year was *i-si*. A list of the months is given below as Appendix 2.

²⁵ On the sikil rite, see Archi 2000b.

²⁶ Archi 2006c*: 97 [33–34].

²⁷ The regular nature of these offerings of precious objects has been studied by Pomponio 1997/98.

²⁸ On *arrasu*, see Archi 1999–2000: 243–44.

²⁹ This is the reason why the AAMs (which concern the expenditures of silver) list this kind of offering. On NI-na-gu, see Archi 1988i; Biga 1998b.

bar:kù si(-si) 2 gud nìdba en ^dʾÀ-da Ḫa-lab_x^{ki} / Lu-ub^{ki}. These were regularly recorded in the AAMs, beginning with TM.75.G.2365 dated to the thirteenth year of the minister Ib(rium). Preceding years do not [7] exhibit this same regularity. TM.75.G.1464 (Ib. XII) has only the offering for Hadda of Ḫalab in the eighth month (iti ì-nun), apart from that for Hadda of Lub. In TM.75.G.10144 (Ib. XI) the only offering for Hadda of Ḫalab occurs in the third month, followed by that of Hadda of Lub (fourth month). The double offering of the mace to the god of Ḫalab is already attested in TM.75.G.10077 (Ib. II) and 1771 (Ib. IV) where, however, that for Hadda of Lub is ignored. These earlier texts present a certain economy in the use of details: Hadda of Ḫalab (unlike Hadda of Lub) is not qualified by place name, but the parallel passages of later documents, listing the offerings that are made in the same month (iti ì-nun), make it certain that we are dealing with this god. Some of these documents make no mention of the six shekels of gold for the handle of the mace. However, MEE 2.12 obv. VI 11–13 (dated to the minister Arrukum and concerning only expenditure of gold) shows that, even during the earliest phase (approximately forty years before the destruction of Ebla), Hadda's mace was decorated with gold.³⁰

From this evidence it emerges that, on the occasion of the offering of the mace, two oxen or bulls (gud, am) were sacrificed and their silver-covered horns deposited in the temple of the god.

The periodic offering of the same object indicates a renewal rite: the new weapon represented the ever intact power of the god. The fact that, for Hadda of Ḫalab, this ceremony took place twice a year demonstrates how much importance was attributed to this god. The two-yearly event must have been linked with the seasonal cycle: perhaps in the third month the triumph of nature was celebrated, a reawakening brought about by the winter and spring rains (for Hadda of Lub, the celebration took place in the fourth month); the festival in the eighth month must have marked the period in which new rain is invoked to end the dry and hot season. For Hadda of Lub an autumn festival was also celebrated, but without the replacement of the mace and horns. A twice-yearly ceremony is also recorded for Kura, the god of Ebla. Following the mina of silver (470 g) for the silver face of the god (mentioned above), recorded

³⁰ For documents of the period of the minister Arrukum in which the Hadda's mace (*ḫa-bù*) is mentioned, see MEE 2.48 rev. V 7–9: 3 (the document concerns several years) and TM.75.G.1379 obv. XII 17–XIII 1 (an AAM of Arrukum). The offering of a mace, like the silver-covered horns, is mentioned not only in the AAMs, but also in documents of various types. ARET 1.44, concerning mostly offerings in the eighth month, iti ì-nun, also records the delivery of the horns and mace for Hadda (of Ḫalab), sections §§ 18–19. Similar passages are ARET 7.79 § 9; MEE 7.27 rev. IV 6–13.

at the start of every AAM (without specifying the month), later in the body of the document there is a second offering of three shekels (23 g), again for the face of the god: 3 gín DILMUN babbar:kù sag ^d*Ku-ra* mu-ti(-II), TM.75.G.1464 obv. XIV 1–4; MEE 7 (1730) obv. XIII 13–16; MEE 10.20 obv. XXII 1–4.³¹

4 The cults at Ḫalab, Lub and Ebla

The monthly lists of sheep sacrificed to the gods show that the cult of Hadda of Ḫalab and Lub mainly occurred in the sanctuaries located in these two centres. There (not at Ebla) the rite of replacing the mace and the bovine horns was celebrated, whilst at Ebla Hadda was venerated in the temple of Kura and did not receive blood-offerings every month.

These offering lists contain three sections: a) sheep sacrificed in the temples of the city of Ebla, é-é dingir-dingir, b) sheep consumed at the palace, kú SA.ZA_x^{ki}, c) sheep sacrificed or consumed in other centres.³² In the first section, various gods such as Kura and several hypostases of Hadabal receive blood-offerings quite regularly, first from the king, then from the crown prince Ir'aq-damu, the queen and other sons and daughters of the king. Hadda, however, receives no particular attention, with the exception of the two months in which his festivals fell; his offerings were made in the temple of Kura, the god of the city: “one/two sheep for Hadda the king has offered in the temple of Kura” 1/2 udu ^dĀ-da en nídba é ^d*Ku-ra*, TM.75.G.1945 obv. I 15–20; 2238 obv. I 10–14;³³ 2517 obv. II 23–8; 10169 obv. III 4–9. An unusual case is TM.75.G.2635 obv. II 2–8 (month II, iti še-gur₁₀), according to which the notable number of “fifteen sheep were sacrificed to Hadda of Ḫalab (at Ebla) by the king in *ullu(m)*”, 15 udu ^dĀ-da lú *Ḫa-lab*_x^{ki} en [nídba] in ul[-lu], a term which is also found in connection with other gods, while the crown prince performed his offerings by the pole of the god Aštabil, always at Ebla, IV 14–19: 1 udu ^dĀ-da lú *Ḫa-lab*_x^{ki} ĩr-à-ag-da-mu nídba áš-da giš <^dÁš-da-bíl>. [8]

Therefore, when the official cult of Ebla prescribed offerings for Hadda at Ebla, these were made in the cult buildings or structures of other gods. It seems, however, that from a certain period, there was a shrine dedicated to

³¹ Archi 2005d: 81–85 [736–741].

³² These documents are twenty-one in number; four of them have been published by Pettinato 1979a.

³³ Pettinato 1979a: 161.

Hadda within the palace itself (SA.ZA_x^{ki}), TM.75.G.2507 (AAM, I.Z. 10) obv. III 5–7: é d'À-da lú SA.ZA_x^{ki}.

In the months of the festivals for Hadda, rites were performed both at Ebla and at Ḫalab and Lub. In month III, iti d'AMA-ra, “the king/Ir'aq-damu (the crown prince) offers four sheep for Hadda of Ḫalab on the established day of the third month”, 4 udu d'À-da lú Ḫa-lab_x^{ki} en/lr-'à-ag-da-mu nídba in ud d'AMA-ra-sù; a further eight sheep are offered by the other sons of the king, dumu-nita-dumu-nita en, TM.75.G.1764 obv. I 22–II 5; IV 13–19; VII 5–12. There is then an offering to Hadda lú A-ba-ti^{ki}, (VIII 23–29), and another one for the GIŠ-RU of Hadda (XI 8–11).³⁴ These sacrifices took place at Ebla. The third section of the document records the sacrifice of [30? +] 8 sheep by Itti-Hadabal, an “attendant”, pa₄-šeš,³⁵ of Hadda, and another three by a certain Ruzi-malik, during the rites in the sanctuary at Ḫalab (rev. XI 25–XII 8).

TM.75.G.2238 concerns the third month of another year.³⁶ This time only two sheep were sacrificed to Hadda in the temple of Kura at Ebla; another two were delivered for the god. The third section, which concerns sheep sacrificed or killed in other centres, begins with “two sheep at the new (moon) in Ḫalab; two sheep on the eighth (day) in Ḫalab; two sheep on the new (moon) in Lub”, 2 udu gibil in Ḫa-lab_x^{ki} 2 udu in 8 Ḫa-lab_x^{ki} 2 udu gibil Lu-ub^{ki} (rev. IX 4–13). This sequence opens the third section in almost all the monthly documents concerning the assignment of sheep to be killed. It relates, therefore, to the regular monthly rites for Hadda celebrated in his sanctuaries at Ḫalab and Lub. The sacrifice of thirty-eight sheep by the king (in TM.75.G.1764, discussed above, delegated to a pāšišu of the god and perhaps a prince) must refer instead to the rite for renewing the mace (documented for this month in the AAMs), whilst a further twelve sheep were offered by the king for the early fruit (in the same month), 38 udu d'À-da Ḫa-lab_x^{ki} en nídba in d'AMA-ra 12 udu d'À-da en nídba in sag:ne ul-lum d'AMA-ra (rev. X 9–23).

TM.75.G.10167 is dedicated to the offerings of the eighth month, that is “the month of the offering for Hadda”, iti nídba d'À-da. The sacrifices for Hadda of Ḫalab at Ebla were performed by the sons of the king, presumably in the temple of Kura. Five of these are mentioned by name: “a sheep (for) Hadda of Ḫalab PN has offered” 1 udu 'À-da lú Ḫa-lab_x^{ki} Zé-da-mu/Zi-ib-da-mu/Zu-ḫu-a-nu/Sag-da-mu/Ib-te-da-mu nídba (obv. III 15–IV 12). Four other sons (of the king) made sacrifices to the god in the palace, on the prescribed day: 4 udu 'À-da lú Ḫa-lab_x^{ki} dumu-nita-dumu-nita <en> nídba in SA.ZA_x^{ki} in ud nídba.

³⁴ Pettinato 1979a: 130–44.

³⁵ On the “attendants”, pa₄-šeš, of the god Hadda, see Archi 1996a.

³⁶ Pettinato 1979a: 161–75.

Two sheep were assigned to the two *pāšišū* of Hadda, Itti-Hadabal and Ittilum, possibly active in Ḫalab (second section; VII 24–VIII 4). The third section opens (as usual) with the monthly assignments of “two sheep on the new (moon) in Ḫalab; two sheep on the eighth (day) in Ḫalab; two sheep on the new (moon) in Lub”. These sacrifices are related to the ordinary monthly cult mentioned above. This month, however, records the presence at Ḫalab of both the king and his heir Ir’aq-damu, evidently for the rite of offering the mace to Hadda, which fell in this month (as well as in the third). This is the occasion for numerous registrations: a) “two sheep (for) feeding the king in Ḫalab during his stay”, 2 udu kú en in *Ḫa-lab_x^{ki}* in ud i-ti-sù (XII 18–24); b) “five/two sheep (for) Hadda of Ḫalab [the king]/Ir’aq-damu has offered during his stay”, 5/2 udu *ḏ’Ā-da lú Ḫa-lab_x^{ki}* [en]/*Īr-’ā-ag-da-mu* nídba in ud i-ti-sù (XII 25–XIII 11); c) “thirty/fifteen sheep (for) Hadda of Ḫalab the king/Ir’aq-damu has offered on the day of the offering”, 30/15 *ḏ’Ā-da lú Ḫa-lab_x^{ki}* en/*Īr-’ā-ag-da-mu* nídba in ud nídba (XIII 12-rev. I 4); d) there follows another sacrifice for the god, 2 udu NI-du *ḏ’Ā-da lú Ḫa-lab_x^{ki}* (I 5–8); e) other sacrifices are performed by two sons of the king, 2/3 udu *’Ā-da lú Ḫa-lab_x^{ki}* *Iḫ-su-ub-da-mu/Ru₁₁-zi-ma-lik* nídba in ud nídba (I 9–22); f) another two sheep are delivered to Ḫalab for Hadda by an official, Túg-du_g (III 16–21).

One of the monthly offering lists, TM.75.G.2516, shows that the ceremony of offering the mace to Hadda of Lub (in the fourth month) also required various sacrifices. “Fourteen/two sheep for Hadda of Lub the king/the queen has offered at the palace on the day of the ceremony *gi-NI* (which gave the name of the month)”, 14/2 udu *ḏ’Ā-da lú Lu-ub^{ki}* en/*ma-lik-tum* nídba in SA.ZA_x^{ki} [9] in ud *gi-NI* (obv. III 7–16); “one sheep for Hadda of Ḫalab Ir’aq-damu has offered by the pole of Aštabil”, 1 udu *’Ā-da lú Ḫa-lab_x^{ki}* *Īr-’ā-ag-da-mu* nídba *āš-da giš ḏ’Aš-da-bīl* (IV 16–24). Two more of the king’s sons make sacrifices to Hadda of Lub at Ebla, 1 udu *’Ā-da lú Ḫa-lab_x^{ki}* *Iḫ-su-ub-da-mu/Īr-kab-rí-zú* dumu-nita en nídba in ud *gi-NI* (X 24–XI 5). The third section records the regular rites for Hadda at Ḫalab and Hadda at Lub which were performed at the time of the new moon and, for Hadda at Ḫalab, again on the eighth day (rev. VI 20–VII 2). Lastly, “six sheep for Hadda of Lub the king has offered for the *gi-NI* (at Lub)”, 6 udu *’Ā-da lú Lu-ub^{ki}* en nídba in *gi-NI* (X 9–16), clearly for the ceremony in which the mace was replaced.³⁷

37 TM.75.G.10222+ 10245, month XII (iti kur 6), records the festival of *ḏ’Ā-da lú GĀxŠĒ.DU* at Ebla with the sheep offerings (twelve + two) by the king and his son Ir’aq-damu (obv. III 11–14, IV 6–11). Then, Itti-Hadabal, the *pāšišu* of Hadda, brings two sheep for Hadda of Luteu (*Lu-te-u₉^{ki}*), a small centre with a temple of Hadabal (VII 16–19). That month, a particularly rich festival took place at Ḫalab, besides the regular sheep offerings at Ḫalab and Lub (X 17–24). The king offered one thousand and four sheep and a further fifteen animals for the *ullum*

5 Ḫalabāytu, the consort of Hadda

The consort of Hadda of Ḫalab was ^d*Ḫa-a-ba-du*, a name which is a feminine *nisbe*: /ḫalabāytu/; therefore, simply: “She of Ḫalab”.³⁸ It became Ḫebat in the Amorite and Hurrian period. Apart from Hadda and Ḫalabāytu, only one other deity of Ḫalab is known: the mother goddess Tu, attested only in TM.75.G.1793 rev. XI 1’–6’: (clothing) ^dTu *Ḫa-lab_x^{ki}* (clothing) ^dTu *’Ā-da-ni^{ki}*. The parallelism with the mother goddess of Hadani, a town whose major gods were Rašap and his consort Adamma, excludes the identification of (Nin.)Tu with Ḫalabāytu.

6 The sanctuary of Hadda at Ḫalab

The documents mention Ḫalab mostly in relation to Hadda. The administrative organisation of the town was entrusted to an “overseer”, ugula, who appears in TM.75.G.1451 rev. V 5–6. The presence in Ḫalab of numerous people coming from other centres is most probably attributable to cultic reasons.³⁹ The king of Emar participated in one of the ceremonies which took place yearly in the third month, TM.75.G.11656 II 1’–8’: (textiles) en *Ī-mar^{ki}* in ud ì-ti e ^d’Ā-da ^dAMA-ra. Although the treaties of alliance with Ebla were normally ratified by oath in the temple of Kura, the god of Ebla, the young king (en tur) of Tuba, with the elders of his town and his agents (maškim), swore their alliance in the temple of Hadda (at Ḫalab), ARET 1.11 § 37, as did also the agents from Kakmum, TM.75.G.1585 obv. II 5–11, while several people from Luatum performed an oil offering (nīdba ì-giš) there, TM.75.G.1839 obv. IX 5–11.

The monthly offering lists (see above, §§ 2–3) show how the king and his family played a regular role in the most important rites of the temple of Hadda at Ḫalab. The interest of the Eblaite dynasty is further demonstrated by numerous passages in all types of document. The king Išar-damu provided 225.10 minas (106 kg) of silver to refurbish the temple decorations, according

festival. The crown prince and other sons of the king performed further sacrifices: 1 *li[-im]* 4 udu ^d’Ā-da lú *Ḫa-lab_x^{ki}* en nīdba 15 udu ^d’Ā-da lú *Ḫa-lab_x^{ki}* en nīdba *ul-lum* 3 ^d’Ā-da lú *Ḫa-lab_x^{ki}* *Īr-’ā-ag-da-mu* nīdba (XI 1–16) ... 10 udu ^d’Ā-da lú *Ḫa-lab_x^{ki}* *dumu-nita-dumu-nita* en nīdba (XII 14–18).

38 See Archi 1994a*: 249–52 [592–596]. The name appears in twelve passages, always associated with ^d’Ā-da lú *Ḫa-lab_x^{ki}*. Instead of the anomalous writing ^d*Ḫa-a-’ā-ba* quoted by Pomponio and Xella 1997: 189, read in TM.75.G.2428: *Īl-’ā-ag-da-mu*; in TM.75.G.2429: *AN-ḫa-sa-ba*!

39 See ARES 2: 257–60 sub *Ḫa-lam_x^{ki}*, in particular sections IV and V.

to TM.75.G.2269 obv. I 1–II 1, where this amount “does not include the value of four gold daggers”, 2 *mi-at* 25 ma-na 10 gín DILMUN babbar:kù *ba-lu-ma* nígsa₁₀ 1 gír mar-tu kù-gi *wa* 3 gír mar-tu ti kù-gi lú en šu-mu-“tag₄” é ^dÀ-da lú *Ḫa-lab_x*^{ki}. A further 5,15 minas (2.5 kg) of silver were given (“in substitution”, lul-gu-ag) from the palace to about forty-six people for the temple, rev. IV 11–V 5: 5 ma-na 15 gín DILMUN babbar:kù lú lul-gu-ag SA.ZA_x^{ki} é ^dÀ-da lú *Ḫa-lab_x*^{ki}. Some of these people are defined as “smiths”, simug-simug, while there are five “singers”, nar-nar. Another singer received 540 g of “copper”, urudu, whilst a further 1410 g went to replace three adzes in the temple of Hadda, rev. VIII 1–5: 3 ma-na urudu lul-gu-ag 3 gín gal é ^dÀ-da. The text has to be dated to the period of the minister Ibrium (the first eighteen years of king Isar-damu), for he is mentioned in obv. VII 13. A monthly account of deliveries of textiles, also dated to Ibrium, records amounts of wool for carpenters and smiths active in the temple of Hadda, TM.75.G.1772 rev. VI 3–14: 7 “KIN” siki nagar-nagar kin_x-ag é ^dÀ-da lú *Ḫa-lab_x*^{ki} [x] “KIN” siki simug-simug kin-ag é ^dÀ-da lú *Ḫa-lab_x*^{ki}. [10]

7 The statues, bulls and chariot of Hadda

The statue of the god had already been renewed before the work that took place under Ibrium:

1. MEE 2.12 belongs to the time of Arrukum, who was minister during the last five years of king Irkab-damu, father and predecessor of Išar-damu. The decoration of two statues (undoubtedly those of the god and his consort) required 657 g of gold; for his part, Arrukum gave a vessel, two bracelets, a sceptre in gold and two small goblets (in total 1028 g of gold) for the two statues, VIII 1–IX 6: 1 ma-na šú+ša 4 kù-gi nu₁₁-za 2 an-dùl é ^dÀ-da 1 an-zam_x á-MUŠEN 2 *gú-li-lum* esi 2 zi-bar tur GÁ×LÁ 2 ma-na 10 gín DILMUN kù-gi *Ar-ru-gúm* e nu₁₁-za 2 an-dùl ^dÀ-da.
2. A document of the same period records 3.917 kg of bronze for a pedestal of the statue in the temple of Hadda, and 313 g of copper for “nails ... of the statues (in) the temple of Hadda”: TM.75.G.1915+ obv. XI 2–13: 10 lá-2 ma-na šú+ša gín DILMUN zabar GiŠ-sig₄ DU an-dùl é ^dÀ-da ša-pi gín DILMUN a-gar₅-gar₅ GiŠ-kak še-gur₁₀ an-dùl-an-dùl é ^dÀ-da.
3. Another statue was donated to the temple of Hadda by the king, still during the period of Arrukum. It needed a large amount of precious metals: 3.76 kg of silver and 1.41 kg of gold: MEE 2.49 obv. I 1–II 5: 8 ma-na bab-

bar:kù kin_x-ak an-dùl 15 ma-na babbar:kù šu-bal-ak 3 ma-na kù-gi kin_x-ak an-dùl níg-du₈ en é ^dĀ-da.⁴⁰

4. In a further case the statues seem to be those of the sons of the king(?) of Abarsal portrayed as worshippers: MEE 2.48 obv. VIII 8–IX 6: 4 ma-na babbar:kù kin_x-ag an-dùl-an-dùl dumu-nita-dumu-nita KA-sa-NE-NAM A-bar-sal₄^{ki} níg-ba ^dĀ-da.
5. The following text could also belong to this period: MEE 2.10: 8 ma-na 16 gín DILMUN babbar:kù 10 (gín) DILMUN kù-gi 1 ma-na zabar tag nu₁₁-za an-dùl¹ babbar níg-ba ^dĀ-da “8,16 minas (3.885 kg) of silver, 10 (shekels; 78 g) of gold, 1 mina (470 g) of bronze: sheets (for decorating) a silver statue: gift (for) Hadda.” It is not clear if this large statue was also housed in the temple of Hadda at Ḫalab or in Ebla; moreover, this one, and the other large statue mentioned in passage (3), might not have represented the god but could instead have been votive statues.
6. In the first year of the minister Ibbi-zikir (son of the minister Ibrum), a statue, at least life-size on a human scale, was devoted to Hadda of Ḫalab. Its head of lapis lazuli weighed 4.230 kg (its value was 1.410 kg of silver): TM.75.G.1860 (MEE 10.20; I.Z. 1) rev. XVI 10–19: 3 ma-na babbar:kù šu-bal-ag 9 ma-na gín-gín kin_x-ag 1 sag 1 an-dùl níg-ba en ^dĀ-da Ḫa-lab_x^{ki} “3 minas of silver, value of 9 minas of lapis lazuli in order to make one head of one statue: gift of the king (to) Hadda of Ḫalab.”
7. Another document to be dated to the same minister records (in a passage concerning his earliest years) a statue of great value representing Hadda of Ḫalab, given by the king. Its covering needed 4.512 kg of gold; a further 110 g were used for *ne-li(-iṣ)*; its hand held a silver goblet of 78.3 g; its crown of silver weighed 31 g; another object in gold weighed 31 g: TM.75.G.2062 obv. I 1–II 8: 10 lá-1 ma-na tar 6 kù-gi nu₁₁-za 1 an-dùl lú túg-gùn 14 kù-gi šub *si-in ne-li-iṣ* 10 babbar:kù 1 an-zam_x *si-in* 2 šu-sù wa 6 kù-gi šub *si-in ne-li-iṣ* 4 babbar:kù men-sù 4 kù-gi 2 *mar-PI*²-sù níg-ba en ^dĀ-da Ḫa-lab_x^{ki} “4.512 kg of gold: sheets (for decorating) 1 statue with a variegated dress; 110 g of gold to be melted for *n.*; 78 g of silver (for) 1 goblet for its hands; and 47 gr of gold to be melted for *n.*; 31 g of silver (for) its crown; 31 g of gold (for) its 2 *m.* Gift of the king (for) Hadda of Ḫalab.” These quantities of metals may have been needed to decorate the statue with the lapis-lazuli head recorded in the preceding passage (6). This stat-

⁴⁰ Such a statue had to be of human size. Compare a statuette of about 7 cm high, representing a sitting woman, whose gold kaunakes weighs only 4.2 g: Matthiae 2009a: 289–92, and figs. 11–13, 19.

- ue represented the god (presumably in the temple at Ḫalab), because it had a crown and held in its hand an an-zam_x-vessel.⁴¹
8. A statue of the god mentioned in an AAM of the period of the minister Ibbi-zikir was of much less value (125 g of silver), while 47 g of gold were used for covering its head, hands and feet: TM.75.G.2508 obv. XIV 7–13: 16 gín DILMUN babbar:kù nu₁₁-za 1 an-dùl tar babbar:kù šu-bal-ag 6 gín DILMUN kù-gi nu₁₁-za igi-um 2 šu 2-du-sù ^dĀ-da. [11]
 9. Another statue needed 470 + 470 g of gold for its face and hands respectively: TM.75.G.2137 obv. I 1–II 3: [1 m]a-na kù-gi 2 šu 1 'ma-na' kù-g[i] ba-na[-ù] 'sag'(?). ^dĀ-da.
 10. Another one was provided with a vessel with lid: TM.75.G.2051 rev. V 3–6: 1 an-zam_x 1 pad-sù lú an-dùl kù-gi ^dĀ-da lú Ḫa-lab_x^{ki}.

A stele, na-rú, provided with a kind of tray, was associated with Hadda, perhaps in the temple of Ḫalab: ARET 3.440 rev. IX 1–4: 1 ½ gín babbar:kù-gi GIŠ-asar na-rú ^dĀ-da “1 ½ shekels of silver (for) a tray (for) the stele of Hadda”.⁴²

Among the objects of some significance related to Hadda, there is the offering of pairs of silver human-faced bulls, lu_x,⁴³ as in 1902 (MEE 10.27) + obv. VII 12–VIII 4: 4[+x ma-na babbar:kù] kin_x-ag 2 lu_x é ^dĀ-da, and MEE 2.48 obv. IX 7-rev. I 4: 29²,24 ma-na babbar:kù (13.857 kg of silver) kin_x-ag 2 lu_x níg-ba ^dĀ-da. In TM.75.G.2239 rev. III 1–9, among the offerings for the ceremony of purification by Hadda of Ḫalab, there is a throne for statues sent from Mari and a base for two human-faced bulls: 1 GIŠ-šudul kù-gi lú an-dùl-an-dùl Ma-ri^{ki} wa 1 dub-sù lú 2 lu_x sikil ^dĀ-da Ḫa-lab_x^{ki}.

Hadda is the only god who also apparently received a chariot and, certainly, two reins. The minister Ibbi-zikir (in his fifth year) “replaced 1 plate (and) 1 bracelet (of 2 minas of gold each, 940 g), which he gave to Hadda”, TM.75.G.1918 (MEE 10.29) obv. III 8–12: lul-gu-ag 1 dib 1 gú-li-lum lú ì-na-sum ^dĀ-da. The king received “548 g of gold to replace 2 reins (with) 4 buckles which he gave (to) Hadda together with a two-wheeled chariot *r*. (and) si₄-stones”, en lul-gu-ag 2 níg-anše-ag 4 kù-sal lú in-na-sum 'Ā-da áš-ti 1 giš-gígir-II ra-'à-tum si₄.

⁴¹ Several an-zam_x-vessels are given to the god Kura during the celebration of the ritual for the marriage of the royal couple, ARET 11.1 § 9, § 13; 2 § 16.

⁴² For the stele at Ebla, see Archi 1998a* [711–720].

⁴³ For lu_x (ÉREN+X), see Pomponio 1980 (on this sign, see further ARES 2: 19); Steinkeller 1992.

The iconography of Hadda of Ḫalab, holding a mace and standing on a chariot drawn by bulls, goes back, therefore, to the third millennium.⁴⁴

8 The nature of Hadda

The mace characterizes Hadda as a warrior god. Only one other god, Rašap of Hadani, received the same weapon annually, in a ceremony that took place in the third month (iti ^dAMA-ra), recorded in all the AAMs immediately before that for Hadda of Ḫalab. This iconography is exemplified in Syria in later periods by the “menacing god”: a male figure with a raised hand brandishing a weapon, a posture common to both Hadda and Rašap/Rešef.⁴⁵

Other gods received maces as gifts, but rarely. Their warlike aspects were not, therefore, as important as Hadda’s and Rašap’s. These gods are a) Hadabal of (L)arugadu: TM.75.G.1705 obv. IV 13–20, etc.; b) Kamiš: TM.75.G.2464 rev. XVII 23–25, etc.; c) the Lord of Gananaum: ^dBAD *Ga-na-na-im*, TM.75.G.2464 obv. XIII 23–XIV 2, etc.; and d) the Lord of Sinesu: ^dBAD *Si-ne-su*^{ki}, TM.75.G.2622 obv. XIV 19–21, etc.⁴⁶ The offering of a mace is also recorded, but only once, for Hammarigu: TM.75.G.2465 rev. IX 6–14. He is associated with Hadda in the incantation ARET 5.16, and his nature as a storm god is confirmed by the fact that a mountain near Mukiš retained his name until the Hittite period.⁴⁷ Even Išhara of MaNE received a mace, which shows that she shared Ištar’s warlike side, too: TM.75.G.2464 obv. XI 15–17: 1 *ḫa-bù* ^dŠĀRA-ra MĀ-NE^{ki}.

The offering of the horns of two bulls, the animal which represents tumultuous force, follows the same pattern. This was connected with the delivery of the mace, and Hadda of Ḫalab, Hadda of Lub and Rašap of Hadani received this offering on a regular basis, the first one twice and the other two once a year. Other gods who received the same gift were a) Rašap *gunum*: TM.75.G.1904 obv. XV 6–9; and b) the Lord of Gananaum: TM.75.G.1918 obv.

⁴⁴ Hattusili I brought from Ḫaššum to Hattusa a statue of the weather god, the lord of Ḫalab, together with mountain gods and two bulls of silver, Kümmel 1985: 458 and 462. On these mountain gods, see Haas 1994: 410. The frieze of a vase from Hattusa (13th century) depicts the weather god Tarhun(t) with the attributes of Tešsub of Ḫalab: the god with the mace stands on a cart drawn by two bulls; behind him are two mountain gods and two sphinxes, Seeher 2007.

⁴⁵ For this iconography, see Cornelius 1994; on Rašap, see in general Xella 1995a.

⁴⁶ Cf. Pomponio and Xella 1997: 101.

⁴⁷ See Haas 1981: 251–253. The ritual, ARET 5.16, was studied by Krebern timer 1984: 130–44 no. 26.

XV 28–31; then c) Kamiš: TM.75.G.2622 obv. XX 27–30, etc.; d) Hadabal of (L)arugadu: TM.75.G.2428 obv. XX 37–41, etc.; e) Hadabal of Luban: TM.75.G.10074 obv. XXIV 20–24; f) Ala: TM.75.G.2622 obv. XX 3–8; and, strangely enough, also g) the goddess Nin-kar: TM.75.G.2622 obv. XXI 18–19. [12]

Silver figurines of human-faced bulls (the entire animal or only the head) were associated not only with Hadda (see above), but also with Rašap of Haddani: TM.75.G.2464 obv. XIII 12–15, etc.; Hammarigu: TM.75.G.1904 obv. II 7–10; and Hadabal of (L)arugadu: TM.75.G.2362 rev. V 14–VI 1.

This is a homogeneous picture, which links a group of gods and defines their nature. Kura, protector of Ebla's kingship, is entirely separate from this type of warrior god.⁴⁸ Apart from the mina of silver for his face, which was renewed annually (three shekels of silver were added later in the same year), the god received each year a pair of bracelets, *gû-li-lum*, and, occasionally, other jewels such as a buckle, *kû-sal*, but no weapons.

Commonly used instruments were “the large/small adzes”, *gín gal/tur*, (LL. *pāšum*) and “the (large) axes”, *ḥa-zi* (*ḥašinnu*)/*ḥa-zi maḥ*.⁴⁹ The king himself is equipped with a *gín gal* in bronze, TM.75.G.1464 rev. II 19–20: “ten shekels of tin and one mina of copper for a lace (*ma-ḥa-ni-gúm*) and a *gín gal* of the king”. *ḥa-bù* (in ARET 7.10 rev. IV 2: *GIŠ-ḥa-bù*) was, however, a ceremonial

⁴⁸ Pace Bonechi 1997: 499–501, who explains Kura as “un épithète du belliqueux Hadda d'Alep”. The starting point of his analysis is the alternation *ku-ra/šu-ra* in the PN *Ku-ra-da-mu/Šu-ra-da-mu*, noted in ARET 1: 250–51. The first element of this PN is identified by him with the DN Kura (although it does not receive the divine determinative); *šu/šux-ra* is explained as *tuGrum*, “victore (guerrière)” or “arme victorieuse”.

Note that the PNs with the theophorous element Hadda are different from those with Ḥalab, apart from two ordinary names like *Puzur₄-ra*-^{d1}Ḍ-*da/Ḥa-lab_x* and *Ri-ṯ*-^{d1}Ḍ-*da/Ḥa-lab_x* (see the list below, Appendix 1). This is evidence that the name-giving reflected different traditions and attitudes. This fact should cause us to be sceptical about ideological reconstructions based solely on name-giving, such as that of Bonechi 1997. Fronzaroli 1997: 287 and Bonechi 1997: 501 have noted that some PNs with *-Ḥa-lab_x* share their first element only with term of kinship, such as *-da-mu* “blood”, *-kam₄* “family”, *-li-im* “clan”. These PNs are: *A/I-nu-ud-Ḥa-lab_x/da-mu*, *En-ār/ar-Ḥa-lab_x/da-mu/li-im*, *Ib-za-Ḥa-lab_x/da-mu*, *Ig-rī-iš-Ḥa-lab_x/da-mu/kam₄/li-im*. All these have a warlike meaning. It is usual for social groups and peoples to pretend to be valiant. The fact that this kind of name exhibits *-Ḥa-lab_x*, and not ^{d1}Ḍ-*da*, means simply that the royal families, wanting to emphasise their warlike character and looking to Hadda for protection, identified the god with his principal sanctuary as it was there that they went to worship him. These names were used by several royal families (e.g. that of Emar), *not only* that of Ebla (*Ig-rī-iš-Ḥa-lab_x*).

⁴⁹ Cf. ARET 3: 357 and 392; ARET 7: 236. Some AAMs list together instruments kept in the treasury, “the house of the wool”: TM.75.G.2507 obv. XIX 3–4: 20 *gín gal* 10 *ḥa-zi tar-tar é-siki*; 2508 rev. VI 21–2: 60 *gín gal* 30 *ḥa-zi zabar lú é-siki*. For the *ni'atum* axe, see Archi 2005b. For the *za-ḥa-da* axe, see Waetzoldt 1990a: 26; Archi 1993f: 618–19, 625.

weapon. It is always directly associated with a god, except in TM.75.G.1174, a list of objects which in obv. I 3 records “seventeen maces of silver”, 17 *ḫa-bù* babbar:kù. Its corresponding Sumerian term, EŠDA (ZATU 147: ŠITA+GIŠ), already designated the weapon of the storm god in the Jemdet Nasr period, according to MSVO 1.44 I 2: 4 EŠDA ^dIM.⁵⁰ The head of this mace must have been roughly spherical, like the bronze one found recently in an ED grave at Tell Chuera,⁵¹ or oval or pear-shaped, like that of the mace of the storm god of Ḫalab in the Syro-Hittite tradition.⁵² The mace with spherical or oval head, preceded by the divine determinative, survives as the symbol of the storm god in the relief from the temple of Ḫalab of the beginning of the first millennium BC.⁵³

The administrative documents do not go beyond aspects of the cult which are of economic relevance. They record the type and frequency of the offerings, only occasionally giving the circumstance of a delivery. A god’s sphere of activity is explained through myths which, in such an archaic period, were usually not recorded in written form. All that remains of Ebla’s mythological thinking are a few incantations. Hadda appears in three of them as a storm god. His weapons are natural phenomena, as the following two passages show (in P. Fronzaroli’s translation):⁵⁴

1. “Que Hadda puisse apporter la grêle resplendissante (qui le ceint) comme sa jupe. Qu’il puisse apporter la grêle froide, la grêle glaciale, celui qui ...”, *ḫi-mu-DU* ^dĀ-da na₄ na-mur-ra-tum īb-III-TÚG-sù *ḫi-mu-DU* na₄ gī-gi-za-nu na₄ ba-ra-du lú ... (ARET 5.4 III 3–V 6); in a preceding passage, the two Baliḫ, the sun goddess Utu and the moon god Šanugaru are mentioned. [13]
2. “Je veux (les) lier à l’eau enchâssée de Hadda. Aux grains de grêle qui frappent, les serpent je veux lier”, *gà-kešda a ru* ^dĀ-da na₄ tur šu-ra muš-muš *gà-kešda*. “I want to bind the town of Dulu. I want to bind the snakes”, *gà-kešda Du-lu* ^{ki} *gà-kešda muš-muš*. “Je veux (te) lier aux sept lances de

⁵⁰ Englund and Gregoire 1991. This has been noted by Pomponio 1997–98: 103 n. 5. On ŠITA+GIŠ = *ḫa-bù* at Ebla, see Conti 1990: 133; Waetzoldt 2001: 356–57.

⁵¹ Krasnik and Meyer: 2001: 388, pl. 8a; this mace, together with other objects, probably belonged to a statue of Hadda. See already the Judeideh figurines A and B, in Braidwood and Braidwood 1960: 307–308, 313.

⁵² For Hattusa, see Yazılıkaya, nos. 41, 42, and the seals of Muwatalli (SBo nos. 38, 39), Tuthaliya IV (*Ugaritica* III: 19 and 21, figs. 24 and 26). For Karkamiš see the seals of Kuzi-Tešub (Sürenhagen 1986) and Ini-Tešub (*Ugaritica* III: 23–30 figs. 30–37; cf. also pp. 46–50 figs. 63, 67–69). For Emar, see Beyer 2001: 296 fig. 31.

⁵³ See Kohlmeyer 2000: pl. 16.

⁵⁴ Fronzaroli 1997, esp. pp. 285–86.

Hadda. Je veux (le) lier aux sept lances de Hammarig par les sept (membre) mous”, gâ-kešda 7 GIŠ-uš ^dĀ-da gâ-kešda 7 GIŠ<-uš> ^dĀ-ma-rī-ig 7 ba-ti-ra-at (ARET 5.16 III 8–IV 8, V 1–4, V 5–VI 4).⁵⁵

The enemies against whom Hadda fights are the chthonic forces represented by snakes. In the first incantation, these snakes, *ba-ša-nu*, control both the land and the sea, *ki* and *tiamtum*: *ki šu-du₈ ba-ša-nu ba-ša-nu ba ti-’à-ma-du [x]-na* (ARET 5.4 I 1–7). In the second one (ARET 5.16), Hadda vanquishes “the snakes”, *muš-muš*, helped by Hammarigu, a local god with similar characteristics.⁵⁶

The god of the heavens who vanquishes the dark forces of the earth and the deep waters is a well-known cosmological mythologem which, in some cases, may take on naturalistic implications linked to the cycle of the seasons. At Ugarit, this is seen as the struggle between the storm god, Ba’lu “the Lord”, and the deified sea, Yammu. The latter is defeated thanks to the weapons called *Yagruš* “il chassera” and *’Ayyamur* “celui qui expulse”, forged by the craftsman god Kuṭaru. As noted by P. Bordreuil and D. Pardee, “il ne s’agit en réalité que d’une seule sorte d’arme, le *šmd* ‘la massue’, dont le premier exemplaire, employé pour frapper l’épaule et la poitrine, n’est pas efficace, mais dont le second, dirigé contre sa tête et son front, fait tomber l’adversaire”.⁵⁷ According to CTA 3 (= KTU 1.3), Yammu, “the enemy who had turned against Ba’lu”, takes the shape of the seven-headed hydra. On this occasion, he is defeated by the goddess ‘Anatu: “J’ai (bien) frappé le serpent tortueux, qui est lové et heptacéphale” (III 38–39). In CTA 5 (= KTU 1.59 I 1–3, 27–30), the serpent with seven heads is Lotan. The incantations ARET 5.16 and ARET 5.1 (with the parallel versions in nos. 2+ and 3) may indicate that Hadda’s enemy at Ebla was also the seven-headed serpent.⁵⁸

A letter from Mari, A.1968, shows that the mythologem of Hadda’s victory over the sea was known at least from the Amorite period on. A “spokesman (*āpilum*) of Hadda, lord of Ḫalab” gives Zimri-lim this message from the god: “Je t’ai ramené sur le trône de ton père et les armes (^{giš}TUKUL^{meš})⁵⁹ avec lesquelles je m’étais battu contre Têmtum, je te les ai données”.⁶⁰ Possibly a

⁵⁵ For this incantation, see Krebern timer 1984: 130–44.

⁵⁶ See above, n. 47.

⁵⁷ Bordreuil and Pardee 1993: 63.

⁵⁸ See Fronzaroli 1997: 285–86, 289–90. The incantation ARET 5.1, 2+ and 3 has been studied by Fronzaroli 1988. “Seven”, however, could be a symbolic number indicating the parts of the body.

⁵⁹ This is also the name of the storm god’s weapon according to the Hittite sources.

⁶⁰ Durand 1993: 45.

similar form of the myth already existed from halfway through the third millennium BC, and was common also to the Semites of Mesopotamia before the Amorite expansion.⁶¹ According to ARET 5.16, however, the realm of the snakes included both the land and the sea.⁶²

The Ebla incantations provide an earlier record of Hadda than do the administrative documents, one that should date to the first half of the third millennium. The god's weapons, apart from atmospheric phenomena, consist of a kind of primitive mace or spear: GIŠ-uš and GIŠ-al₆ according to ARET 5.16 and ARET 5.1 and 2(+) respectively, not the mace *ḫa-bù*/EŠDA.⁶³ With the process of urbanisation that evolved in Syria about the twenty-seventh century, a great sanctuary dedicated to Hadda was founded at Ḫalab, a small centre that was not of any autonomous political relevance until the end of the third millennium. Here the god's characteristics were defined and his iconography became fixed. A temple at Mari was dedicated to Hadda of Ḫalab. The cult of this god had already reached Babylonia in the second half of the twenty-fifth century, as is shown by the PN AN-^rRU[?]·[(x-)]*Ḫa-lab*_x(LAM) in a document from Abū Ṣalābiḥ. [14]

When Ebla included Ḫalab in its territories, before 2400 BC, any political aspirations it may have had were lost, but Ebla maintained the cult of its god. Some sanctuaries dating from this time, such as those of Hadda of Ḫalab and Dagan of Tuttul, survived the political-social upheavals which occurred towards the end of the third millennium. Some gods, such as Kura and Hadabal disappeared (at Ebla, however, the cult of Išhara, a goddess similar to Istar, survived).⁶⁴ The cults of Rašap and Kamiš enjoyed greater success in the western and southern regions. The Amorite populations accepted a number of these gods. Hadda of Ḫalab kept, however, a dominant role in a far larger region than that of the state of Yamhad. In fact, the god claims to have placed on the

⁶¹ Jacobsen 1968: 107 had already written, “the story (of the battle between Marduk and Tiamat in the *Enuma eliš*) may have been brought in by the Akkadians from an earlier western home, or it may have entered later during the time Old Akkadian was spoken, i.e. down to the beginning of the Isin / Larsa Period”. See the detailed discussion of the evidence by Schwemer 2001: 229–37. A different tradition was that of Sumerian and later netherworld gods who exhibit snake or dragon characteristics, see Wiggermann 1997.

⁶² In ARET 5.16 V 1–2 (see above), the mention of *Du-lu*^{ki} might refer to a connection of the incantation with the sea. Pettinato 1983 reads *Gub-lu*^{ki} and identifies this town with Byblos. There is, however, no proof that the sign DU at Ebla was also read *gub*. On this town, see also Archi 1997a: 419–20 [607–608].

⁶³ See Fronzaroli 1997: 284–86.

⁶⁴ For the goddess Išhara at Ebla, see Archi 1993d; 2002.

throne of Mari first Yahdun-lim and later Zimri-lim.⁶⁵ Neither of these events was caused by the direct intervention of the kings of Yamḥad.⁶⁶ The Amorite dynasties of Mari, therefore, felt themselves to have been legitimated in dominating a regional state by the favours of this god, who had clearly taken on a pan-Amorite role. A few centuries later, the storm god of Ugarit is Baʿlu, whilst Baʿlu Ḥalbi is just a hypostasis of the god, like Baʿlu ʾUgārīta and Baʿlu Ṣa-pāni.⁶⁷

Appendix 1

List of personal names composed with ^dʾĀ-da and Ḥa-lab_x

(PET = Krebern timer 1988a. On the PNs with -Ḥa-lab_x, see Fronzaroli 1997a: 286–288).

1. ^dʾĀ-da
A-bù-^dʾĀ-da “Hadda is the father” (PET, 117)
ʾĀ-da-gú-NI (?) (PET, 133)
ʾĀ-da-ḥu (?) (PET, 133)
Dab-ḥur-^dʾĀ-da “Hadda has gathered” (PET, 38, 164)
Du-bù-ḥu-(^d)ʾĀ-da “Sacrifice for Hadda” (PET, 81, 167)
I-in-^dʾĀ-da “Hadda ...” (PET, 83–84, 202)
I-ti-^dʾĀ-da “Hadda has given” (PET, 40–41, 208)
Ib-ḥār/ār(/ar)-^dʾĀ-da “Hadda has gathered/caught” (PET, 38, 214;
 TM.75.G.1397 obv. V 5: -ar-, quoted in ARES 1: 236)
Ib-dur-^dʾĀ-da “Hadda has released” (PET, 37, 213)
Puzur₄-ra-^dʾĀ-da “Protection of Hadda” (TM.75.G.2491+ rev. II 17)
Rí-ì-^dʾĀ-da “Hadda is my shepherd” (PET, 278)
2. Ḥa-lab_x
A/I-nu-ud-Ḥa-lab_x “(Hadda of) Ḥalab waved” (PET, 56, 128; Fronzaroli 1997: 287 n. 33) *dumu-nita en Ma-nu-wa-at*^{ki} (ARES 2: 346)

⁶⁵ A.1968 mentions both Yaḥdun-lim and Zimri-lim, see Durand 1993: 43–45. For A.1121+A.2731, concerning Zimri-lim, see Lafont 1984. Charpin and Durand 1986: 174 have suggested that Hadda was the major god of the Simʿalite Amorites.

⁶⁶ On the history of Yamḥad of this period, see Klengel 1997. On the conquest of Mari by those two kings, see Charpin and Ziegler 2003.

⁶⁷ See Bordreuil and Pardee 1993: 70; Tropper and Vita 1999.

- En-ar/-àr-Ḫa-lab_x* “(Hadda of) Ḫalab has struck” (PET, 54–55, 172) (-àr-: ARET 12.976 r. III 6: IŠ₁₁/lab_x[!]; TM.75.G.1723 rev. III 1)
- en *Bur-ma-an* (ARES: 182)
- en *Kak-mi-um*^{ki} (TM.75.G.1918 rev. II 8)
- Ḫa-lab_x* “(Hadda of) Ḫalab” (TM.75.G.1901 rev. IV 10–11)
- Ib-za-Ḫa-lab_x* “(Hadda of) Ḫalab has broken” (PET, 216; Fronzaroli 1997: 287 n. 34)
- dumu-nita en *Kak-mi-um*^{ki}, dumu-nita en *Ma-nu-wa-at*^{ki} (ARET 3.217 V 1: *Ib-za-Ḫa-lab_x*[!] [IŠ₁₁]; TM.75.G.2332 obv. XV 10)
- Ig-rí-iš-Ḫa-lab_x* “(Hadda of) Ḫalab has driven away (the opponent)” (PET, 45, 217; ARES 2: 299–300; en *Ib-la*^{ki})
- IŠ₁₁-ru₁₂-ud-Ḫa-lab_x* “Richness of (Hadda of) Ḫalab” (PET, 92, 232; Fronzaroli 1997: 288 n. 42; en *Ib-la*^{ki})
- Mu-ti-Ḫa-lab_x* “Man of Ḫalab” (PET, 97, 254) [15]
- Puzur₄-ra-Ḫa-lab_x* “Protection of (Hadda of) Ḫalab” (cf. PET, 13–14; TM.75.G.2167(+) obv. V 6)
- Rí-ì-Ḫa-lab_x* “(Hadda of) Ḫalab is my shepherd” (PET, 278)
- Sa-ba-ad*^{ki} (ARES 2: 417)
- UR-Ḫa-lab (a man from Mari: ARES 2: 362)
- Ti-Ḫa-lab* “(Hadda of) Ḫalab ...” (PET, 291)
- en *Kak-mi-um*^{ki} (ARES 1: 208)

Appendix 2

Table of month names

Month	Semitic calendar	Local calendar
I	iti <i>i-si</i>	iti ^d A-dam-ma
II	iti <i>ig-za</i>	iti še-gur ₁₀ -kud
III	iti <i>za-’à-tum</i>	iti ^d AMA-ra
IV	iti <i>gi-NI</i>	iti nídba ^d Ga-mi-iš
V	iti <i>ḫa-li-du</i>	iti <i>be-li</i>
VI	iti <i>i-rí-sa</i>	iti (nídba) ^d Áš-da-bíl
VII	iti <i>ga-sum</i>	iti NI-DU
VIII	iti <i>l-nun</i>	iti nídba ^d ’À-da
IX	iti <i>za-lul</i>	iti NI-la-mu / er-me
X	iti <i>i-ba₄-sa</i>	iti ḫur-mu / ḫu-la-mu
XI	iti MÁ×GÁNAtenû-sag	iti è
XII	iti MÁ×GÁNAtenû-úgur	iti kur ₆

37 Studies in the Pantheon of Ebla

1 ^d*Ḫa-a-ba-du* “the Goddess of Ḫalab”

Annual accounts of the expenditure of silver and gold by the Palace, year after year, are to be found in approximately thirty documents from the royal Ebla archives. They all begin with the entry of “a mina (470 g) of silver for the silver head of Kura”, the principal god of the city of Ebla. The statue of Kura was clearly the subject of a rite of annual renewal. Annual offerings were also destined to other gods such as Hadda: a mace, GIŠ.ŠITA_x = *ḫa-bù*¹ or to Rašap and Ammarigu: two bracelets each, *gù-li-lum*.

Among the deities who received gifts at various times we find ^d*Ḫa-a-ba-du*, who appears in seven texts: two date from the period in which Ibrium was minister (roughly corresponding to the last part of the reign of Irkab-damu and the first years of Išar-damu) and five from when Ibbi-zikir, son of Ibrium, succeeded his father as the head of the Eblaite administration during the reign of Išar-damu. The documents relating to Ibbi-zikir show a notable increase in the circulation of precious metals; consequently, the mention of gifts to the gods is more frequent.

^d*Ḫa-a-ba-du* constantly receives a plaque, *kù-sal*,² of gold weighing from half a shekel (see passages 4, 7.1, 7.2 at the end of this paragraph) to a shekel (9.4 g) (nos. 1, 5.1, 5.2, 6.2) and even 4 shekels (nos. 3, 8). In text no. 6.2 it is specified that one *kù-sal* is for a “raven” *buru₄*-MUŠEN. In text no. 2 there is a *du-rúm* of 3 shekels. But in 6.1 a kind of silver helmet covered with gold is donated. The givers of such gifts are the king (nos. 1, 4, 5.1, 7.2, 8), the queen (nos. 3, 4, 5.2, 6), the heir to the throne Ir’aq-damu (no. 7.1) and the minister Ibrium (no. 2).

Document no. 9 is of a different nature: a list of sacrificial cattle for some of the principal deities among whom, exceptionally, is found ^d*Ḫa-a-ba-du*. The colophon, which possibly furnished a means for understanding the nature of the text, is not preserved. ^d*Ḫa-a-ba-du* was, however, a minor deity at Ebla

Orientalia N. S. 63 (1994) 249–56.

¹ See F. Pomponio 1997–98.

² The *kù-sal* is used as a clasp for a bird, and in pairs as a bit for an equid; see Archi 1985e*: 32–33 [733–735].

who figures in none of the twenty-one monthly lists of offerings of sheep by the Palace where, altogether, more than forty gods are mentioned.³ [250]

Unlike the other cases, in passages nos. 1, 4, 5.1, 7.1, 7.2 and 8, the offering or gift to ^d*Ḥa-a-ba-du* is related (also syntactically, except in no. 1) to that for the god Hadda. Only three couples of divinities, one male and one female, are attested with any continuity in the Ebla texts: ^d*A₅-da-bal*/KUL – BE-mí (= *bāl-tum* “Lady”), ^d*Ra-sa-ap* – ^d*A-dam-ma*, ^d*A-gú* – ^d*Gu-la-du*.⁴ It is, however, evident that Hadda and ^d*Ḥa-a-ba-du* formed a couple, even though the cult of the goddess was far less important than that of the great Weather-god.

Since /l+V/ can be expressed simply by V,⁵ the name ^d*Ḥa-a-ba-du* /ḥaHaBa-tu/, can easily be interpreted as a form with the feminine nisbe: /ḥalabājtū/ “She of Ḥalab”⁶.

During the Ebla period the most important centre for the cult of the god Hadda was *Ḥa-lam*^{ki} (the other was *Lu-ub*^{ki})⁷; and it has been proposed by W. von Soden and W. G. Lambert that *Ḥa-lam*^{ki} is to be identified with Ḥalab⁸. The name of the female counterpart of Hadda in the Ebla texts prove that *Ḥa-lam*^{ki} was indeed the Early Dynastic writing for Ḥalab.

3 Four of these tablets have been published by G. Pettinato 1979a. This author holds (ibid., p. 105 with n. 120) that ^d*Ga-ba-du* corresponds to ^d*Ḥa-a-ba-du*, but the phonetic difficulties are insurmountable. ^d*Ga-ba-du* is attested only in TM.75.G.2238 obv. VIII 23, and has to be analyzed as /kabtu/, a deified epithet: “Venerable”. Cfr. ^d*Kab-ta*, ^d*Ka-ab-ta*, attested in second- and first-millennium texts; see Lambert 1976–80b.

4 See ARET 7.150 § 2, and the indices in the volumes of the series ARET.

5 See Archi 1979a: 110; Krebern timer 1982a: 211; Tonietti 1992, who thinks, pp. 121–22, “che si tratti di un processo di palatalizzazione ... non condizionato dal timbro della vocale vicina, dal momento che opera indistintamente con tutte le vocali del sistema; processo forse dovuto ad un fenomeno di interferenza linguistica”. The interpretation given below of the name ^d*Ḥa-a-ba-du* seems to point instead to a process of velarization.

6 For the presence of the relational suffix *-āj* in Eblaite see ARES 2: 21.

Concerning the representation of the diphthong *aj*, and the possibility of the shift to *ā* in Eblaite and in Northwest Semitic, see Rendsburg 1990, with previous literature.

7 See ARES 2: 257–60.

8 See von Soden 1987: 84: “Ḥalamb (*Ḥa-lam*^{ki})”, who was followed by Astour 1988: 147 with n. 50. Lambert 1990 argues convincingly that ^d*Il-ḥa-lam*, with the variant ^d*Ḥa-lam*, attested in the Early Dynastic tablets from Mari has to be identified with Hadda of Ḥalab. Lambert also noted the OB PN from Mari *I-din*-^d*Ḥa-la-ab* (ARMT 26, 2, 484, 10) in support of his interpretation. Steinkeller 1993b, has added the PN *Puzur₄-Ḥa-la-ab* lú *Ma-rí*^{ki} attested in an Isin tablet, BIN 9.324, 2–3.

It is to be noted that in the GN *Ḥa-al₆-m[a-]NI(bu₁₆/i)-um*^{ki}, ARET 1.4 rev. IV 9, where the reading *-bu₁₆-um* agrees with a value /mb/, *-i-um* appears rather instead to represent a nisbe.

For the interchange *m/b* in Sumerian, see Steinkeller 1984b: 141–42. The alternation *m/p* is also attested in Anatolia, cfr. the GNs Ḥakmiš / Ḥakpiš; Takkumiša / Takkupša; see von Schul er 1965: 101; it goes back neither to Hittite nor to Hurrian.

Document no. 2 directly connects the goddess with the place Ḫalam: ^dḪa-a-ba-du lú Ḫa-lam^{lki}. Here the scribe has inserted into LAM some wedges, as though he wanted to write IŠ₁₁ (LAMxKUR): certainly a mistake and not a piece of data to be adopted in favour of the reading Ḫa-iš₁₁^{ki}.⁹

During the second millenium the Hurrians settled between the Taurus and the [251] Euphrates had a goddess, Ḫepat, whose cult was widely diffused in the region. This goddess did not belong to any Semitic pantheon of the period, apparently because she was considered extraneous by the Amorites, the new Semitic-speaking population which had settled down in that area.¹⁰ The Hurrians made this goddess who was deeply rooted in the non-Amorite cultures their own and associated her with their Weather-god, Tešup, as his consort.¹¹

It is difficult to avoid the idea that Ḫepat can be traced back to Ḫa(l)abāju. The passage from *a* to *e* in the first syllable could possibly be explained if the disappearance of *l* is due to a process of velarization; the loss of *l* has the same effect as the loss of *h*, ^ˈ and *g* in Akkadian: *h/ˈg* > ^ˈ > Ø with a change *a* > *e* (von Soden 1952: § 9a; e.g. Oakk. *baˈālum*, OA *beˈālum*, OB *bēlum* “to rule”)¹².

The Texts

1. TM.75.G.1464 (minister: Ibrium) rev. IX 11–X 6: nu₁₁-za 1 ḫa-bù ... ^a₅(NI)-na-gu 4 si 2 gu₄ nídba en ^dĀ-da in iti ì-nun ... 1 (gín) kù-gi 1 kù-sal [níg-b]a en ^dḪa-a-ba-du al₆ tu-ra ama-gal-sù “covering of a mace... a circular

⁹ The same mistake occurs also in TM.75.G.2616 rev. IV 6 for the PN *I-nu-ud-ḫa-lam*^l (LAMxKUR). There are several errors made by the Ebla scribes, and some abnormal writing forms became usual, e.g. KUL for BAL in the DN ^dA₅-da-bal/KUL and UDUA for UZU (for the second alternation see Archi 1994b). See, in general, Krecher 1987: 179–83.

¹⁰ Even for the Hurrian community of Ugarit, Ḫepat was seen as a late arrival and appears at the end of the canon following the ancient nucleus of the Pantheon.

¹¹ About Ḫepat see Kammenhuber 1976: 143–44; Haas 1978: 65–66; Archi 1992c: 12–14 (concerning the documentation from Emar).

¹² Speiser (1941: 41) had already noted that “All these irregularities [in writing the name of Ḫepat] make it probable that this name was not of Hurrian origin”. In n. 91 he adds: “The dropping of the final *-t* [in PNs like ^{SAL}Ta-du-ḫé-pa, ^{SAL}Ge-lu-ḫé-pa] seems to point to a Semitic origin”.

For Pettinato (1979a: 105 n. 120) “La dea Ḫepat e attestata ad Ebla sotto la forma ^dḪa-a-pá-tù”. However, “The Eblaites accepted at least four deities of the Hurrian pantheon: ^dAdamma, ^dAštabi, ^dḪepat and ^dIšḫara”. Cfr. Id. 1981a: 251. The Hurrians, however, were not yet settled in Syria during the Ebla period. The opposite is true: the Hurrians received these gods from the Syrian populations which had preceded them. On this subject see Archi 1992c; Id., 1993d* [676–686]; Id. 1993g.

- support of 4 horns of 2 oxen: offering of the king to Hadda in the month VIII ... 1 (shekel) of gold for a plaque: gift of the king to Ḫabadu because of the sickness of his mother”.
2. TM.75.G.10143 (minister: Ibrium) obv. VII 9–15: 3 gín DILMUN kù-gi kin_x-ak 1 *du-rúm níg-ba Ib-rí-um* ^d*Ḫa-a-ba-du* lú *Ḫa-lam*^l(LAMxKUR)^{ki} “3 standard shekels of gold to make a *d.*: gift of Ibrium to Ḫabadu of Ḫalam”.
 3. TM.75.G.1918 (MEE 10.29) (minister: Ibbi-zikir) obv. XIII 15–21: 4 gín DILMUN kù-gi 1 kù-sal *ma-li[k-tum]* lul-ku-ak 1 kù-sal-sù lú ì-na-sum ^d*Ḫa-a-ba-du* “4 standard shekels of gold for a plaque for the queen in exchange for a plaque which she had given to Ḫabadu”.
 4. 75.G.2428 (minister: Ibbi-zikir) obv. III 27–39: 7 (gín) kù-gi nu₁₁-za 1 an-dùl níg-ba en ^d*’Ā-da* ... 1 (gín) kù-gi 2 kù-sal níg-ba en [252] *ma-lik-tum* ^d*Ḫa-a-ba-du* “7 (shekels) of gold for the covering of a statue: gift of the king to Hadda ... 1 (shekel) of gold for two plaques: gift of the king and queen to Ḫabadu”.
 - 5.1. TM.75.G.2429 (minister: Ibbi-zikir) rev. IX 4–18: *’a₅-na-gu* si-si 2 gud nídba en ^d*’Ā-da* lú *Ḫa-lam*^{ki} ... 1 gín DILMUN kù-gi 1 kù-sal ^d*Ḫa-a-ba-du* “tag₄” nídba en ì-na-sum “a circular support of (4) horns of 2 oxen: offering of the king to Hadda of Ḫalam ... 1 standard shekel of gold for a plaque: delivered to Ḫabadu, given as an offering from the king”.
 - 5.2. TM.75.G.2429 rev. XXII 27–XXIII 4: ½ (gín) kù-gi 1 kù-sal níg-ba *ma-lik-tum* ^d*Ḫa-a-ba-du* “0.5 (shekels) of gold for a plaque: gift of the queen to Ḫabadu”.
 - 6.1. TM.75.G.2462 (minister: Ibbi-zikir) rev. XVI 3–10: 7 ½ (gín) babbar:kù 1 á-MUŠEN ... 2 (gín) kù-gi nu₁₁-za-sù níg-ba ^d*Ḫa-a-ba-du* “7.5 (shekels) of silver for a crest, ... 2 (shekels) of gold for his covering: gift to Ḫabadu”.
 - 6.2. TM.75.G.2462 rev. XIX 28–34: 1 (gín) 1 kù-sal 1 buru₄-MUŠEN níg-ba *ma-lik-tum* ^d*Ḫa-a-ba-du* “1 (shekel) for a plaque for a raven: gift of the queen to Ḫabadu”.
 - 7.1. TM.75.G.2508 (minister: Ibbi-zikir) obv. XIV 7–20: 16 gín DILMUN babbar:kù nu₁₁-za 1 an-dùl ... 6 gín DILMUN kù-gi nu₁₁-za igi-UM 2 šu 2 DU-sù ^d*’Ā-da* ... ½ kù-gi 1 kù-sal ^d*Ḫa-a-ba-du* *Īl-’ā-ag-da-mu* in-na-sum “16 standard shekels of silver for the covering of a statue, ... 6 standard shekels of gold for the covering of the face, the two hands and the two feet of Hadda; ... 0.5 shekels of gold for a plaque for Ḫabadu: Il’ak-damu has given (it)”.
 - 7.2. TM.75.G.2508 (minister: Ibbi-zikir) obv. XXI 32–41: 2 gín DILMUN babbar:kù nu₁₁-za 1 gír mar-tu ^d*’Ā-da* ... ½ kù-gi 1 kù-sal ^d*Ḫa-a-ba-du* níg-ba en “2 standard shekels of silver for the covering of a martu dagger for Hadda; ... 0.5 shekels of gold for a plaque for Ḫabadu: a gift from the king”.

8. TM.75.G.10074 (minister: Ibbi-zikir) obv. XIV 3–12: ša-pi gín DILMUN bab-bar:kù 1 íb-lá 1 si-ti-tum 1 gír-kun ^dĀ-da ... 4 gín DILMUN kù-gi 1 kù-sal ^dĤa-a-ba-du níg-ba en “40 standard shekels of silver for a belt, a pendant and a curved dagger for Hadda; ... 4 standard shekels of gold for a plaque for Ĥabadu: a gift from the king”.
9. TM.76.G.223 obv. II 1–IV 5: 10 gud ... ^dĀ-da lú Ĥa-lam^{ki} 2 gud ^dBE Du-du-lu^{ki} ... 2 gud ^dĬ-da-KUL A-ru₁₂-ga-du^{ki} 2 gud ^dRa-sa-ap ... 2 gud ^dĤa-a-ba-du 2 gud ^dAš-da-bíl.

The Moon in the Dual

The Eblaïtes had adopted the writing ^dEN:ZU used in Babylonia for Suinu, the Moon-god. The manuscripts A and B of the bilingual lexical lists have ^dEN:ZI = *Zu-i-nu*; D: ^dEN[:ZI] = *Zu-i-n[u]*; C: ^dEN:ZU = *Zu-^ri[-nu]*.¹³ The administrative documents have ^dEN:ZU, with the exception of TM.75.G.1902 (text no. 4, below), which has ^dEN:SU. [253]

The Eblaïte gloss suggests a reading /suyīn-u/, like the DN *syn* in Ancient South Arabian.¹⁴ The same writing as in the gloss is attested in the PNs of two people from Kiš: *Du-bī-zu-i-nu* (TM.75.G.2426 obv. VI 17), *Ĭr-am₆-zu-i-nu* (TM.75.G.2270 obv. X 7).¹⁵

In the scribal school at Ebla certain myths were known which had been developed through contact with the Semites and Sumerians in southern Mesopotamia. ^dEN:ZU appears in the myth ARET 5.6, a tablet which is a copy of IAS 326+342 from Abū Ṣalābīḥ.¹⁶ This fact must have had only a minimal impact on the cult.

The administrative texts only mention ^dEN:ZU rarely on the occasion of the registration of gifts and offerings.

1. TM.75.G.3858 (ARET 3.769)+ obv. I 1–5: 1 udu [^d]EN:ZU ^r4^r udu [^d]Ku-ra [e]n “1 sheep for Suinu; 4 sheep for Kura, the king (has offered)”.
2. TM.75.G.1441 rev. III 17–IV 1: 1 sal-TÚG du₁₁ nídba ^dEN:ZU NI-ra-ar^{ki} “1 s.-cloth: order for the offering to the god Suinu of Nírar”.

¹³ Cfr. MEE 4: 289 no. 799. The usual Pre-Sargonic writing inverts the order of the signs: ^dEN:ZU, and the exceptions are few, see Bottéro 1958: 44–47; cfr. Roberts 1972: 48–50.

¹⁴ This isogloss was noted by G. Steiner *apud* Parpola 1988: 297. Conti (1990: 191) remarks: “/su^rin(u)/ sarebbe l’interpretazione tradizionale di questo nome divino; l’interpretazione /suyīn(u)/ però è più adeguata alla grafia (i per /i/ non è altrove attestato nella fonte D...) e per di più corrisponde al ND anticosudarabico”.

¹⁵ See Archi 1987c*: 131, 138–39 [484, 493].

¹⁶ See Krebernik 1992: 72–86, 96. The text had been previously studied by Lambert 1989.

3. TM.75.G.1837 obv. IX' 9'–12': *Háb-ra-ar* lú *Ib-ga-iš-lu* šeš-II-ib ^dEN:ZU *wa* ^d*Ba-li-ḥa* “Ḥ., the man of I., the š. priest of the god Suinu and the two (river-)gods Baliḥ”.¹⁷
4. TM.75.G.1902 (MEE 10.27) rev. I 7–II 2: 4 gín DILMUN kù-gi 2 an-dùl 2 šu 2 DU 2 sag níg-ba ^dĪ-lam 1 gín DILMUN kù-gi 2 ^dEN:SU en “4 standard shekels of gold for 2 statues, (i.e. their) 2 (pairs of) hands, 2 (pairs of) feet, 2 heads: gift for the god 'Ilam. 1 standard shekel of gold for the 2 gods Suinu (of) the king”.
5. TM.75.G.1738 rev. III 3–8: 8 (gín) an-na 2 gír mar-tu en *Ar-ru*₁₂-LUM 2 (gín) an-na 2 ^dEN:ZU “8 (shekels) of tin for two *martu* daggers for the king and (the minister) ArruLUM. 2 (shekels) of tin for the 2 gods Suinu”.

When writing the two PNs from Kiš the scribes used the phonetic rendering; but the name of a king of a Syrian city presents the inverted writing, TM.75.G.12346 I' 3'–5': *Li-im*-^dEN:ZU en *I-bu*₁₆(NI)-*bu*^{ki}.¹⁸

In only one of the twenty-one lists of sheep-offerings preserved,¹⁹ that is text no. 1, does Suinu (Suyīnu) head the list of the gods. In all the other documents the first god listed is ^dŠa-ma-gan, clearly because he was the tutelary god of domestic quadrupeds,²⁰ while Suinu is never mentioned. The cult of Šamkan was rather common [254] in northern Syria, according to the Ebla texts,²¹ and it is therefore not possible that the two gods were confused. It is likely that Suinu was introduced into that offering list because, in southern Mesopotamia, the Moon-god had the power to multiply cattle herds,²² a belief which at Ebla seems to have referred only to sheep and not to cattle, as we see from the offering lists, which concern only the outlay of sheep.

¹⁷ See n. 24.

¹⁸ See TM.75.G.1364 obv. XI 15–17 (*Li-im*-^dEN:SU), 1535 obv. V 11–13; both texts are to be dated to the period when Arrukum was minister. The element *li-im* is usually at the end of the name, but there is also the name *Li-ma*-(^d)*Da-gan*, see Krebern timer 1988a: 241–242.

¹⁹ Four of these tablets have been published by Pettinato 1979a.

²⁰ On Šamkan/Šakkan in the third millennium, see Lambert 1986, with previous literature.

²¹ Iku(n)-Šamkan was the name of a king of Mari, MAM 3: 309, no. 1. In the two bullae found in the courtyard of a temple in Tell Brak one has to read anše and not ^dŠamkan, as it was at first thought; see D. and J. Oates 1993: 164.

²² N. Veldhuis, 1991: 1, defines these beliefs in the following way: “Because of his horns, which are visible when the moon is waxing, he (the Moon-god) is often associated with cattle. ‘Wild bull’ is one of his wellknown epithets. On the other hand, in astrological texts the moon is frequently designated as a shepherd, the stars sometimes being the flock. In hymns the moon-god is often given a pastoral role, conveying fertility upon his cattle.”

Nlrrar, a centre of the cult of Suinu according to text no. 2, was an independent city not far from Ebla.²³

According to text no. 3, Suinu had a priest who was also in the service of another deity (a fact attested also for other gods), the deified river Baliḥ, which was considered as a couple, in that in its upper stretches the river is split in two.²⁴

The syntactic interpretation of text no. 4: “the 2 gods Suinu (of) the king” would appear certain.²⁵ The number which precedes the DN (2 sloping lines) indicates that here, as in text no. 5, the name is in the dual.²⁶ It is likely that the dual was suggested by the manner in which Suinu was represented and one thinks immediately of the crescent, the Moon-god’s most frequent attribute.²⁷ Possibly in the cases in which we find 2 ^dEN:ZU the god was represented only as a crescent moon and not as an anthropomorphic figure. Apparently, the Akkadian *uskūru* “crescent”, a loanword from Sumerian *u₄-sakar*,²⁸ was unknown at Ebla.

Another name for the Moon-god is found in an incantation, ARET 5.4 § 4: *en-ma ti-gi si-in zi-ne-éb-ti* ^dUtu *si-in 2 si* ^dSa-nu-ga-ru₁₂ *na-AN*^{1?} *nu-ḫi-mu-DU* “Thus (he says): ‘do not bring *t.* to the *beams* of the Sun, *n.* to the two horns of Šanugaru!’” Parallel to this passage is ARET 4.1 § 8: *a-za-me-ga al₆ zi-na-ba-t[i]* ^dUt[u] *al₆ su-lu-la-a 1 iti* “I have bound you on the *beams* of the Sun, on the two horns of the Moon”. [255]

2 *si* coincides with *šurūr-ay(n)*,²⁹ and 1 *iti* coincides with ^dSa-nu-ga-ru₁₂, “ein Name des Mondgottes oder eines seiner Epithete”.³⁰

23 Nlrrar opens the lists of the city-states to which Ebla regularly delivered clothes; see ARET 1: 224–225 and ARES 2: 404–409.

24 2 ^dBa-li-ḫa appears in ARET 5.4 II 5, 5 VII 7 and TM.75.G.10074 rev. XIV 9. The name ^dBa-li-ḫa, ^dBa-li-ḫa-a is in the dual: /baliḥ-ān/; see Krebern timer 1984: 133–34.

25 Cfr. ARET 4.7 § 39, MEE 2.40 obv. V 1–4, TM.75.G.1356 obv. II 1–4: *šeš-2-ib LAK-457* ^dŠĀRA-iš en “... for the goddess Iṣḫara (of) the king”; ARET 7.58 obv. II 1–3: 1 an-dùl ^dŠĀRA-iš en “1 statue of the goddess Iṣḫara (of) the king”.

26 See also: 2 ^dBa-li-ḫa, in n. 24. Sometimes the number 2 follows, as in *gú-li-lum ab-si-2 / 2 ab-si; gú-li-lum sa-ḫa-wa-2 / 2 sa-ḫa-wa*, “bracelet with a pair of a. / s.”; see ARET 2: 118 and 137; ARET 3: 355–56.

27 See the material collected by Collon 1992.

28 See AHW 1438a; Stol 1992: 245–47. Cfr. Civil 1984: 284.

29 This interpretation has been given by Fronzaroli 1988b: 17, who refers to. Akk. *šarūru* “radiance, sunlight; shoot (of a plant)”, Syr. *šrūrā* “shoot (of a plant)”. For *zi-ne-éb-ti / zi-na-ba-t[i]*, which here has to mean something like “radiance”, he quotes Ar. *šanifa* “hem (of a garment)” as well as Heb. *šanīp* “turban”.

30 Edzard, ARET 5: 20.

This DN is attested once again in an administrative document, TM.75.G.1923 obv. V 4–11: 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ gín DILMUN an-na šub *si-in* 17 gín a-gar₅ 1 dub-sù níg-ba *lb-rí-um* ^d*Sa-nu-ga-ar Mâ-NE*^{ki} “1.5 standard shekels of tin to be melted in 17 shekels of copper for 1 tablet of his: gift from Ibrium for the god Šanugar of MaNE”. MaNE was located on the Euphrates not far from Emar. The principal divinity of MaNE was Išhara, ^dŠĀRA-iš, but it was also known as a “Lord”, ^dBE (*ba’lu*) of MaNE.³¹ Šanugaru is perhaps to be identified with this “Lord”, certainly not with Išhara.³² The interpretation of the name is obscure: perhaps it belongs to the pre-Semitic substrate (the first part cannot derive from the root ʾN, Akk. *šina*, *šanû* because the series *ša*, *ši*, *šu* would have been used). Stephanie Dalley suggests identifying Šanugaru with Šangar(a) / Šaggar(a) of the 2nd millennium. This latter would seem to be a lunar deity according to the inscription on a seal from Emar, where the cuneiform ^{ld}30-*a-bi* corresponds to the Hieroglyphic Hittite *Sà-ga+ra*[?]-*a-bu*. In addition, in both Hittite and (Ugaritic-)Hurrian documents, this god is connected with Išhara, KBo XXIX 213+ Vs. 11–12; RS 24.285, 13 (*Ugaritica* V, 511)³³.

The entry ^dEN:ZU was included in the bilingual lexical lists not because it refers to a Sumerian god but because of that peculiar writing in use in southern Mesopotamia. The god is rarely mentioned in the administrative documents. In order to have some points of reference one should consider that, excluding the offering lists, the Sun-god Utu is mentioned approximately 40 times and Šamkan no more than 15 times. The impact of the cult of Suinu at Kiš was certainly very different: out of 33 PNs from Kiš noted in the Ebla texts, two

31 On MaNE, see ARES 2: 379–80.

32 For the goddess Išhara at Ebla, see Archi 1993d* [676–686]

33 Dalley and Teissier 1992: 90–91. Also see Haas 1994: 373. The passage in KBo XXIX 213+ was pointed out to me by Doris Prechel who is preparing a study of this deity [Prechel 1999]. The fragment which joins KBo XXIX 213 has been published in transliteration by H. G. Güterbock, in 1979: 138–42 (in line 12 Güterbock reads ^d*Ta-an-ga-ra* instead of ^dŠa-, but the duplicate KBo XXI 42 I 24 has ^dŠa[-]). For the PN from Emar, see Laroche 1981: 11.

Stol 1979: 75–80, discovered a deity Saggār / Šaggar as the reading of ^dĤAR, identified by him with the Jebel Sinjār, and attested in the texts from Mari and Tell al-Rimah, as well as in some god lists and a Middle Babylonian literary text. This god is not to be confused with the Moon-deity Saggara from (Ebla and) Emar, attested in the *zuku* ritual, where he “occurs in conjunction with the second and fifteenth days of the month, also in connection with the evening, *nubattu*, and the deity Night, ^d*mušitu*” as Dalley has remarked (p. 90); see Arnaud 1986: nos. 373, ll. 43, 192’: *i-na u₄.15.kām i-na u₄-mi Ša-ag-ga-ri/ru*; 375 l. 4: *i-na u₄-mi 15 ^dĤAR-ar*; 446 l. 45’: *i-na u₄-mi 15 ^dĤAR*; nos. 373 l. 176’: *i-[na u₄.]2.kām*; 373 ll. 114’–115’: *a-na ^dMu-š[i-ti ki.min] a-na ^dŠag-[ga-ar ki.min]*, ll. 182’–183’: *i-na pa-ni nu-ba-at-ti ^dŠa-ag-ga-ar*. The king of Karkamiš of the time of Ashurnasirpal II and Shalmaneser III, Sa(n)gara, was named after this god.

contain Suinu³⁴ while among the several hundred PNs relating to northern Syria we find only Lima-EN:ZU [256] from Ibubu. On the other hand the great gods figure only rarely as part of an Eblaite PN. If Šanugaru was truly a Moon-god of the substrate civilization, his presence could have interfered with the cult of Suinu.

However, the fact that a Suinu of NĪrar exists and that the god was associated in some way with Baliḥ shows that his cult was rooted in the area of Ebla and probably not imported from Mesopotamia. Ebla therefore represents a third point beside Babylonia and Ḥaḍramawt, in the geographical distribution of the cult of Suinu, a divinity who belonged to the common Semitic heritage³⁵. Further, it is certain that Yaraḥ was introduced into northern Syria by the Amorites, because the incantation ARET 5.4 has ^d*Sa-nu-ga-ru*₁₂ instead of *iti* of the parallel version ARET 5.1.

³⁴ See n. 15.

³⁵ Lambert 1984a has argued that the Moon-god worshipped at Ebla was ^d*A₅-da-bal*/KUL because (L)arugadu was one of the major cult-centres of that god, and a *Yrḥ* of *Lrgt* is attested in the Ugaritic alphabetic texts. Contra: E. Sollberger, *RA* 82 (1988) 96; also see Lambert's rejoinder, *Revue d'Assyriologie* 83 (1989) 96.

The documentation presented here makes this supposition unlikely. Furthermore, the cult of Hadabal, one of the great gods of Ebla, was diffused in a way which would be unusual for an astral deity. His main cult-centres were [']*Ā-ma-du*^{ki} and *Lu-ba-an*^{ki} besides (L)arugadu; and in his cultic journey the god passed through 39 localities; see Archi 1979a [615–623].

38 Studies in the Ebla Pantheon, II¹

3 ^d*Ba-ra-du ma-du*, ^d*Aš/Áš-da-bíl*, ^d*A-na ma-du*, ^d*I-da ma-du*

After mentioning Rašap of Hadani and his consort Adamma (sections §§ 9–10), [1] ARET 2.8 lists the following goddesses: ^dNin-kar; ^d*A-dam-ma gú-núm*; ^d*Ba-ra-du ma-du*; ^d*Da-bí-na-du lú Gú-šè-bù^{ki}*; ^d*Da-bí-na-du Zi-ig^{ki}* (sections §§ 11–15).²

The suffix /-at/ shows that ^d*Da-bí-na-du* is a goddess. The following passage shows that ^d*Ba-ra-du ma-du*³ is the consort of Ašdabil while ^d*Da-bí-na-du* is the consort of ^d*Á-la*:

[2] TM.75.G.2239 rev. V 7–VI 18: 2 gír mar-tu kù-gi lú mu-DU *Ib-rí-um wa 2 gín kù-gi 2 kù-sal sikil ní-g-ba* ^d*Áš-da-bíl wa* ^d*Ba-ra-du ma-du wa ní-g-ba* ^d*Á-la* ^d*Da-bí-na-du ... al₆ tu-ra en sikil*

Orientalia N. S. 66 (1997) 414–25.

1 Nos. 1 and 2 were published in Archi 1994a* [592–600].

2 This edition did not recognize the name of Dabinatu, a goddess who is seldom mentioned.

3 For G. Pettinato ^d*Ba-ra-du ma-du* means “the great cold river”. He refers this epithet to the Euphrates; in his opinion, this writing “explains the incomprehensible *purattu/furat* of Mesopotamian- Arabic tradition». See Pettinato 1981a: 247; cfr. Id. 1979a: 103.

D. O. Edzard, ARET 2: 112, has noted that, in this way, Pettinato “möglichlicherweise eine (arab.) Wurzel BRD ‘kalt’ und den Flußnamen Purattu kontaminiert». Some years later Edzard identified the name of the Euphrates with *bù-la-na-tim*, ARET 5.3 IV 3. He interprets section § 4 of the ritual, nag a *bù-la-na-tim* du₁₀, as follows: ... *māwī Puran(a)tim t̃ābūtīm(?)* “Trinke / er wird trinken gutes Euphratwasser” (p. 23). This passage shows that the identification of Baradu madu with the Euphrates is questionable. In the name *bù-la-na-tim* /*puran-t-im*/ (in Sumerian Buranun) *n* was not assimilated to *t* as also happens in some later texts, see TIM 9, 46, 26: *Pu-ra-[a]n-tum* (aB Gilgameš; courtesy W. R. Mayer); Groneberg 1980: 303 (two texts from Mari); del Monte and Tischler 1978: 543 (two Hurrian texts); Diakonoff and Kashkai 1981: 111 (an Urartean text).

According to P. Xella 1986: 442–44, ^d*Ba-ra-du ma-du* must be identified with nothing less than one of the two elements which provoked the seventh plague in Egypt. On p. 443 he writes: “Que Barad, ‘la grêle’ ou ‘le gel’, soit ici un ‘démon déchu’, c’est-à-dire une ancienne divinité syro-palestinienne intégré dans la cour du dieu d’Israël, semble pratiquement sûr, comme l’avaient indiqué, avant même Caquot, d’autres savants.” These scholars are quoted by A. Caquot 1956: 61 note 2. For the second element, *ma-du*, no interpretation is given. It is, however, much too risky to identify two elements which belong to two different systems, especially when the function of one of them, the Eblaite, remains obscure.

Although ^d*Ba-ra-du ma-du* is rarely attested, she is associated with Aštabil in several other texts. In [3] the hereditary prince Ir'aq-damu gives silver for the decoration of the statues of the two gods, while their faces, hands and feet are covered [415] with gold. In [4] ^d*Ba-ra-du ma-du* receives small objects, perhaps gold beads, and Aštabil receives a vase with a gold lid on the occasion of a purification ritual for the sick Ir'aq-damu, a rite in which other gods are also involved.

[3] TM.75.G.2428 obv. XXIII 24–36: 7 gín DILMUN babbar:kù nu₁₁-za 2 an-dùl ... 2 gín DILMUN kù-gi nu₁₁-za igi-dub¹(UM) 2 šu 2 DU-sù níg-ba *Īl-'à-ag-da-mu* ^d*Āš-da-bīl wa* ^d*Ba-ra-du ma-du* in ud nídba

[4] TM.75.G.2051 rev. II 1–IV 1: 27 <gín> kù-gi 21 GIŠ-TIN²-LAM-GA 10 *du-ru₁₂-gú* 6 ½ <gín> kù-gi 70 *du-ru₁₂-gú* ^d*Ba-ra-du ma-du* 35 <gín> kù-gi 1 an-zam_x 1 pad-sù ^d*Āš-da-bīl sikil al₆ tu-ra Īl-'à-ag-da-mu* GIŠ-TUM

Passage [5], a text, to be dated to the time of the vizier Ibbi-zikir, suggests the reading /BarD-u(m)/. The writing ^d*Ba-tum* in [6] (this time the vizier is Ibrium) shows the disappearance of /r/ before the following dental or its assimilation. Such a phenomenon, however, appears to be unparalleled; but it may perhaps be explained by the phonetic value of /r/ which, at Ebla, may be expressed by signs of the L-series.⁴

[5] TM.75.G.10201 rev. XII 18–22: 1 gín DILMUN kù-gi 1 kù-sal níg-ba en ^d*Bar-du ma-du* níg-ba en

[6] TM.75.G.2465 obv. II 5–14: 1 gín DILMUN kù-gi 1 kù-sal níg-ba en ^d*Ba-tum ma-du āš-ti* gír mar-tu-sù šu-mu-“tag₄” al₆ tu-ra *Ib-rí-um*; II 14–24: 2 gín DILMUN kù-gi é kù-sal níg-ba en ^d*Ba-tum ma-du wa* ^d*Da-bí-na-du āš-ti* 2 gír mar-tu kù-gi al₆ tu-ra en

The third variant of the usual form is found in a monthly list of sheep offerings from the last years of Ebla: [7] TM.75.G.2517+ obv. VII 12 and VIII 32: ^d*Ba-ru₁₂-du ma-du*. The fact that here the vowel of the second syllable is influenced by the case marker -u, confirms the reading /BarD-u(m)/. In the first passage, it is the queen who offers the sheep; in the second it is Za'aše, the daughter of the vizier Ibbi-zikir.

In these lists, which concern offerings to the approximately forty principal gods of the pantheon, ^d*Ba-ra-du ma-du* is rarely found. But this infrequent presence is also common to the consorts of the principal gods, such as Kura's wife Barama and Ḫa(l)abatu, the wife of Hadda of Ḫalab.⁵ In the following two cases, the sheep offerings are again made by women: the queen in [8]

⁴ Cfr. Krebenik 1982: 210–11, with previous bibliography.

⁵ See the four offering lists published by G. Pettinato 1979a.

TM.75.G.2075 obv. IV 28–V 3⁶ and the princess Kešdūt [9] TM.75.G.10169+ obv. VI 14–17.

In [10], dating to the time of the vizier Arrukum, mention is made of a statuette whose date is earlier than the one of text [3] which belongs to the time of the vizier Ibbi-zikir:

[10] MEE 2.48 rev. V 10–VI 4: 3 gín DILMUN babbar:kù UNKEN-ak an-dùl níg-ba ^d*Ba-ra-du ma-ad*

In [2] the two gods each receive a mar-tu dagger, while the goddesses Baradu madu and Dabinatu receive something like a clasp or a stud. A kù-sal is usually used for attaching bridles to the noses of mules,⁷ but it is also a gift to the [416] goddesses.⁸ A kù-sal is also given in [5], while in [6] the kù-sal for Baradu madu and Dabinatu are associated with two mar-tu daggers, apparently also dedicated to these goddesses. This is also the case in [11].

[11] TM.75.G.10074 obv. VI 10–16: ½ gín DILMUN kù-gi níg-ba en ^d*Ba-ra-du ma-du aš-da* 1 gír mar-tu-sù

These gold clasps are quite light, weighing from 0.5 to 1 shekel, and 1 shekel equals 7.8 grams. In [3] the goddess receives a few dozen pearls: *du-ru*₁₂-gú. In [1] as in [12] the gift is greater: 2 *ti-gi-na* ornaments, whose total weight is 1 mina (470 grams).

[12] TM.75.G.10270 obv. VII 10–12: 1 ma-na kù-[gi] ^r*ti-gi-na* ^d*Ba-ra-du ma-du*

The Ebla documents are mainly administrative, and the monotonous gift lists, which rarely differentiate the recipients, do not enable us to establish the functions of the various gods. For this reason the nature of Baradu madu as well as that of her consort Aštābil remains unclear.

The cult of Aštābil was fairly widespread: he is mentioned dozens of times. In addition to Ebla, the god had minor cult centres at *Ba-šē*^{ki}, cfr. TM.75.G.1464 rev. XIV 5–6; at *Du-ub*^{ki} (Tuba) and *Īr-ku*^{ki} cfr. TM.75.G.1730 rev. XVIII 7–9. Since certain basic functions of several gods remain constant for millennia, it is possible that, already in the third millennium, Aštābil was a warrior god, as he later was in the pantheon of the Hurrians who settled in Syria during the second millennium. In the Hurrian pantheon developed in Kizzuwatna, and then transmitted to the Hittites, Aštābil(l) is equated with Ninurta. At Ebla, however, no element exists to prove the warlike character of this god. Moreover, in the annual accounts of precious metals Aštābil receives two bracelets

⁶ See Pettinato 1979a: 149.

⁷ See Archi 1985e*: 32 [733–734].

⁸ For the goddess Ḫa(l)abatu, see Archi 1994a*: 249 [592–594].

(*gú-li-lum*), while it is the weather-god Hadda who receives a mace (*ḥa-bù* = *GIŠ+ŠITA_x*) and a dagger (*gír*) as well as bracelets.

Post-15th century sources use writings without *-l*: *Aštabi* at *Ḥattuša* and *Alalaḥ*, *Aštb* at Ugarit.⁹ But three documents from 18th century Mari have ^d*Aš-ta-bi-il*.¹⁰ [417] This last writing confirms that the name originally ended in *-l*,¹¹ even though *-l* already tended to disappear at this time as is demonstrated by *I-bal-aš-ta-bi*, the name of a man from the northern *Ḥabur* region, attested in other unpublished Mari texts.¹² Durand, noting that ^d*Aš-ta-bi-il* has the struc-

9 See E. Laroche 1979: 61. The *Alalaḥ* tablets contain PNN such as *Aštabi-šarri*, *Eḫli-Aštabi*, ALT 130,133. The Hurrian rituals in alphabetic writing from Ugarit mention *Aštb* along with other deities. See Laroche, *Ugaritica* V: 519–21; add RS 24.255, *Ugaritica* VII: 140–43.

RS 137 IV b 16 says: ^dL[ugal-ma]r-d[] = *Aš-ta-bi-^rin^r* = *Aš-ta-ru*: see *Ugaritica* V: 249. An ending in *-n* is also found in other divine names in the Hurrian column, such as *Milkun* and *Ajakun*. Also see the later Assyrian copy of the Babylonian god-list CT XXV 11 II 31: ^d*Aš-tu-u-bi-nu* = ^dZa-ba₄-ba₄ ^dMAŠ.SU.

Some rituals in Ugaritic mention the male deity *Aštar* together with *Aštapar/l*. Note RS 24.251 (= KTU 1.107) 16: [^t]tr.w ^ttp_r; RS 24.271 (= KTU 1.123) 10: ^ttr.w ^ttp_r; RS 1.9 (= KTU 1.46) 4: [^t]tr.w ^ttp_l. J. C. de Moor (1970b: 315) interpreted this term as being “possibly Akkad. *aštapi-ru*, a Hurrian (?) LW meaning ‘personnel’”. Although some other scholars have followed de Moor’s proposal – for example M. Dietrich, O. Loretz and J. Sanmartín 1975: 165 – this explanation is questionable. D. Pardee (1988: 252–253) is surely right in interpreting ^ttp_r/l as *Aštabil*. The consonantal alternation at the end of this name, and the fact that it appears together with several Semitic gods, makes Pardee think (in note 105) that, at Ugarit, this god did not belong to the Hurrian tradition, but was present, albeit in a limited manner, in the Semitic tradition. However, the *r/l* alternation in this name reflects the uncertain pronunciation of the final consonant (originally /l/) in the name during the pre-Hurrian period; this alternation is constantly ignored in the Hurrian texts. But such an alternation cannot be explained by means of Eblaite phonetics, for which *l* may stand for etymological /r/ and not vice-versa. See above, note 4.

The entry *Aštabi(n)* = *Aštar(u)* in the trilingual god-list *Ugaritica* V: 249, l. 16 seems to derive from the couple ^ttr.w ^ttp_r found in the above-mentioned Semitic rituals. Perhaps these rituals intended to determine with the second name the nature of *Aštar*. At Ugarit the warlike nature of *Aštabi* was well-known, as is demonstrated by the equation that appears in RS 137 IV b 16. It is true that *Lugal-marada* was originally an epithet of *Nergal*, but the name then tends to be assimilated to *Ninurta*. See Stol 1987–90: 148.

10 These texts, A.747, A.1283, A.2865, will be published in ARMT 26, 3. A.747 is quoted in translation by Durand 1995: 338. *Aštabil* is a god who gives oracles in dreams. The event to which these documents refer concerns a sheikh from *Ziniyan*, in the territory of *Saggaratum*, a city lying north-west of *Terqa*, probably close to the river *Ḥabur* (courtesy of J.-M. Durand).

11 *Aštabi* cannot therefore be placed together with other Hurrian gods whose names have a final *-bi*, such as *Kumarbi* and *Nabarbi*. The transcription ^d*Aš-da-bi₂* used by Pettinato (1979a: 102) is not possible. In any case the only phonetic value for *GIBIL* attested at Ebla is *bīl*, *pīl*. See Krebernik 1982: 188.

12 Durand 1995: 230.

ture of a personal name, would interpret the name as Yaštabi-El, parallel to Akk. Išbi-: “El/The god has satisfied himself”.¹³

It is true that the Akkadian perfect seems to appear in some Eblaite personal names.¹⁴ But the Eblaite form is ^dĀš/Aš-*da-bīl*, while the element /il-/ “god” in the final position in a personal name is written only with the signs IL or NI (-i, with the disappearance of the final /l/), and perhaps also with AN.

Therefore, if GIBIL in ^dĀš/Aš-*da-bīl* represents *-bi+il*, we were dealing with an entirely anomalous writing and this would mean that the Eblaite had forgotten the meaning of the divine name. This is not very probable.¹⁵ One may be tempted to find a Semitic etymology for the other deities as well. ^dA-*da-dam-ma*, the consort of Rašap, may derive from *’*dm* “blood, red”, and ^dBa-*ra-ma*, the consort of Kura, recalls Akk. *barāmu* “to be multicolored”. But, in this second case at least, one would expect the feminine ending *-at*.

Aštabil, like Adamma, Ammarigu, Ḥa(l)abatu, Šanugar and to a certain degree, Išhara, belongs to the group of gods who did not find a place in the dominant pantheon of the Amorites who established themselves in northern Syria. This is because the society that had a place for these gods disappeared with the destruction of Ebla. Having therefore become local gods, they were included in the pantheon [418] of the Hurrians who, from the first centuries of the second millennium, began to establish themselves west of the Euphrates, in northern Syria and eastern Anatolia.¹⁶ Some other cultural elements remained as the heritage of the preceding period. For example, a month name in the so-called local calendar at Ebla (the sixth month): “month of Aštabi”, was still used in Alalaḫ VII (end of the 17th century).¹⁷ Among these gods Ḥa(l)abatu, who then became the Hurrian Ḫebat,¹⁸ has a name whose origin is Semitic; others, however, like Aštabil, seem to have names that go back to a pre-Semitic substrate.

As was stated above, the two secondary writings of the name ^dBa-*ra-du*, ^dBar-*du* in [5] and ^dBa-*ru*₁₂-*du* in [7], point to a hypothetical original form such

13 Durand 1995: 229–30.

14 Krebernik (1996a: 244) quotes some personal names consisting of a single verbal form with infix *t(a)*, such as *Īl-da-kas* beside *Īl-gū-uš-*, *Iš-da-AL₆* beside *Iš-AL₆-*, *Ig-da-rí-iš* beside *Ig-rí-iš-*. He notes that “(these forms) may be compared to the G perfect or GT preterite of Akkadian”.

15 A more plausible interpretation is to see in ^dĀš/Aš-*da-bīl* a Š₂ stem, as W. R. Mayer suggested to me. The Akk. form is *uštāb/pil*, but *ji-* seems to be used in Oakk. Š forms: see von Soden 1995: § 103 s Nachtrag. For Amorite, see Gelb 1958: 159. Streck 1994: 163–64, derives the *šutāb/pulu* forms from *apālu*, with a reciprocal figurative meaning of “to meditate” (courtesy W. R. Mayer).

16 For these problems, see Archi: 1992c.

17 AIT 263: 20; cfr. Wiseman 1954: 20; Id. 1959: 26.

18 Archi 1994a*: 249–252 [592–594].

as /BarD-u/,¹⁹ a form to be derived from **brd* “cold”, a root attested in Aramaic, Arabic and Ethiopic.

ma-du could be derived from: 1. **m'd* “to be plentiful, abundant”; 2. Eblaite, Akkadian /*māt-u*/ “country, land”, > Aramaic /*māt-ā*/; 3. **mwt* “to die”; 4. Ugaritic, Hebrew *mṭ(h)* “stick, sceptre”.²⁰ Only the first and the second elements seem to have a suitable meaning in our context: “the very Cold”, or “the Cold of the land”, where the second element is not declined because the whole sequence has to be interpreted as a compound. When /*māt-u*/ is connected with ^dBE to mean “the Lord of the country”, it is always written *ma-tum*, with the variant ^dBE *kalam^{tim}*. Note *be-lu ma-tim* in MEE 4.795b. Mimation and the construct case followed by a genitive are, however, not always expressed in the Ebla documents.

The context of the marriage ritual, ARET 11.1–3, makes it likely that é *ma-tim/dīm* should rather be analyzed as /**bayt mawt-im*/*; é *ma-da-a-am₆* (a rare variant in the acc. sg.) is a nominalized form: /**baytimawt-am*/.²¹ This noun refers to a building at NE/*Bí-na-áš^{ki}* (a small settlement not far from Ebla), a cult-place for certain of the king's ancestors. An interpretation such as “the cold Death” for ^d*Ba-ra-du(-)ma-du* [419] does not seem at all appropriate for this goddess, even if she were considered as the consort of the War-god. One could expect a demon like “the cold Death” in a ritual where it is exorcised, but not in the offering lists.

ma-du also appears in personal names like *Da-zi-ma-du*, *Lu-ti-ma-du*, *Û-la-ma-du*. Again in these cases it would appear more convincing to associate this element with **m'd* or /*māt-u*/.²²

19 For this reason ^d*Ba-ra-du* cannot be connected with the following entries in the Lexical Lists. ^{ki}*kiri₆*(KI.SAR) = *ba-ra-tum* (MEE 4: no. 837) is a noun which is derived from **pry* “to bear fruit”. See Conti 1990: 200. *še-šu-bad* = *ba-ra-tum* (MEE 4: no. 694) has to be a container for grain. For *nin-kilim* = *ba-ra-tum* (MEE 4: no. 297) note Ar. *fa'r* “rat” and see Civil 1984a: 91. 20 For the interpretation of the entry in MEE 4: no. 413 GIŠ.RU = *ma-du-um*, Ug. *mṭ*, Heb. *mṭṭe(h)* “stick”, see Pettinato 1979: 112.

21 Fronzaroli 1988d: 26; Id., ARET 11: 39 and 144. In the Eblaite writing system a C(onsonant)+a sign can represent a diphthong, that is, *Ca* can be a defective writing for /*Caw*/, /*Cay*/; see Krebernik 1982: 223; Fronzaroli 1984b: 156; Krebernik 1996a: 236–37 note 3. Another spelling for /*Caw*/ is *Ca-wa*; cfr. Rendsburg 1990: 93. This second form is probably found in (lú) *ma-wa-tim*, ARET 9.17 rev. VI 1, and (in) *ma-wa-tim*. This expression contrasts with *in ir-mi/me* in the mu-DU texts of the vizier Ibbi-zikir. The offering of gifts to the Palace by friendly cities occurred during two periods of the year, “the *ir-mi*-(festival), during the ninth month” and “the (festival) of the dead”.

But Pettinato (1992: 256) interprets é *ma-tim* (with a variant é *ma-da-am₆*) as é *mādu* “the sublime house”. This interpretation is not very convincing because of the context and the syntax.

22 Cfr. Krebernik 1988a: 96 and 245.

Help in identifying the meaning of ^d*Ba-ra-du ma-du* comes from another divine name that has the same structure: ^d*A-na ma-du*. Two parallel forms alone cannot constitute the basis for an interpretative pattern, but they do offer clues as to how a certain aspect of the divine was perceived.

We are dealing with a god who, to my knowledge, appears only twice:

[1] TM.75.G.2261 obv. II 2–9: 3 gín kù-gi nu₁₁-za 1 gír mar-tu wa 2 kù-sal ní-g-ba ^d*A-na ma-du* dingir Ar-ḫa-du^{ki} Bù-du-mi šu-mu. “tag₄”

[2] TM.75.G.10153 obv. V 12–VI 3: 1 gír mar-tu kù-gi lú ní-g-ba 2 gín kù-gi 2 kù-sal ní-g-ba [^d*A-na*] ma-^rdu^r dingir DU-li^{ki}

The restoration in [2] is certain: Arḫatu and DULu are often linked and they were therefore two bordering cities, cfr. ARET 3.2 II 2–4, 644 IV 1–6; 9.82 obv. VI 1–2.

For the first element, note *a-na-a* /^eayn-ay(n)/ “the two eyes”, the dual form in the gen.-acc., attested in the Lexical Lists in the sequence *ḫu-ma-zu a-na-a*, MEE 4: no. 712.²³ ^d*A-na ma-du* /an-ā(n) māT-u/ should be considered a composite formation with the case ending in the singular, and mean “the plentiful, abundant Eye(s)” or “the Eye(s) of the country”.

The meanings of the names of the two gods go well together. ^d*Ba-ra-du ma-du* must be the name of a stream or river, certainly in the vicinity of Ebla, since that goddess was the consort of Aštabil who had his principal cult-centre at Ebla. In Akkadian (but not in the other Semitic languages) the names of rivers are feminine (GAG § 60 d). The only river in the region is the Quweiq which, after flowing through Aleppo, empties into the marshes of Mатаh, roughly 20 km north-east of Ebla. Today, the Barada is the river of Damascus.

Common Semitic ‘ayn “eye” also means “spring” in Akkadian, Arabic, Hebrew, etc., where the word is feminine.²⁴ In the two documents previously quoted a dagger is given to ^d*A-na ma-du* as well as two clasps. However, this does not prove that this deity was a god rather than a goddess (see for example the passages [6] and [11] concerning *Ba-ra-du ma-du*).

The identification of DU-lu^{ki} with Byblos, proposed by G. Pettinato,²⁵ was questioned by this writer since there is no proof that the sign DU at Ebla was also read *gub*. Further, the name never has the ending *-a*, as appears in later non-Eblaite sources, beginning with the last century of the third millennium.²⁶

²³ Cfr. Fronzaroli 1984c: 136. For other instances where *a-na-a* occurs, see MEE 4: no. 408.

²⁴ Also note the Hittite *šakui-* “eye; spring”; *šakuni-* “spring”.

²⁵ See Pettinato 1993: 109–12. Pettinato identified Ar-ḫa-du^{ki} with Bit-Arḫa / Arqa in the Amarna letters. See *ibid.*, p. 109.

²⁶ The Ur III writing is *Gu₅-ub-la^{ki}*; see Edzard and Farber 1974: 66.

Note that among the personal names found at DU-lu^{ki} are DU-lu and Ar-ra-du-lum / Ar-ra-ti-lu. See ARES 2 206–211.

Clearly, one [420] would expect that the Egyptian objects found in Palace G at Ebla arrived via Gubla/Byblos, and therefore that Byblos appears in the texts. However, a further element contrary to the identification of the two cities is that the writing DU-*lu*^{ki} alternates with DU-*ru*₁₂^{ki}. There is no doubt that the three passages listed below, although referring to different years, concern the same kind of purification rite, a-tu₅, for the queen and the king, surely performed in the same place. According to the Eblaite syllabary, signs in the R-series can indicate those that express /l/; but there is no evidence for the contrary.²⁷

- TM.75.G.10201 (vizier: Ibbi-zikir) obv. II 26–29: 2 gín DILMUN babbar:kù “tu₅”:a *ma-lik-tum* in DU-*lu*^{ki}
- TM.75.G.2462 (vizier: Ibbi-zikir) rev. XI 3–8: 2 <gín> babbar:kù 2 *ti-gi-na* 2 GIŠ.DU 2 geštu_x-lá “tu₅”:a *ma-lik-tum* in DU-*ru*₁₂^{ki}
- TM.75.G.2368 (vizier: Ibrium) obv. IV 12–17: (1+1+1 textiles) 1 gír urudu 1 gín DILMUN an-na “tu₅”:a en *mi-in* DU-*ru*₁₂^{ki}

Paradoxically, some backing for the identification of DU-*lu*^{ki} with Byblos may come from the interpretation given here to the divine name Ana madu. A “plentiful Spring / Spring of the country”, ^dA-na ma-du, fits in with the ancient toponymy of Byblos. In fact “At the heart of the city lies the Sacred Well, around which are grouped the three major tempels: the Baalat-Gebal to the north west, the Enceinte Sacrée to the west and the Obelisk complex to the south east. A sacred Pool surrounded by a battered wall was carved between the Baalat complex and temple XIII which preceded the Obelisk complex.”²⁸ A similar sacred pool or well must have existed at Arḥatu. Tell ‘Arqa is a name that brings to mind Arḥadu, close to Byblos, to the south of Tell Kazel, in the ‘Akkar plain which links Horns with the sea²⁹

Both interpretations of the element *ma-du*, “plentiful, abundant” or “country” are plausible. But another divine name which is also a composite formation, ^dI-da ma-du, could favour the former interpretation.

This deity seems to appear only four times, and then only in the offering lists of sheep for the Palace.

[1] TM.75.G.2397 obv. IX 13–16: 10 lá-3 udu ^dI-da ma-du I-ti-^dA₅-da-KUL šu-du₈

[2] TM.75.G.2403 obv. V 23–24: 10 lá-3 udu ^dI-da ma-du

²⁷ See the reference in note 4, but notice also the anomalous cases quoted in note 33.

²⁸ Saghih 1983: 1.

²⁹ The recent levels of Tell ‘Arqa have been published by J.-P. Thalmann 1978. He has also studied the levels of the third and second millennium BC in a thèse de doctorat (Paris 1993).

[3] TM.75.G.2598 obv. IX 20–23: 2 udu ^d*I-da ma-du* NI-da-ba-da šu-du₈

[4] TM.75.G.2635 obv. VIII 5–6: 1 udu ^d*I-da ma-du*

This clearly was a minor god whose sex we can not determine. In [1] it is Itti-Hadabal, perhaps the son of the vizier Ibrum, who makes the offering; in [3], Nidabadu is a “spouse of the king”, dam en. [421]

i-da appears in several Semitic phrases in the Lexical Lists, such as *ma-wu/u₉ i-da* / *māw-ū yid-ay(n)*/ “water for the hands”.³⁰ While the reasons for such a divine name – again a composite formation – escape us, a meaning like “the large, generous Hands” used for qualifying a divine entity seems more plausible than “the Hands of the country”.

4. ^d*Á-lu/la* / ^d*Á-a*, ^d*Da-bí-na-ad/du*

After offerings to the goddesses ^dNin-kar, ^d*A-dam-ma* and ^d*Ba-ra-du ma-du*, we read in ARET 2.8:³¹

[1] ARET 2.8 §§ 14–15: 1 <gín> kù-gi 1 *gú-za-ra-tum* ^d*Da-bí-na-du* lú *Gú-šè-bù*^{ki}
1 <gín> kù-gi 1 *gú-za-ra-tum* ^d*Da-bí-na-du* lú *Zi-ig*^{ki}

The following passage (already quoted as [2] in the preceding section concerning ^d*Ba-ra-du ma-du*) shows that Dabinatu is the consort of ^d*Á-lu/la*:

[2] TM.75.G.2239 rev. V 7–VI 18: 2 gír mar-tu kù-gi lú mu-DU *Ib-rí-um wa* 2 gín kù-gi 2 kù-sal sikil ní-g-ba ^d*Áš-da-bíl wa* ^d*Ba-ra-du ma-du wa* ní-g-ba ^d*Á-la* ^d*Da-bí-na-du* ... *al₆ tu-ra en sikil*

This divine couple is also mentioned in a few other texts; in [4] dam-sù ‘his consort’ clearly refers to Dabinatu:

[3] TM.75.G.2464 rev. XIV 5–10: 5 gín DILMUN babbar:kù ^d*Á-la* ^d*Da-bí-na-ad* lú *A-ra-ab*^{ki}

[4] TM.75.G.2464 rev. XVII 28–34: 1 ma-na an-na UNKEN-ak ^d*Á-la wa* dam-sù lú *A-ra-ab*^{ki}

[5] TM.75.G.12505 rev. VI 7–13: 3 gín kù-gi šir-za ^d*Á-la* ^d*Da-bí-na-ad* lú [*A-ra-ab*^{ki}/*Gú-šè-bù*^{ki}/*Zi-ig*^{ki}]

^d*Á-la* is the most frequent writing, but we also find ^d*Á-lu*, as in TM.75.G.1680 rev. VIII 3; 1743 rev. XI 10. ^d*Á-a* is much rarer, as in ARET 3.464 rev. IV 7, where /

³⁰ Cfr. Krebern timer 1983: 24.

³¹ When editing this document, D. O. Edzard read 𐎶𐎵¹ instead of a not very clear DINGIR.

l/ is not expressed.³² The alternation of the syllabic signs of the L-series with a simple V would appear to suggest an etymological /*l*/, as in MEE 4 no. 830: DI = *a-la-ag[-tum]* / *a-a-ga-du* / ¹*a*₅(NI)-*a-ga-tum* / ¹*a*₅-*ga-du-um*; that is, /*halak-tum*/ “journey”. However, an older document, when Arrakum was the vizier, has ^d*Á-ra*:

[6] TM.75.G.1872+ obv. X 1–2:1 *ma-na babbar:kù* ^d*Á-ra*

It is well-known that the signs of the L-series may be found instead of signs of the R-series; the contrary has still to be proved³³. This variant therefore favours [422] an etymological /*r*/. However, simple V-signs cannot replace signs in the R-series (*A'a* ≠ *Ara*) but do so for those of the L-series. Since all the other texts (including those dated to the time of the vizier Arrukum, cfr. MEE 2.33 rev. XI 13, 48 rev. IV 1: ^d*Á-la*) write *-la/lu*, one must consider the form with *l* as original.

Dabinatu may be analyzed as /*daBin-at-u*/. This name recalls Akk. *dapinu*, *dapnu* which is translated in *AHW* as “gewaltig”, and in *CAD* as “heroic, martial, ferocious”. This is an epithet of *Ḫuwawa* and *Hadda/Adad*, and it is said about lions, kings and enemies. At Ebla, the names of some goddesses who are the counterpart of important gods are simply epithets. *Ḫa(l)abatu* “the lady of *Ḫalab*” is the consort of *Hadda* of *Ḫalab*; *Ba'altum* “the Lady” is the consort of *Hadabal*. *Dabinatu* could be “the Awful (lady)”.

It is noteworthy that *Alu/a* and *Dabinatu* do not appear in the offering lists of sheep sacrificed at the Palace (SA.ZA_x^{ki}) by the king, the queen, their children and the daughter of the vizier *Ibbi-zikir*. However, *Alu/a* at least was certainly not a negligible god: he is mentioned at least 60 times and often among the principal gods. In MEE 10.27 obv. XI 6–XIV 8 we have: *Aštabil*, *Ammarik*, *Hadabal* of *Luban*, *Ala*, *Rašap* of *Si'am*, *Hadabal* of *Larugatu*, and *Hadda*; in TM.75.G.2507 rev. VII 35–VIII 22 there appear *Hadda* of *Ḫalab*, *Hadabal* of *Luban*, *Ala* of *Zik*, and *Hadabal* of *Arugatu*³⁴. We have also seen (in section 3,

32 See the DNN ^d*Ḫa-a-ba-du* for /*ḫalab-āyt-u*/ in Archi 1994a*: 250 [593]; ^d*Ša-la-ša* / ^d*Sa-a-ša*/ *sa* in Archi 1995b* [632–633].

33 See the reference in n. 9.

For two anomalous cases similar to that of ^d*Á-la/ra*, note *Ib-ra*^{ki} instead of *Ib-la*^{ki} in ARET 9.104 obv. III 3, as well as the alternation *zi-ru*₁₂ / *zi-lu* (a type of vase) in ARET 7.528 I 2, XIX 4. Both texts are to be dated to the last years of the archive. For an interpretation of *zilu(m)*, see Conti 1990: 75–76. Also note the variant DU-*ru*₁₂^{ki} for DU-*lu*^{ki}, mentioned above.

34 ^d*Á-lu/la* is not to be confused with ^d*A-LUM*, which has to be read ^d*A-gúm*, correcting the readings in ARET 1.3 rev. IX 9: 2 ^d*A-gúm*; 3.457 rev. IV 6: 2 ^d*A-gúm*; 4.17 rev. II 14: <2> ^d*A-gúm*. The writing ^d*A-gú* is more frequent. Note ARET 1.4 rev. IX 30: 2 *dingir* 2 ^d*A-gú*, which is probably to be read 2 ^d[2]*A-gú*. The number 2 which precedes the DN shows that there the divine couple ^d*A-gú* wa ^d*Gu-la-du* is meant. See ARET 7 obv. IV 8-rev. I 2.

concerning Baradu madu) that the couple Alu – Dabinatu sometimes appears alongside Aštabil – Baradu madu.

It is also noteworthy that Alu and Dabinatu are not only divine names but also geographical names. Among the other gods, a similar case seems to appear only with ^dA-dar-a-an/nu, a deified mountain from which a village at its foot took its name (see below, section 5).

The variants of the divine names are the same as the geographical names (collected in ARES 2: 122 and 190–191: *Da-NE-na-ad/du*^{ki}). ^dÁ-lu : ^Álu^{ki} (with the variant: ^Áu⁹^{ki}); ^dÁ-la : ^Ála^{ki}; ^dÁ-a : ^Áa^{ki}. ^dDa-bí-na-ad/du : ^{Da}bí-na-ad/du^{ki}. This fact has created a degree of uncertainty among the scribes, as in MEE 10.3 rev. XI 34: nídba ^dÁ-lu^{ki}. The reading ^à for ID is proven by the alteration *a/-á-* in geographic names such as *A-i-du*^{ki}/^Ái-du^{ki},³⁵ *A-li-i*^{ki}/^Áli-i^{ki}; *A-a-lu*^{ki}/*A-á-u*⁹^{ki}/*A-’à-lu*^{ki}/*A-’à-u*⁹^{ki} (ARES 2 ss. vv.). One may not, however, exclude the possibility that certain graphic conventions were used precisely to distinguish between homophones. For example, on the basis of the textual data, it is not possible to prove that *A-lu/la*^{ki} (ARES 2: 102–105) is the same place as ^Álu/la^{ki}. For *Da-bí-na-ad/du*^{ki}, [423] the reading *bí* for NE depends on the etymology /daBin-at-u/ proposed above for the homophonic divine name.³⁶

^Álu^{ki} is a place connected with the family of the vizier Ibrium. In ARET 7.152 obv. I 3, ^Áa^{ki} is one of the villages (uru^{ki}) belonging to Nabḥa-II, a son of Ibrium; according to ARET 7.155 obv. IV 6–7, a field in ^Álu^{ki} was left by Iri’ig-damu, another of Ibrium’s sons, to his own sons.

Dabinatu is also linked to Ibrium’s family. One of his wives lived there and he himself owned land there: ARET 4.11 § 4 and § 23. In TM.75.G.2403 rev. IX 2–6 the vizier Ibbi-zikir, Ibrium’s son, receives 30 sheep to eat (kú) at Dabinatu. According to TM.75.G.10229 obv. X 7–18, the queen sends sheep and wine there,³⁷ and herself goes there on a journey: ARET 9.91 § 9.

Alu/a (^Álu/la^{ki}) and Dabinatu, therefore, were two small settlements in the area where the family of the vizier Ibrium had its land. The two villages must have grown around two sanctuaries, one dedicated to the god Alu and

When ^dÁ-lu/la is preceded by the number 2, it means that besides Alu one has to take into account his consort Dabinatu. TM.75.G.2508 rev. VII 15–25: 4 an-dùl ... 4 gín DILMIN kù-gi nu₁₇ za igi-dub(UM) šu DU-sù 2 ^dÁ-lu wa ^d’Á-da lú Lu-ub^{ki} “4 statues ... 4 shekels of gold for covering the face, the hands and the feet of the two Alu (i.e. Alu and Dabinatu) and of Hadda of Lub (and his consort)”. 10074 rev. V 35–36: 2 ^dÁ-lu Zi-ig^{ki}

35 In ARET 2.5 § 44 ^Ái-du^{ki} is mentioned in connection with sheep, as well as *A-i-du*^{ki} in TM.76.G.712+ rev. X 23.

36 The data would appear to show that *Dab-nu*^{ki}, a small farming village, cannot be identified with Dabinatu [ARES 2: 197 correct *Da*₅-*nu*^{ki} in *Dab-nu*^{ki}].

37 Cfr. Archi 1990a*: 37 [387].

the other to the goddess Dabinatu, who formed a divine couple. The offering lists of sheep sacrificed at the Palace do not mention Alu/a and Dabinatu. Therefore, they did not have a cult place in the city of Ebla, and the gifts listed in the administrative documents were those destined for their native sanctuaries. The cult of this divine couple also appears in three other small settlements, perhaps not far from the original sanctuaries: at *A-ra-ab*^{ki}, *Gú-šè-bù*^{ki} and *Zi-ig/gú*^{ki}. For Alu/a of Arab, see [3]–[4]; Alu/a of Gušebu, occurs, for example, in TM.75.G.1743 rev. XI 10–11; Alu/a of Zig(u) in ARET 3.798 rev. III 8–9, and [7]. For Dabinatu see passages [1], [3]–[5].

As for the other gods, the offerings do not permit us to define Alu/a. In general we are dealing with “a due-offering” of wool: 1 *zi-rí siki dug₄-ga nídba*, and sometimes a dagger, *gír mar-tu*. In two cases there is an object decorated with animals identified as bulls with human heads: LU_x(ÉRIN+X) is offered.³⁸

[6] MEE 10.4 rev. IX 4–8: *tar kù-gi nu₁-za 3 sag LU_x 1 GIŠ-banšur ḏÁ-la* “30 (shekels) of silver to cover 3 bulls with human heads (for) a table (for) Ala”.

[7] TM.75.G.1904 obv. IV 8–14: 10 *gín DILMUN babbar:kù lú DU.DU LU_x tuš ḏÁ-la lú Zi-ig*^{ki} (perhaps a reclining bull with a human head).

It is, however, difficult to maintain that Alu is really a protective god in the shape of a bull with a human head, even if we associate the name with the Akk. *alû*, a kind of mythological bull, and with *lû* “bull”. Statues of LU_x-animals were also offered to Hadda and Kamiš.³⁹ A statue of Alu has a human form.⁴⁰ [424]

5. ḏA-dar-a-an/nu, ḏA-dar-wa-an

ḏA-dar-a-an/nu would seem to appear only once in the offering lists of sheep sacrificed at the Palace. This divinity is associated with a place in the kingdom of Ebla governed by a “lord” lugal.⁴¹

[1] TM.75.G.1945 obv. VII 19–24: 4 *udu ḏA-dar-a-nu al₆-tuš ḏÁ-ḡnu-gaḡ-du*^{ki}.

Two small settlements in the territory of Ebla were also connected with the cult of Adar(w)anu, *Da-na-áš/šu*^{ki} and *Su-ti-ig/gú*^{ki}:

³⁸ See Pomponio 1980.

³⁹ Pomponio 1980: 551–553. W. G. Lambert (1989: 11–15) prefers to understand that term as “warrior”, a meaning which does not seem to fit the Eblaite passages. Steinkeller (1992: 259–63) proposes the reading *titan/tidan*.

⁴⁰ See TM.75.G.2508, above in n. 34.

⁴¹ For this centre, see ARES 2: 133.

- [2] TM.75.G.1464 rev. XI 1–5: 2 gín babbar:kù nu₁₁-za [] 1 kù-sal níg-ba
Ib-rí-um ^dA-dar-a-an Da-na-âš^{ki}.
- [3] TM.75.G.1379 obv. V 9–13: 2 gín DILMUN babbar:kù NE-ra-KA GIŠ-PA
^dA-dar-a-nu Su-ti-gú^{ki}.

The geographical name *A-dar-a-nu*^{ki} refers to a rural settlement; in this territory a small piece of land is mentioned in ARET 3.104 rev. II 5–7: 1 *mī-at* GÁNA.KEŠDA giš:ì UR-na *A-dar-a-nu*^{ki}. In a list of villages which provide oxen, 2 animals come from Adar(w)anu: TM.75.2173 rev. I 5–6: 2 gud *A-dar-a-nu*^{7[ki]}.

ARET 5.16, an incantation concerning the two Baliḥ-rivers, ^dBa-li-ḥa-a, permits us to define the nature of the god Adar(w)an. ^dA-dar-wa-an occurs there with ^dĀ-ma-ri-ig (6.3) in VIII 1–7: GIŠsudul ^dA-dar-wa-an BE ti₈^{MUSEN}.ti₈^{MUSEN} uš-da-si-ir ^dGa-mi-iš, “the yoke/the throne of Adarwan the lord of the eagles, Kamiš has prepared”⁴².

Volkert Haas has noted that Ammarik is attested not only in some Hurrian texts from Ḫattuša but also in a Hittite document where the borders of Karkamiš near Mukiš are defined, KUB XIX 27 Vs. 8; in this texts the name is preceded by the determinative for mountain, ^{HUR.SAG}Am-ma-ri[-ig(-)]. Ammarik must therefore be identified with Jebel Semān, a mountain that is clearly visible from Ebla and is not far from Aleppo. Towards the end of the 17th century Ammarik was thought to be the residence of a Weather-god, because Hattusili I, after conquering the city of Ḫaššu(wa), brought two statuettes of Weather-gods there: ^dU EN *Ar-ma-ru-uk* (a corrupt form of Ammarik), and ^dU EN ^{URU}*Ḫa-la-ab* (Annals of Hattusili I: KBo X 1 Vs. 37–38).⁴²

One should consider the closeness of Adarwan to Ammarik in the ritual mentioned above, and the fact that Adarwan there has the epithet of “lord of the eagles”; one should also bear in mind that, not only in central Anatolia but also in Kizzuwatna during the Hittite period, the images of deified mountains were characterized by an eagle. One may then claim with a fair degree of certainty – as does Haas – that Adarwan was a mountain.⁴³ [425]

At this point, the data from the Ebla administrative documents can easily be put in order:

1. the God Adar(w)an was a deified mountain not far from Jebel Semān.
2. the village *A-dar-a-nu*^{ki} was named after the mountain near it. Similarly, *Ga-ga-ba-an*^{ki} / *Ga-gaba*^{ki} is named after the volcano Kawkab in the region

⁴² Haas 1981: 251–53.

⁴³ Haas 1981: 253–57.

of Ḥasaka.⁴⁴ The Eblaite *Sag-gar*^{ki}, Saggaratum in the texts from Mari, has to be connected with the mountain Saggar/Sangar, Jebel Sinjār.⁴⁵

3. *'Ā-nu-ga-du*^{ki}, *Da-na-āš*^{ki} and *Su-ti-ig/gú*^{ki}, villages situated near mount Adar(w)an, were centers of his cult. Thus Ebla knew a god Adar(w)an at Hanugatu, one at Današ(u), and one at Sutig(u).

⁴⁴ Catagnoli and Bonechi 1992.

⁴⁵ Stol 1979: 81–82. Durand 1985a: 80–81, nt. 4.

39 The Cultic Journey of the God Hadabal

1 The journey of the image of the god Hadabal of Luban

Two small tablets, which duplicate each other, TM.75.G.2377 and TM.75.G.2379 (Figs. 1 and 2), give the list of the localities devoted to the god Hadabal, ^dA₅(NI)-*da-bal*/"*bal*"(KUL), touched by a yearly "cultic journey", šu-mu-nigin.

obv.	I	1	<i>Lu-ba-an</i> ^{ki}	obv.	I	1
		2	<i>Mar-tum</i> ^{ki}			2
		3	<i>Zi-da-ik</i> ^{ki}			3
		4	<i>Za-ra-mi-ì</i> ^{ki}			4
		5	<i>Ib-s</i> [(<i>a-rí-</i>)] <i>i</i> [(<i>k</i> ^{ki})]			5
		6	[(<i>Da-rí-ib</i> ^k)] ⁱ			6
		7	[(<i>Ib-su</i> ^{ki})]	II		1
II		1	' <i>A</i> ₅ - <i>a-ne-ig</i> ^{ki}			2
		2	<i>Da-rí-ib</i> ^{ki-II}			3
		3	<i>Gú-ba-zu</i> ^{ki}			4
		4	<i>SA.ZA</i> _x ^{ki}			5
		5	<i>A-da-ti-ik</i> ^{ki}			6
		6	<i>A-rí-gú</i> ^{ki}			7
		7	<i>Ar-zú</i> ^{ki}			8
		8	<i>Ga-na-at</i> ^{ki}	III		1
III		1	<i>Iš-da-mu-gú</i> ^{ki}			2
		2	<i>Ša-da-du</i> ^{ki}			3
		3	<i>Da-ra-um</i> ^{ki}			4
		4	<i>Du-u₉-bù</i> ^{ki} tur			5
		5	<i>Ar-ga</i> ^{ki}			6
		6	<i>Na-na-bí-iš</i> ^{ki}	IV		1
		7	<i>Du-u₉-bù</i> ^{ki}			2
IV		1	<i>máḥ</i>			"
		2	<i>Û-du-rúm</i> ^{ki}			3
		3	<i>Šè-'à-mu</i> ^{ki}			4 (Ši-'à-mu ^{ki})
		4	<i>A-du-bù</i> ^{ki}	rev.	I	1

	5	<i>A-du-bù</i> ^{ki} -II	2
	6	<i>Za-bu</i> ₁₄ ^{ki}	3
	7	<i>Bù-ra-an</i> ^{ki}	4
	8	<i>Si-da-mu</i> ^{ki}	5
V	1	<i>Da-rí-in</i> ^{ki}	II 1
	2	<i>Ambar</i> ^{ki} KÍNDA	2
	3	<i>A-ba-um</i> ^{ki}	3
	4	<i>Gâr-ru</i> ₁₂ ^{ki}	4
	5	<i>Du-ši-du</i> ^{ki}	5
	6	<i>Û-ra-an</i> ^{ki}	6
	7	<i>'A₅-a-bù-du</i> ^{ki}	7
rev. I	1	<i>Ar-u₉-gú</i> ^{ki}	8
	2	<i>Ig-dar</i> ^{ki}	III 1
	3	<i>Lu-te</i> ^{ki}	2
	4	1 ud mu-DU	3
	5	2 ud <i>i-ti-bù</i>	4
	6	uru-uru	5
II	1	šu-mu-nígin	6
	2	^d 'A ₅ (NI)-da-“bal”(KUL)	7

The last two lines: “(cultic) journey of the god Hadabal”, explain the reason for this list of geographical names.

The Lexical lists give to šu-mu-nígin the equivalence: *da-lum* (LL 509), and *da-wa-lum*, *du-lum* to á-nígin (LL 629), which Conti (1990: 144, 173) derives from **twr*, Akk. *târum* “to bring along, to return”, but Sallaberger (2003: 621 nt. 23) explains more precisely as “umkreisen”, Akk. *dâlum* “to wander around”, from **dûl*, in agreement with Sum. nígin. In some texts, á-nígin is found instead of šu-mu-nígin (Archi 2002d: 29). The context discussed here requires: “(cultic) journey/procession of (the image of) Hadabal (of Luban)”.¹ The lines rev. II 4–8 would, therefore, mean: “The first day they come (i.e. the train of the šeš-II-ib arrives) (and) the second day they leave the towns/villages (for the cultic) journey of the god Hadabal”. The people forming the cultic procession therefore must have spent a full day in each town or village, pre-

¹ See already Archi 2002d: 17: “the basic meaning of the Semitic verb should be ‘to wander around, to move in circles’, which agrees with Sumerian nígin”. ARET 13.9 §§ 16–17 have to be understood in the following way: “And (when) Wana travels (šu-mu-nígin) (to) the ‘gate’ (ká: a cluster of small settlements) of Hama, each village (uru-uru) gives 10 (shekels) of silver, but the small village(s) give 5 (shekels) of silver to Wana. But (when) Ruzi-bu travels (to) a big village, (this) gives 5 (shekels) of silver, but (if) (to) a small village, (this) gives 3 (shekels) of silver (to) Ruzi-bu”.



Fig. 1a, b: TM.75.G.2377.

sumably to celebrate rites. In the administrative documents *mu-DU* is a “delivery” (from PN/GN to the central administration), and refers to an income; in the narrative documents it means: “to go in” (Fronzaroli ARET 11: 23 [5], 161; Id. ARET 13: 284). *i-ti-bù* should be analyzed as [yitebbû], cfr. Akk. *tebûm* “to get up; to set off”.

This journey lasted 39 days and needed the participation of several *šeš-II-ib* (from 5 to 14 individuals) (Archi 2002d: 26–27). These people formed a religious confraternity whose members were chosen from among the most prominent families of Ebla and served for only a few years. They cannot be considered a priestly class because they were not devoted entirely to the cult. Even



Fig. 2a, b: TM.75.G.2379.

the king could have acted as a *šeš-II-ib*. Although their major duty was undoubtedly the yearly journey to accompany Hadabal of Luban (the sanctuary in Luban, obv. I 1, was the starting point of the journey), they were not in the service of a single deity, because they were asked to take part in the celebrations of different deities during the cultic year, and even in funerary ceremonies. Many *šeš-II-ib* were “bound to the palace”, *kéš-da SA.ZA_x^{ki}*.

This long cultic journey fell mostly in the month *MAxGĀNAtenû-úgur*, which is considered to be the XIIth of the year. The people who took part in this journey were provided regularly with meat (*uzu*) and also clothes (Archi 1994b: 323–325).

In the same month another cultic journey (not so well documented as that of Luban) was devoted to Hadabal of Arugadu, to which a smaller number of šeš-II-ib took part. The documentation concerning this confraternity has been collected in Archi 2002d; a few other fragmentary texts are listed in ARET 12.586, s.v. šu mu-nigin.

The journey concerning Hadabal of Luban should be interpreted therefore as a procession of a certain number of individuals of the šeš-II-ib confraternity who had to take the image of the god of Luban from one village to another, all of these to be located in the western region of Ebla, reaching also the royal palace of Ebla on the 11th day.

2 The god Hadabal and his hypostases

The god of the city of Ebla was Kura (^d*Ku-ra*), who had Barama (^d*Ba-ra-ma*) as spouse. In his temple on the acropolis (Temple D3; Matthiae 2009b: 762–73) the kings of the allied cities came to swear their oath of allegiance to Ebla. He was a local god, who disappeared with Ebla.²

The major god of the Eblaite pantheon was however Hadda of Ḥalab, who had his temple in Aleppo. His spouse was “the Goddess of Ḥalab” (^d*Ḥa-a-ba-du*, /ḥaHabātu/ < /ḥalabājtū/, the Ḥebat of the 2nd millennium BC; Archi 1994a*: 249–52 [592–596]). Although Hadda also had a temple in the city of Mari: é ^d*Il Ḥa-lab*_x(LAM) (Charpin 1987: 71, no. 6 I 4; 79, no. 20 I 6), the major god of Mari and all the Middle Euphrates valley was Dagan (Archi 2008a* [625–631]).

Hadabal (with his spouse ^dBE.MUNUS / ^d*Ba-al*₆-*tum* “the Lady”) was the god of the western regions of the kingdom of Ebla. Three were his main hypostases: those of the towns of *La/A-ru*₁₂-*ga-du*^{ki}; *’Ā-ma-ad/du*^{ki}; *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}.³ Hamadu is Hamath (mod. Ḥamā), the important city which, from the 3rd millennium BC, dominated the large plain north to the Beqā’ through which the Oron-

2 Because the PN *Šu-ra-gār-ru*₁₂ alternates with *Ku-ra-gār-ru*₁₂. Bonechi (1997: 499–501) has cautiously suggested that the name of the god *KU-ra* could be interpreted as *Šu_x-ra* = *Tuğra* “(la divinité de la) Victoire (guerrière)”, considering it an epithet of the warrior god Hadda of Ḥalab. This suggestion cannot be accepted, because Hadda received a mace and the horns of a pair of bulls as a yearly offering, while the year ceremony for Kura included only the substitution of the silver mask of the statue of the god (Archi 2010b*: 5–7 [573–578]).

3 Some hypostases of Hadabal had been already quoted in Archi 1979a: 109–10, where the alternation *La-/A-* was noted (the first writing, usual in the documents of minister Arrukum [Pomponio, ARET 15,2: 388] was later replaced by that beginning with *A-*), and Luban was identified with Lubanu of the Alalah texts.

tes flows after having left the Lake of Homs. Larugadu has to be searched for in the mountain range delimiting the middle valley of the Orontes to the west. It is mentioned in the Ugaritic ritual KTU 1.100, 26 as *lrgt(-h)*: “(bring my voice to) (the Moon-god) Yariḥ in *lrgt!*”.⁴ There are, however, no elements to identify Hadabal as a Moon-god. The major festival of this god was that of “the opening”, *giš-gāl* ‘tag₄’ (the verbal form has not object), which fell in month IX (Archi 2013b*: 226 [512]). Luban (attested also in the Alalah texts of the 2nd millennium BC, Belmonte Marín 2001: 177) has to be placed probably in the mountains delimiting the Antioch plain to the south, probably along the line which connects modern ad-Dānā with Harim (almost the present border between Syria and Turkey). Hadabal, therefore, wielded his divine dominance over a rather large area: from the southern limit of the Amuq plain (about 60 km to the north of Ebla) to the plain of Hama (about 85 km to the south of Ebla). The destiny of Hadabal, the god of the territory close to Ebla, was the same as that of Kura, the god of the city: both disappeared in the crisis which struck Syria at the end of the third millennium

Most of the god names usually defy any form of analysis. ^dA₅(NI)-*da-bal*/*bal*”(KUL) has been analyzed by Fronzaroli (1997a: 288–89) as /hadda-ba’l/ “Hadda the Lord” (the sign BAL appears in the texts of minister Arrukum; the later texts present the inaccurate writing with the sign KUL which is a simplified form of BAL). At Ebla /ba’l/ is traditionally written: BAD = *ba*_x, i.e., *ba*(’l), or *ba-al*₆. It is therefore not probable that BAL could be an archaic form for expressing /ba’l/, because the writing tradition at Ebla was rather short-lived; moreover, /hadda/ was written ’Ā-*da*. It is true that both Hadabal of Larugadu and Luban received as gifts a mace and the horns of bulls, as well as Rašap of Hadani, similarly to Hadda, (Archi 2010b: 11 [585]). This proves only that these gods had similar functions. It would be possible to accept that the name Hadabal originally referred to Hadda only by admitting that every relation of the name Hadabal with Hadda had been forgotten by the people who used it in the time of the archives.

The Storm-god Hadda received regularly monthly offerings also at Ebla, in the temple of Kura (it seems that no temple was devoted to him there). His yearly festival, which fell in the 3rd month (iti ^dAMA-ra), was celebrated at Ebla, but the main rites were performed in the temple of Aleppo, usually by the king and the heir to the throne personally (Archi 2010b*: 7–9 [578–580]). The gods who received more offerings in Ebla were Kura, Hadabal of Luban

⁴ The equivalence between Larugadu and Ug. *lrgt* was detected by Fales (1984) and Lambert (1984a). On the towns of Hamadu, (L)arugadu and Luban, see ARES 2: 131–32; 110–14 and 331–32; 334–38; Bonechi 1993: 35–37; 215–17; 220–22.

and Hadabal of (L)arugadu.⁵ Hadabal of Hamadu appears rarely, instead, because his city was far away from the capital. As Hadabal was the god of the territory close to Ebla, in his cult in the city of Ebla he always appears with his three qualifications “of Luban, (L)arugadu, Hamadu”. It was felt necessary, moreover, to create also a further hypostasis, that of Hadabal of the palace (SA.ZA_x^{ki}) (i.e., the administrative centre of the kingdom).⁶ The order of the gods in the monthly offerings varies greatly, partly in relation to the yearly festivals of each god. Here below are the first sections of four of those documents:

- Hadabal of Arugadu – Kura – Aštāpil – Hadda of Ḥalab – Ḥalam – Hadabal of Luban – Hadabal of the palace (TM.75.G.1764 i 1–ii 21. Month III. Pettinato 1979a: 130–31)
- Hadabal of the palace – Hadda in the temple of Kura – Kura – Hadabal of Arugadu – Hadabal of Luban – Rašap of Hadani – Kura – Hadabal of Luban – Hadabal of the palace (TM.75.G.2238 i 1–iii 10. Month III. Pettinato 1979a: 161–62)
- Kura – Kura – Kura – Ḥalam – Hadabal [of Luban?] – Aštāpil – Lord of Tuttul (i.e., Dagan) – Kura – Šamagan (TM.75.G.2075 i 1–iii 3. Month X. Pettinato 1979a: 147–48)
- Hadabal of Luban – Hadabal of Arugadu – Hadabal of the palace – [...] – Hadabal – Rašap of Hadanidu – Rašap of the palace – Hadabal of Luban – Hadda – Hadda in the temple of Kura – Hadabal of Luban – God of the father – Aštāpil – Hadabal of Luban (TM.75.G.11010+ i 1–iii 25. Month XI. Pettinato 1979a: 177–78)

The yearly festival of Hadabal of Luban fell on month XI. The presence of the king at Luban on that occasion is attested at least once, in TM.75.G.1173 rev. II 3–7; a second document dated to the same month, TM.75.G.11010(+), registers instead the presence of the minister Ibbi-zikir, perhaps in place of the king. From there started the cultic procession of the members of the šeš-II-ib confraternity, which set off mostly in month XII.

The dynasty of Ebla had a special relation with Hadabal: two princesses served as “spouse of the god”, dam-dingir, that is as high priestess, in Luban, a custom which had a close parallel in Babylonia (Archi 1998c* [699–710]; Archi 2013b*: 225–26 [510–512]). These priestesses had a residence in Luban. On the day in which “(princess) Tinibdulum took the habit”, she received jewels and clothes from several high officials of the kingdom (Archi 1987a).

⁵ This can be stated already on the basis of the indices of the four monthly documents concerning sheep offerings published by Pettinato (1979a: 209–10).

⁶ See the index in Pettinato 1979a: 210, of four monthly documents s.v. ^dni-da-kul-sa-MI-ŠITA_x^{ki} (“of the palace”), ^dni-da-kul-a-ru_x-kà-tù^{ki}; ^dni-da-kul-lu-ba-an^{ki}. For SA.ZA_x^{ki}, see Archi

3 The villages reached in the cultic journey of the image of Hadabal of Luban

The journey started at Luban, in the mountains delimiting the Amuq plain to the south. On the 6th day, after having passed through four villages, the train reached Darib, identified with Atareb, about 30 km north of Ebla and 27 km west of Aleppo (ARES 2: 193–95, with bibliography). Three days later the train was back in Darib (9th day), and then, after a further two days (11th day) it reached Ebla, entering the administrative and cultic centre (SA.ZA_x^{ki}). It is impossible to identify the other places, certainly all small villages, because these are rarely mentioned even in the documents of the agricultural administration. Ambar “reed marsh” seems to refer in this particular case to the marshes of er-Roudj, east of the Jabel Oustani, in the Orontes valley (immediately north of Jisr esh-Shoghur); then the route had to turn to the north. The journey did not end at Luban but at Lute (peobably close by).

Besides Lub, celebrated for its sanctuary, the only other important place was Darib. ARET 7.150 mentions by name the ten kings who preceded Išardamu (the last one of the Eblaïte dynasty) adding the notation, rev. III–IV: “the gods of the kings (i.e., the deified kings) residing in Darib”, dingir-dingir-dingir en-en al₆-tuš in *Da-ri-ib*^{ki} (Archi 2001: 5–6). This seems to indicate that these kings were buried in Darib; in any case it is certain that Darib was the seat of a dynastic cult. Confirmation comes from the finding in the eroded tell of a nearly life-size stone head, probably belonging to a royal statue of the Ebla period (Matthiae 1980a). A document which registers workers placed in several villages, whose work is evaluated in silver, includes also Darib, TM.75.G 1824 obv. 1–4: 43;20 ma-na kù-babbar 260 guruš-VI 260 dam[-IV] “43;20 minas of silver (20.36 kg) (for) 260 workers at 6 (shekels, 47 g, each) (and) 260 women at [4] (shekels, 31 g, each)”.⁷

The unimportance of the villages touched by the procession is demonstrated by the fact that they occur very rarely in any genre of documentation. Here below are given the very few occurrences in hundreds of texts concerning the agricultural administration; references from other kinds of texts are to be found in ARES 2.

2009–11. Many passages which refer to the hypostases of Hadabal are collected in Pomponio, Xella 1997: 256–85.

⁷ 43;20 minas = 2600 shekels; 260 men × 6 = 1560; 260 women × 4 = 1040. For other references concerning Darib, see ARES 2: 193–95.

<i>'A₅-a-bù-du^{ki}</i>	TM.75.G.2646 obv. IX 4 (fields); ARES 2: 139
<i>'A₅-a-ne-ig^{ki}</i>	TM.75.G.2056 rev. I 2 (grain); ARES 2: 140
<i>A-ba-um^{ki}</i>	ARES 2: 86
<i>A-da-ti-ik^{ki}</i>	TM.76.G.971 obv. V 9 (grain); ARES 2: 97 (ugula “overseer”)
<i>A-du-bù^{ki}-I/II</i>	TM.75.G. 2646 obv. IX 8 (fields); ARES 2: 98
<i>Amba^{ki}</i> (KÍNDA)	ARES 2: 150
<i>A-rí-gú^{ki}</i>	TM.75.G.2646 rev. V 3 (fields); ARES 2: 109
<i>Ar-ga^{ki}</i>	TM.75.G.2558 obv. IV 5 (ugula), v 2: (1 house); TM.75.G.10220 obv. I 8 (ugula); ARES 2: 152
<i>Ar-u₉-gú^{ki}</i>	ARES 2: 159
<i>Ar-zu^{ki}</i>	TM.75.G.1826 rev. IV 7 (fields); TM.75.G.2646 obv. X 2 (fields); TM.75.G.10237 rev. X 2 (grain); ARES 2: 170
<i>Bù-ra-an^{ki}</i>	Ø
<i>Da-ra-um^{ki}</i>	TM.75.G.3887 obv. III 10 (fields); ARES 2: 191–193 (village referred to the family of minister Ibrium)
<i>Da-rí-ib^{ki}</i>	(see above)
<i>Da-rí-in^{ki}</i>	TM.75.G.2614 obv. III 8 (fields); ARES 2: 195 (ugula)
<i>Du-ši-du^{ki}</i>	ARES 2: 214–215 (-šē-/-si-)
<i>Du-u₉-bù^{ki}</i> máḥ / tur	TM.75.G.1410 rev. I 6, 8 (fields); TM.75.G.10237 rev. VII 3, 6 (grain); ARES 2: 216
<i>Ga-na-at^{ki}</i>	ARES 2: 229 (-du)
<i>Gār-ru₁₂^{ki}</i>	TM.75.G.1410 rev. II 13 (fields); TM.75.G.1439 obv. VII 9 (fields); TM.75.G.4332 rev. III 9 (grain); ARES 2: 242
<i>Gú-ba-zu^{ki}</i>	ARES 2: 247 (-zū)
<i>Ib-sa-rí-ik^{ki}</i>	(cfr. <i>Áb-sa-rí-ik^{ki}</i> , ARES 2: 145)
<i>Ib-su^{ki}</i>	TM.75.G.1410 rev. III 13 (fields); TM.75.G.2516 obv. I 1 (fields); TM.75.G.2582 obv. V 6 (fields); TM.75.G.2614 rev. IV 8 (fields). In TM.75.G.1470 obv. I 4 (together with <i>Û-du-lum^{ki}</i> , referred to <i>Gí-rí</i> , son of minister Ibrium); ARES 2: 302–303
<i>Ig-dar^{ki}</i>	ARES 2: 303
<i>Iš-da-mu-gú^{ki}</i>	TM.75.G.2558 obv. II 2 (fields); ARES 2: 311–312 (-du-; lugal “lord”; ugula)
<i>Lu-te^{ki}</i>	(cfr. <i>Lu-te-u₉^{ki}</i> : TM.75.G.1410 rev. II 15, fields)
<i>Mar-tum^{ki}</i>	TM.75.G.2404 obv. IV 10: (workers) (other references to Martu(m) in ARES 2: 381–383 may refer to another locality)
<i>Na-na-bí-iš^{ki}</i>	TM.75.G.1410 rev. I 10 (fields); ARES 2: 396 (-su)
<i>Sí-da-mu^{ki}</i>	ARES 2: 426
<i>Ša-da-du^{ki}</i>	TM.75.G.2582 obv. II 6, VI 8 (Šē-) (fields); ARES 2: 434 (lugal; ugula; village referred to Irti, son of minister Ibrium), 440–441 (Šē-)
<i>Šē-’ā-mu^{ki}</i>	TM.75.G.1410 obv. VIII 15 (<i>Sí-</i>) (fields); ARES 2: 440, 425 (<i>Sí-</i>)
<i>Û-du-rúm^{ki}</i>	TM.75.G.1470 obv. I 4 (-lum) (together with <i>Ib-su^{ki}</i> , referred to <i>Gí-rí</i> , son of minister Ibrium); ARES 2: 453–454
<i>Û-ra-an^{ki}</i>	Ø
<i>Za-bu₁₄^{ki}</i>	(cfr. <i>Za-bù^{ki}</i> ?, ARES 2: 476)
<i>Za-ra-mi-ī^{ki}</i>	(cfr. <i>Za-ra-mi-du^{ki}</i> , ARES 2: 480)
<i>Zi-da-ik^{ki}</i>	(cfr. <i>Zi-da-gú^{ki}</i> ?, ARES 2: 482)

4 The journey of Hadabal: the delimitation of a religious landscape

The celebrations of the god Hadabal of Luban started in month XI, in Ebla. A group of šeš-II-ib (members of a religious confraternity) reached Luban, seat of the major sanctuary of the god. The king himself opened sometimes the celebration there, joining the two princesses acting as high priestesses in Luban. Then, the šeš-II-ib's train moved off, presumably with the image of the deity, for a journey of 39 days during which Darib was reached twice and a night was spent in Ebla. Most of this journey seems to have fallen in Month XII. Ancient societies make modern interpreters acquainted with a different concept of time: long periods devoted to cult celebrations. The final stop was in Lute, presumably close to Luban. The train travelled in rural areas, touching 35 villages of little agricultural importance (there were a "large" and a "small" *Du-u₉-bù^{ki}*), besides Darib (Hadabal had no connection at all, however, with the ancestors' cult established there) and Ebla. All these settlements must have had small shrines there if not simply open air cult places. At least part of the territory crossed by the cultic journey had belonged to Ebla for a long time (Darib, because of its cult of ten ancestors, at least for 150 years).

The journey by the confraternity is to be interpreted at best as the refashioning of a religious space by a regional state in formation: immediately east to the line drawn by the procession began the territory of Hadda of Aleppo.

40 The God Dagan in the Early and Middle Bronze Periods

As the Author of this book notes (Feliu 2003: 1) “the god Dagan is one of the least known deities and, paradoxically, one of the most important in Syrian religion in the Bronze Age”. Originally the principal god of the Middle Euphrates region, his cult spread to several cultures, to the extent that, according to the Old Testament, Dagon was the god of the Philistines. He is mentioned by authors of the Hellenistic period and of the start of Christianity and is, therefore, the most persistent of the Ancient Near Eastern deities.

We have no myths or hymns defining Dagan’s character (unlike Hadda/Ba’al). Late sources from the Syrian coast and Palestine have occasionally conditioned our interpretation of this god (Gese 1970: 107–13). The excellent article by Healey (1999) provides a synthesis, which employs all of the sources well, but had to evaluate particularly the biblical evidence. Recently, B. L. Crowell (2001) has studied relevant elements of the cult of Dagan during the various periods using a sagacious methodological approach. Dagan, however, seems to defy all attempts at interpretation. The present volume is noteworthy in scrutinizing carefully and in great detail all of the earliest sources: those of the 3rd millennium and of the Old Babylonian Period (Mari) which today constitute the bulk of the documentation available. The figure of this god is thus re-established in all its complexity. The persistence of the cult of Dagan in the region of the Middle Euphrates during the Middle Babylonian Period is documented in particular by the texts from Emar. The situation has, therefore, changed dramatically since 1928 when H. Schmökel published the first monograph dedicated to this god. Thanks to the texts from Ebla, Dagan (as Hadda) can no longer be considered an ‘Amorite’ god. One day, when excavations resume at Tell Bi’a/Tuttul, we will even have the earliest and famous sanctuary of Dagan (which, however, probably did not hold an archive). [682]

The differing etymologies given to the name of this god reflect the uncertainties encountered by interpreters in attempting to define his typology and functions (a first list is to be seen in Schmökel 1938). Feliu demonstrates great balance and autonomy in his discussion of the various proposals (pp. 278–87), two of which merit a mention:

1. the name derives from *dgn (Arabic *dagana*) “to be cloudy, rainy”, therefore “the Rainy One”. “The fact that Dagan and Addu alternate with each

other in certain greeting formulae or curses is not sufficient argument to make them equivalent, both gods are central in Syrian cult and it is logical that they appear in this context. Nor is it enough that both gods seem to share wives" (p. 285). Notice that according to the Ebla documentation of the 3rd millennium, the spouse of Hadda of Ḫalab was nominated with the epithet: Ḫalabājtū "She of Ḫalab" (Archi 1994*: 249–52 [592–596]), while Šalaš was Dagan's spouse; only in later Assyrian and Babylonian texts, Šala was the spouse of Hadda (pp. 288–93).

2. the name is explained with the West Semitic *dgn "grain". Already Philo of Byblos described Dagon as grain, therefore the discoverer of grain and ploughing. The Hurrian texts originating from Ḫalab and copied in Hattusa furnish proof of this since they equated Kumarbi with Dagan, and used to write the Sumerogram NISABA for the name of Kumarbi. This is, on the contrary, merely a play on the form of writing, which originated in West Semitic contexts such as Ugarit, where *dgn* "grain" was homophonous with the god Dagan. NISABA was just the learned way of writing Dagan, and therefore also Kumarbi. In the copies of religious texts of Hurrian origin from other centres, the Hittite scribes wrote either Kumarbi or Halki, Hittite "Grain", which is another play on words, since the Goddess Halki had nothing in common with Kumarpī, and her temple in Hattusa was connected with a storehouse for cereals. The cults of Halki "Grain" and those of Kumarbi were quite distinct at Hattusa. NISABA and Halki were just 'translations' of the name Dagan according to a Volksetymologie (Archi 2004: 330–36). The same play on the written form is found in the Yazılıkaya sanctuary, where the hieroglyphic symbol is an ear of wheat, not used elsewhere. The demonstration of Dagan as a Grain-god is actually contradictory when we attribute him with a fructifying role since he should be related to the underworld. On the one hand, he would appear to be an underworld deity because at Mari he is given the epithet *bēl pagrê* "lord of the p. [683] offering (i.e. for the dead?)" (Feliu: 70–73; Crowell 2001: 58–60); on the other, he apparently impregnates the earth with rain to produce grain, like Enlil, the father and creator god *par excellence*, with whom he is assimilated at Mari! Even if the word for "grain" in Mari in the 3rd millennium were *dagānum* (the Ebla documentation does not record the name for grain), it would be extremely unusual if the deity at the head of a pantheon of the Ancient Near East were the deified grain.

Feliu concludes that there are no elements in support of any of the etymologies proposed, and suggests that the god's origins are to be sought in the substrate. More than a few gods of the Semitic area lack a convincing etymology. Of the

two suggested for Dagan, the former seems preferable since a god who regulated atmospheric and natural phenomena responds better to the figure of a ‘first god’, as Dagan undoubtedly was originally. A god of this kind also favoured the growth of grain, along with other natural products, but this does not mean that he had to be “Grain, Corn”. It is dangerous to apply the rule of ‘transitive property’ as each god thus risks losing his own individuality. Here is an example of this manner of reasoning: “If, Il-Wēr (the god of king Zakkur of Ḥamath, 1st millennium BC) was a corn-god, like Dagan, it is quite natural that he should be identified with a god of thunderstorm, dispensing natural irrigation in the form of rain although cereal crops of the Middle Euphrates valley depended mainly from artificial irrigation” (Lipiński 2000: 617).

Originally, Dagan was the dominant god of his region. The documents from Ebla clearly show that northern Syria was divided into three areas: the region of the Middle Euphrates dominated by the cult of Dagan, with his temple at Tuttul; the region of the god Hadda, with his sanctuary at Ḥalab; and the area of the Orontes, belonging to Hadabal (^dNI-*da-bal*), who had a temple in Ḥamath and numerous cult places situated in rural centres. A common factor links these three gods: their cult did not spread from any great political centre. The process we can observe in this period is as follows: when a city-state formed a regional state, the first deity of this region kept its own dominant role. Kura was the god of Ebla but, notwithstanding this, in international relations, the chancellery referred first of all to Hadda of Ḥalab (Treaty with Abar-sal, ARET 13.5 § 5'). Similarly, since Dagan enjoyed supremacy over his region, the king of Nagar (Tell Brak) and the representative of the Eblaite chancellery took an oath by Dagan in Tuttul (Feliu 2003: 26). As far as relations with Mari are concerned, an official of Ebla went to Tuttul on the occasion of a rite performed by the son of the king of Mari for Dagan, ARET 13.15 § 37.

It is significant in this regard that the Ebla texts, when they refer to Dagan, use the epithets ^dBAD(*ba'ī*) *Du-du-lu/la*^{ki} [684] “Lord of Tuttul”, ^dBAD *ma-tum* / *kalam-tim* “Lord of the country” (the identity of the god referred by these two epithets is demonstrated by TM.75.G.2397 obv. VII 21–31: “1 sheep for ... in the temple of the Lord of the country (^dBAD *ma-tum*), PN has taken on the occasion of his departure to Tuttul (*è-sù si-in Du-du-lu*^{ki})”). The writing ^d*Da-gan* is found only in the fragment TM.75.G.11696 obv. III 8–10: ^d*Da-gan wa* ^d’*Ā-da Ḥa-lab*_x^{ki}, and in the theophorous Personal Names. Just as Dagan was also worshipped at Ebla, so Hadda was well known at Mari. Text no. 20 of Mari lists the main male deities in this order: ^dLugal [ka]lam, ^dLugal₅ *Ter*₅-*ga*, ^dIl-*Ḥa-lab*_x ... “(Dagan) Lord of the country; (Dagan) Lord of Terqa; (Hadda) the God of Ḥalab ...”. Hadda of Ḥalab had even a temple in Mari, no. 6 I 4: *é* ^dIl-*Ḥa-lab*_x; the name of his city can stand for the name of the god, no. 22 III 6: ^d*Ḥa-lab*_x

(cfr also ^dIM in nos 8 II 4, 27 III 3) (Charpin 1987) Already from the 25th century BC on, the kings of Mesopotamia considered Dagan to be the lord of the Middle Euphrates. Mesanepada of Ur dedicated a lapis lazuli bead (found at Mari) to the god Lugal-kalam, that is to (Dagan) Lord of the country. It was Dagan who gave Sargon the entire country, as far as the Silver Mountains, a motif which was taken up again by Naram-Sin, and much later by Hammurabi, “leader of kings, who subdues the settlements along the Euphrates River by the oracular command of the god Dagan, his creator, who showed mercy to the people of the cities of Mari and Tuttul” (Codex of Hammurabi, Prologue IV 23–31).

Starting from the premise that Dagan had the attributes of a ‘first god’, A. Otto recently carried out an interesting investigation so as to identify the god’s iconography on the basis of written sources and archaeological finds. She notes (Otto 2006b: 247) that (according to the Ebla texts) his attributes included a mace (*ḥa-bù*) and a two-wheeled chariot (^{giš}*gígir*) (MEE 2.48 obv. V 5–9, rev. II 7–III 3). This kind of weapon is also attributed to Hadda, Hadabal, Kamiš, Rašap, Ala and the deified mountain Ammarik (not to Kura, the god of the city of Ebla!). The attribution of a chariot is extremely rare in the Ebla documents, and is known only for Hadda and Ala (two texts each, which could refer, in both cases, to the same occasion), as well as Dagan. The head of this mace must have been spherical, like the bronze one found recently in an Early Dynastic grave from Tell Chuera (Krasnik, Meyer 2001), or oval, like that of the mace of the Weathergod of Ḫalab in the Syro-Hittite tradition. This weapon was reserved for the gods, since men used battle-axes: *za-ḥa-da* (Akk. *zaḫatû*), or *gín* (Akk. *pāšum*). A. Otto identifies Dagan in a Late Bronze terracotta relief from Ekalte that shows “eine sitzende, bärtige, in einen syrischen Mantel gekleidete Gestalt, die sich durch [685] Hörner an der konischen, oben abgeflachten Kopfbedeckung als Gott zu erkennen gibt. ... In der einen Hand hält er ein Gefäß, in der anderen eine Waffe mit gebogener Spitze” (Otto 2006b: 262). This weapon is to be identified with *šikkat gamli ša Dagan*, mentioned in a Mari text from the Old Babylonian Period. Otto convincingly argues that, in the first centuries of the 2nd millennium the Syrian pantheon underwent a reorganisation (partly on the model of the Mesopotamian pantheon). The Weather-god kept his warrior characteristics, whereas Dagan, instead, became a ‘former god’, a god of the ‘first generation’. In this way, Dagan became equated with Enlil and with the Hurrian Kumarbi. In the case of Enlil, there is a true syncretism in certain aspects which are analysed by Feliu in some sections of his Chapter four, devoted to the Old Babylonia Period. In other respects (the use of writing Enlil for Kumarbi, for example) there is, instead, a ‘translation’ of gods, aimed at making the systems in which the gods of different cultures were ordered in some way homogenous, a process favoured by cuneiform writing which uses Sumerian logograms for local names (Archi 2004).

Feliu (2003: 59 and 87) follows J.-M. Durand in identifying *Bēl mātim* with Hadda, not with Dagan. N. Wyatt (1980) suggested that Dagan and Hadda originally had the same functions and were, therefore, the same god, describing then the process “whereby a god is slowly diverging into distinct forms, a process occurring commonly enough, when a god naturally received various honorific and liturgical titles which tended to become alternative names for him, and ultimately distinct gods” (Wyatt 1992: 429). It is one thing, however, to classify two gods as belonging to the same typology and quite another to identify two gods who have different and well-consolidated traditions (even if their names may allude to the same phenomena). The reason which led Durand to believe that Lugal / *Bēl mātim* is Hadda is that, otherwise, an important god such as Hadda would not be included in the god-lists commonly known as the ‘pantheons of the palace’ of Mari (Durand 1995: 173). His argument runs as follows: “il nous faut abandonner l’idée que le dieu appelé ‘Rois du Pays’ soit Dagan puisque plusieurs textes nous montrent désormais ces divinités côte à côte et non pas en position de permutation” (Durand 1985b: 149). This assumption is contradicted, in the first place, by the fact that all the quotations of BAD *ma-tum* / *kalam-tim* in the Ebla documents refer surely to Dagan (as mentioned above) and not to Hadda. We are, therefore, forced to return to the idea expressed by G. Dossin (1940: 165–68), that at Mari Lugal *mātim* was Dagan. The god-list found in room 143 of the palace (written in an archaic ductus) has: Ninegal (Bēlet ekallim) – Šamaš *ša šamē* – Eštar *ša ekallim* – [686] Dagan – Ninḫursag – Šamaš – Sîn ... (Dossin 1950). Also in many other documents Dagan is followed by Ninursag (cfr. ARM XXIII 46, 1–2; 60, 1–5; 283, 10–11, 318, 1–5; 320 1–5; 334, 1–5, etc.). Durand (1995: 136) has therefore correctly suggested identifying Ninḫursag with Šalaš, Dagan’s spouse. Another two lists of gods have Dagan, followed by Lugal *mātim* and then by Ninḫursag. The first list is attested in two tablets, one presenting an archaic ductus; the tablet with the second list employs also an archaic ductus.¹

¹ The two tablets of the first list have been published respectively by G. Dossin 1967b, and Ph. Talon, 1980 = ARM XXIV 263; see also Durand 1985b: 162–63. The second list has been published by M. Lambert 1970b. See, further, Durand 1995: 167–68, 212–13, and Feliu 2003: 86.

A	B
[Inanna] / Eštar	Inanna
[Inanna] / Eštar Dērītum	
Annunītum	Annunītum
ù Dagan	ù Dagan
Lugal / Bēl mātīm	Lugal ma-TIN
Ninḫursag	Ninḫursag
Ninegal / Bēlet-ekallim	ù Lugal Terqa
Ningal / Nikkal	
Lugal / Bēl Terqa	Utu
...	...

The list speaks for itself. The first section simply gives the two most important gods of the city of Mari, one female and the other male: Eštar and her associates and Dagan. In the second section, Dagan appears once more with his two earliest epithets: that of Lord of the country, followed by Ninḫursag (that is to say, his spouse Šalaš, precisely as Durand had noted), and that of Lord of Terqa. Lugal *mātīm* only appears in these archaizing lists. In the numerous other offering-lists Dagan is always mentioned with his name (see the indices of ARM XXI, XXIII, XXIV). In the documents from Tuttul of the same period, the god is also mentioned as Dagan (Krebern timer 2001: 201). We know that the religious language required completeness (*siue deus siue dea*; Hittite: “gods who have been invoked and who have not been invoked”) and for this reason Dagan was mentioned a second time with his most famous epithet. It was to Lugal *mātīm* that Ištup-ilum (beginning of the Third Dynasty of Ur) dedicated the “Temple aux lions”, which was still in use in the period of Zimrilim. The identification of Dagan with Lugal *mātīm* is confirmed by the fact that Ištup-ilum built this temple (up against the “Haute Terrasse”) opposite the temple of Ninḫursag, that is to say of Šalaš, [687] the spouse of Dagan, which Nūr-Mēr (the brother and predecessor of Ištup-ilum) had constructed on the ruins of an earlier temple (Spycket 1987–90: 398; Margueron 2004: 238–40, 378–84).

The documents from Emar show that Dagan continued to be the major god of the Middle Euphrates region also during the Late Bronze Period, although the city god was Ninurta (Feliu: chapter five). D. E. Fleming (1993) has suggested that this Sumerogram could conceal the weather-god Hadda (“Ninurta’s identity as firstborn of Enlil might be the basis for the Emar rendering”). Against this hypothesis is the fact that the Emar texts use the Sumerogram Iškur for the Weathergod, and some curses have Iškur and Ninurta in the same

texts (Felieu 2003: 235). According to J.-M. Durand (2005) the writing Ninurta stands for “le dieu infernal Rašap, chef religieux de la cité”, but this god was not diffused in that area.

The Hurrian-Hittite documentation shows that, in this period, the Sumerogram Ninurta was the learned rendering for the Hurrian god Tašmišu, “brother and vizier” of Teššup, who was equated with Suwaliyat, a Hittite god who had an affinity with the Nature-god Telepinu. The Hurrian offering-list KBo 20.119 imported from Kizzuwatna at the beginning of the 14th century and adapted to the royal residence of Sapinuwa, preserves the beginning of the Syrian-Hurrian pantheon of that time (not considering the local addition: “of Sapinuwa”), ll. 9–11: “Teššup of the city of Sapinuwa, Tašmiš, Anu, Kumarbi, Ea ...”. In the Hurrian Epic of Freeing, only the Hittite version preserves passages where Suwaliyat is mentioned. He participates together with Tesub in the festival of Allani in the Underworld (KBo 33.13 I 9–13 // II 9–14); later Teššub and his vizier Suwaliyat discuss what action to take with regard to Ebla, a decision which also involves Išhara, the tutelary goddess of that city (KBo 33.37) (Neu 1996: 233 nt. 12, 244–45).

Therefore, in northern Syria at that time the name Ninurta referred to a god whose sphere of influence was similar to that of the Weather-god, but who was not Hadda. At Emar, the writing Tašmiš appears in the Hittite-Hurrian ritual Emar VI.3, 472 40.

This excellent volume by a young scholar is a tangible indication of the notable work carried out by the teachers of the Institute of the Ancient Near East of the University of Barcelona. Many will be grateful to Wilfred G. E. Watson, who has furnished English translation of this study, originally written in Catalan, thus making it available to a wider public.

41 Šalaš Consort of Dagan and Kumarbi

The further back in time written sources go and the more gaps are filled relating to particular areas, the greater is the number of elements which appear to have been transmitted from one culture to another throughout the history of the Ancient Near East.

Following certain cults through the centuries enables us to note which relationships were created between various populations, beyond the level of political events; which beliefs were received; which changes were provoked within cultural systems by the acceptance of external elements. The great cultural break with the past for Anatolia and Syria coincides with the advent of the Roman Empire.

In the Ebla texts (24th century BC) we find the divinity Šalaša, certainly a minor divinity as she only appears to be attested to four times, and never in the lists of offerings of sheep which reflect the official cult of the city. In three passages Šalaša is connected with ^d*Wa-da-’à-an*, who precedes her. Wada’an and Šalaša are the divine couple¹ of Gar(r)amu, a place which, according to the treaty with Abarsal, belonged to Ebla,² and which must have lain to the north-east, towards the valley of the Euphrates.³ According to the fourth passage, given here below, Šalaša, represented by a female statue, was venerated also at Tuttul on the Baliḥ.

1. TM.75.G.2464 rev. V 4–10: tar babbar:kù šir-za ^d*Wa-da-’à-an* wa ^d*Ša-la-ša* lú *Ga-ra-mu*^{ki} “Thirty (shekels) of silver for a leaf for the gods Wada’an and Šalaša of Garamu.”
2. TM.75.12505 rev. VII’ 8’–14’: 2 gín kù-gi kin_x-ak 4 geštu_x-lá ^d*Wa-’da-’à-an* wa ^d*Ša-la-ša* dam[?]-sù [...] “Two shekels of gold to make four earrings for the gods Wada’an and Šalaša, his wife (?) [...]”

Pp. 1–6 in *Studio Historiae Ardens. Ancient Near Eastern Studies Presented to Philo H. J. Houwink ten Cate on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*, eds. Theo van den Hout, and Johan de Roos. Leiden. 1995.

1 In the case of divine couples, the first name is that of the male god, which is followed by that of the female one preceded by the conjunction *wa* “and”, cf. ARET 7.150 § 2.

2 Sollberger 1980: 135, 67–70 [= ARET 13.5 § 13]: *Ga-ra-mu*^{ki} in šu en *Ib-la*^{ki} “G. (is) in the hand of the king of Ebla.”

3 *Ga/Gàr-ra-mu*^{ki} cannot be identified with *Gàr-mu*^{ki}, *Gàr-me/mi-um*^{ki}, which was an independent town ruled by a king, see ARES 2: 231–232, 242 and 239–242 respectively. Gar(r)amu was a place belonging to the reign of Ebla; certain sons of the vizier Ibrum possessed lands there, TM.75.G.1452 (Fronzaroli 1980a: 34–35), as well as certain sons of the judge Iram-damu, ARET 7.156.

3. ARET 3.540 I 1'–6': 2 mí[-TÚG] ^dWa-da-'à-an wa ^dŠa-a-ša lú Ga-ra-mu^{ki} “2 m.-clothes for the gods Wada'an and Ša(l)aša of Garamu.”
4. TM.75.G.1771 obv. X 1–15: [...] *Ib-rí-um* níg-ba ^dBE *Du-du-lu*^{ki} ša-pi gín DIL-MUN babbar:kù šir-za 1 an-dùl munus ... 17 gín DILMUN kù-gi šir-za sag-sù 2 šu-sù DU-sù níg-ba ^dSa-a-ša si-in *Du-du-lu*^{ki} *Ib-rí-um* šu-mu-“taka₄” [...] presented by (vizier) Ibrium to the god Lord of Tuttul. Forty shekels of silver for a leaf for a female statue, seventeen shekels of gold for a leaf for her head, her two hands and feet: gift for the goddess Ša(l)aša, brought by Ibrium to Tuttul.”

Note the different ways of writing the name of the goddess: ^dŠa-la-ša (nos. 1, 2); ^dSa-a-ša (no. 4); ^dŠa-a-ša (no. 3). At Ebla the sign *sa* expresses /š/, and *ša* is used for /d/ e /t/, a rule which is not, however, always respected.⁴ Further, /l+V/ can be expressed simply by V.⁵

For the Eblaites, therefore, Šalaša was the consort of Wada'an(u), a god attested to in the administrative documents concerning cloth and metals as rarely as Salasa, but who occurs eight times in the offering lists of sheep.⁶ This means that Wada'an(u) had been included in the pantheon of Ebla. Another centre of the cult of Wada'an(u) was *A-dab*₆^{ki}, a minor locality belonging to the reign of Ebla, like Gar(r)amu, TM.75.G.1771 obv. I 1–14: níg-ba ^dWa-da-'à-nu lú [A-]dab₆^{ki} *Ib-rí-um* in-na-sum. Of Wada'an(u), whose name would appear to be Semitic, there is no later trace.

At Tuttul, on the other hand, Šalaša was considered to be the consort of Dagan: passage no. 4 is sufficiently clear on this. Although only mentioned once for Tuttul, she is the only other divinity known of for that town, apart from Dagan.⁷

The name of Dagan is rarely used. In the texts, in general, the god is referred to by means of the epithet “lord of Tuttul”, ^dBE *Du-du-lu*^{ki} (BE = *bēlu*), ^dLugal *Du-du-lu*^{ki} (at Ebla lugal = *ba'al*, Akk. *bēlu*), or simply: “god (dingir) of Tuttul”.⁸ ^dBE/dingir kalam^{tim} “Lord/God of the country” is also to be identified with Dagan, as well as ^dBE *Ga-na-na*^(ki), a locality of the Middle Euphrates,

4 Krebern timer 1982: 214–18. For the variants in the geographical names, see ARES 2: 18.

5 Krebern timer 1982: 211. One finds -a- instead of -la- also in the name ^dHa-a-ba-du /ḫalabājtū/, see Archi 1994a: 250 [593], with further literature on the “L Reduktion.” The name is not of Hurrian origin. The fem. PN Šalašu, borne by a ^{MUNUS}ŠU.GI from Kizzuwatna, KBo XIX iv 50, would, instead, appear to derive from the Hurrian *šali*, *šala* “daughter”; cf. Haas 1971: 139, who has pointed to a suffix -šu, which recurs in a number of fem. PNs.

6 For the four lists already published, see Pettinato 1979a: 111.

7 See ARES 2.203 section IV.

8 ARES 2, loc. cit.

and probably some other ^dBE followed by a geographical name.⁹ The frequency of ^d*Da-gan* as a theophoric element in the Eblaite personal names, is analogous to that of ^dBE.¹⁰ At pre-Sargonic Mari we have ^dLugal *Ter*₅(BAN)-*ga*, and in an offering list of the šakkanakkus period ^dLugal *Ter-ga* “Lord of Terqa”; from the OB documents from Mari it appears that “lord of Terqa”, *bēl Terqa*, was Dagan.¹¹ The temple of Dagan at Tuttul was the most important sanctuary of the Middle Euphrates; it was there that the king of Nagar (Tell Brak) swore friendship to Ebla.¹² To the kings of Akkad the importance of this king was well-known: Sargon declares that he received as a gift “the upper land” (northern Syria) from Dagan, after having prostrated himself before the god at Tuttul.¹³

During the Third Ur dynasty, Dagan receives offerings at the court of Šu-Sîn, three times alongside Išhara, the great goddess of Syrian origin, and once alongside Ḫaburitum, the goddess of the river Ḫabur.¹⁴

The ancient tradition created at Tuttul, that Šalaš(a) was the consort of Dagan is received in the lists of gods of the second millennium.¹⁵ In the documentation of Amorite Mari, Šalaš is not mentioned, possibly because the cult of Dagan of Terqa was more widely diffused at Mari,¹⁶ and Šalaš does not appear to have been venerated at Terqa. The goddess only appears in a few theophoric feminine personal names, such as ^d*Ša-la-aš-tap-pí*, ARM XIII 1 III 26; ^d*Ša-la-aš-tu-ri-ja*, ARM XXII 10 IV 4.

A thousand years after Ebla, in the Hurrian-Hittite documents, Šalaš is connected with Kumarbi. The goddess has not passed on to new nuptials: more simply, her former spouse Dagan has been equated with Kumarbi through a syncretistic process.

In the work of systematization carried out in Babylonia and established in the great series An = *Anum* (Middle Assyrian copies), Dagan is equated with the ancient Enlil and Šalaš with Ninlil (CT 24: 6, 22–23; 22: 120). Dagan is seen as a god of primary importance, but somewhat in the shadow of Adad, the great Weather-god of the Amorites, which they had received from the Semitic

9 On Dagan at Ebla, see Pettinato 1985. It must, however, be borne in mind that the principal god of Ebla was Kura and not Dagan, as affirmed *ibid.* 244.

10 Krebern timer 1988: 150, 157–158.

11 On the pantheon of Mari, see Edzard 1967 (in table 1, p. 69, *Da-gan* is to be cancelled); Lambert 1985. The pre-Sargonic texts from Mari have been published by Charpin 1987.

12 Archi 1999c: 198.

13 Sargon b 2; Hirsch 1963: 38.

14 Waetzold 1985b: 248–49.

15 Deimel 1914: 249.

16 Rouault, ARM 16, 1: 254.

peoples of the third millennium, when the principal centre of the cult of Adad was already Aleppo (Eblaite *Ḫa-lam*^{ki} = Ḫalab).¹⁷ The fact that in the series An = *Anum* the consort of Adad is Šala, a name similar to Šalaš, could mean that, in the Babylonian theological spheres, Dagan and Adad were perceived as gods with similar functions.¹⁸

In both versions of the treaty between Šuppiluliuma and Šattiwaza, in the pantheon of Mittani, only Šala appears among the goddesses. This could mean that, in Mittani, no distinction was made between Šala and Šalaš, and the form of the name closer to the Hurrian vocabulary was preferred. KBo I 1 rev. 57–58: (several Teššubs) Nabarbi, Šurūḫi, Aššur MUL, ^dŠa-la, NIN.É.GAL, Damkina, Išḫara. KBo I 3 rev. 25–26: (several Teššubs) Nabarbi, Šurūḫi, Ištar DINGIR ù MUL, ^dŠa-la, NIN.É.GAL, NIN *ajakki*, Išḫara, Bardāḫi¹⁹

As shown by the Emar texts, Dagan was still one of the principal deities of the Middle Euphrates in the 13th century.²⁰ He occupies an important position in the liturgical calendar, Emar VI.3 446: 8, 50' (*be-el numun*^{meš} “lord of the seed”), 54', 62', 79', 96', 99'; 448: 4', 5', 18'. In an inventory of objects relating to the cult and in the *zuku*-festival, Dagan appears under various epithets, 274: 2: ^dKur ^{uru}Tu-ut-túl; 9: ^dKur *ša kara-ši* “of the camp”; 10: ^dKur *ša ra-[qa-ti]* “of the bank-field”; 18': ^dKur *en ni-pi-ši* “lord of activity”. 373 (*zuku*-festival): 156': ^dKur *en ṣa-lu-li pa-su-ri* “lord of protection and praise”; 157': ^dKur *en ma-aṣ-ṣa-ri* “lord of the guardian”; 161': ^dKur *iš-pa-a-at* “lord of the quiver”; 162': ^dKur *en ḫa-pa-x*; 175', 176', 185', 192': ^dKur *en bu-qà-ri* “lord of cattle”; 195': ^dKur *a-bu-ma* “the father”.

Šalaš, on the other hand, appears only in a fragment of the “Anatolian Ritual”, which harks back to the Hurrian-Hittite tradition, 480: 3: ^dŠa-la-aš.²¹

A central concept of Hurrian religious thought was that the gods had succeeded each other, generation after generation. For this reason, the Hurrians had no difficulty in equating Kumarbi, the predecessor of their Weather-god Teššub, with Enlil, as shown by the trilingual version of the series An = *Anum* (*Ugaritica* 5 (1968) 137 35"–36", p. 246, where also Ninlil is mentioned as “the consort of Kumarbi”, [*aš-ti*e *Ku-mur-wi-ni-wi* = A[*širtum*(?)]). On this basis, Kumarbi comes to be equated with Dagan and, since in West Semitic *dagān* means “wheat”, in the Hittite texts one can find the writing NISABA instead of Kumarbi and, occasionally, also Ḫalki.²²

17 See von Soden 1987; Lambert 1990; Archi 1994a: 250.

18 Deimel 1914: 248–49; Schmökel 1938: 100.

19 Weidner 1923: 32, ll. 57–58; 54 ll. 42–43.

20 See Fleming, 1992: 240–48.

21 On the pantheon of this ritual, see Laroche 1988; Lebrun 1988.

22 The documentation of Ugarit has been studied by Laroche, *Ugaritica* 5: 453–54, 523–25. For Kumarbi = NISABA, see Laroche 1948: 117. For Ḫalki, see the study by Kammenhuber 1991.

In the Hurrian of the Hittite archives ^dŠa-(a-)lu-uš (variants: ^dŠa-a-la-aš; ^dŠa-la in the treaty with Mittanni) is generally associated with Kumarbi.

In the 10th tablet of the *itkalzi* ritual (KUB XXIX 8 (= ChS I 1, 9; perhaps a later copy of a Middle Hittite tablet) Kumarbi appears with Šalaš at third place (after Teššub and Šuwalijat = NIN.URTA); this reflects the fact that Kumarbi belonged to the preceding generation, i 12–20: Teššub – Ȝebat UTU of Arinna; Šuwalijat – Nabarbi; Kumarbi – ^dŠa-a-lu-uš ^dBi-ti-in-Ȝi; Ea; Šawuška – Damkina.

In other texts Šaluš appears in the circle, *kaluti*, of Ȝebat, constituted prevalently of goddesses; thus Šaluš precedes Kumarbi. The (*h*)išuwa-festival, KUB XII 12 vi 20–25 (similarly v 33 ff., ChS I 4, 23; duplicates KBo XXXIII 194 vi 1–4, ChS I 4, 26; KUB XXVII 10 vi¹ 23–24, ChS I 4, 29, where the writing is ^dŠa-lu-uš) has: Ȝebat *mušuni*; ^dŠa-a-lu-uš – Kumarbi; Aa – Šimegi; Šawuška.²³ KBo XV 37 ii 17–23 (duplicates KUB XXXII 90 ii 3–9; IBoT I 24 i¹ 9–11), iv 14–22: Ȝebat's court; ^dŠa-a-lu-uš – Kumarbi; Aa – Šimegi; Šawuška; IšȜara. The same list appears in the fragment KBo XXXV 258. A different sequence is to be found in the ritual KBo XXIV 79, 2–4 (ChS I 2, 22): Šawuška; [...]; ^dŠa-a-lu-uš – Kumarbi; [...]; Aaiu – Šimegi. KBo XXXIII 121, 2–3: ^dŠa-lu-uš Kum[arbi] Nupatik [...].

The epithet (^d)PidenȜi, often attributed to Šalaš, is an ethnic from Piden, attested in the Alalaḫ Tablets.²⁴ In the ritual KBo V 2, Ȝebat is followed by certain goddesses such as IšȜara, Allani and Šawuška; there is then the sequence, iii 13–15 (duplicate KBo XXVII 131 iii 1–3): Nabarbi, Šuwala, Aiün – Ekaldū,²⁵ ^dŠa-a-lu-uš *Bi-te-in-Ȝi*, Adamma – Kupapa – ȜašuntarȜi. The same sequence is found in the ritual (SISKUR) KUB XXVII 1+, dedicated to Šawuška by Muršili II, and reworked by Ȝattušili III. After many hypostases of Ȝebat and Šawuška (each followed by divinities closely connected with them) we have, ii 51–53: Nabarbi; Šuwala; x[...]; Ajan – Ekaldun; ^dŠa-a-lu-uš *B[i-ti-in-Ȝi]*; Adamma – Kupapa – ȜašuntarȜi.²⁶ KUB XLV 71, 1 ff. is parallel to this section. Similar (fragmentary) lists are KBo XX 29 rev. 3 ff. (1. 6: ^dŠa-la[-aš]; KUB LX 51, 1 ff. (2–3: ^dI^rAⁿ-i-u-un – ^dI-g[a-al-du]; ^dŠa-a-lu-uš ^d[Bi-ti-in-Ȝi]. Perhaps a ritual for Šawuška is KUB XLV 46, 1. 4: ^dŠa-a-la-aš *Bi-[te-in-Ȝi]*.

Kumarbi corresponds to Enlil also in the Akkadian-Hittite bilingual omen KUB IV 1 iv 22/24, see Güterbock 1980–83: 325.

²³ Cf. Laroche 1948: 131–33.

²⁴ Laroche, 1979: 200; for the writings concerning Šaluš, see *ibid.* 213.

²⁵ Aja, consort of Šimegi, is a loan from the Akkadian pantheon, where Aja is the consort of Šamaš. (^d)E-kal-du(-un) / ^dI-kal-ti is often connected to Aja in the Hurrian offering lists (see Laroche 1979: 39), and it is probably a loan-word too, from Akkadian *ikleti* “darkness”; Šamaš is said to be “who brightens the darkness”, *munammir ikleti*, see CAD, I–J 61.

²⁶ Cf. Lebrun 1976: 80.

Other lists give Uršui – Išcalli in the place of Aja – Ekaldū, such as KUB XXVII 8 obv.⁷ 11–14, KBo XX 113 i 20–23, XXXIII 207 ii 8–11: Nābarwi Šūwala; Uršui Išcalli ^dŠa-a-la-aš ^dBi-te-in-ḫi; Adamma – Kupapa – Ḫašunta[rḫi].

KBo XIV 141 ii 2–4 is very fragmentary: ^dŠ[a-a-lu-uš Bi-t[e-in-ḫi]; A[damma

The list of the gods of the “Rituel aux dieux antiques” stands alone, CTH 492, which for Šalaš gives an entirely anomalous writing, an indication that this ritual belongs to a different tradition, KUB XVII 20 ii 4–6: Dauija; Kurwašu; Nekmi; ^dŠa-lu-un; Menkišuri.

In the pantheon of Yazılıkaya, Kumarbi/NISABA (no. 40) is determined by the head of grain, FRUMENTUM, and follows Tašmišu. Amongst the goddesses, the inscription (DEUS)sa-lu-sa identifies figure no. 52, which appears between Nabarbi and Damkina.²⁷

27 See Masson 1981: 38. Cf. Haas and Wäfler 1974: 220–22; Güterbock 1982: 44.

42 *Il* in the Personal Names

“Personal god in Assyriological studies denotes that divine being seen to take a personal interest in the individual and his fortunes, whom he worshipped in a private cult, and to whom he could turn with his immediate personal concerns.” This definition, which sums up the ideas of Thorkild Jacobsen,¹ is proposed by Robert A. Di Vito at the beginning of his doctoral dissertation (pp. 2–3) submitted to Harvard University dedicated to the study of the personal god on the basis of data which can be obtained from Sumerian and Akkadian personal names of the third millennium BC. The concept of the personal god finds its expression in religious sentiments connected with the noun “god” determined by a possessive suffix: *dingir-mu* and *ilī* “my god”, *dingir-ra-ni* and *ilšu* “his god”, in Sumerian and Akkadian respectively, and by appellatives such as *bēlī* “my lord” or *abī* “my father”.

In the introduction (pp. 1–17) the author explains how this concept developed in the course of the studies. A. L. Oppenheim attributed to the personal god, *ilum*, an essentially protective function, considering him a kind of “protective spirit” or “demon”². The O(ld) B(abylonian) (and earlier) sources, however, show that “both local and supra-regional gods, such as Sin, Amurru, Ea, Dagan, Ningišzida and Lugalbanda [could also act as] personal gods.” Th. Jacobsen “focusses instead on what he calls the *attitude* of personal religion. His goal in doing this is to describe as fully as possible on the basis of our sources the emotional contours of a relationship in which the human subject feels at home in addressing the deity ... as, above all, ‘my god.’ ... In this way ... Jacobsen believes that he is able to arrive at the controlling metaphor, or ‘inner form’, under which the deity is conceived.” Successively, H. Vorländer collected together extensive documentation of passages where the designation “my god, your god”, etc. appears;³ however, he disregarded the historical and social horizons of textual data.⁴ As a result, no distinction is made between the worship of the personal god of the ordinary individual and that of the official

Review of Robert A. Di Vito, *Il in the Personal Names of the Third Millennium BC Studies in Third Millennium Sumerian and Akkadian Personal Names. The Designation and Conception of the Personal God*. Roma: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico = Studia Pohl Series Maior 16. 1993. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 91 (1996) 133–51.

1 Jacobsen 1970: 37–38.

2 Oppenheim 1977: 199–200.

3 Vorländer 1975.

4 See W. R. Mayer 1978: 492–98.

religion. Later, R. Albertz (who is close to Jacobsen's position regarding personal religion) was concerned with placing personal piety in social contexts.⁵ The family is the primary form of community in which the individual is inserted, and it is family life, with birth as well as health and prosperity, which shapes personal piety. In this context, "behind the multiplicity of divine names found as theophorous elements in PNN, the individual, according to Albertz, experiences only a purely functional unity, indeed only 'God' protecting and promoting his or her interest:" "Wenn sie Enlil und Ninurta, Šamaš and Marduk in ihre Grüsse aufnehmen, wenn sie ihre Kinder mit diesen und anderen Gottesnamen benennen, dann meinen sie damit gar keine spezifischen, von der Theologie der Priester und Schreiber ausgeformten Götterpersönlichkeiten mehr, sondern diese Namen repräsentieren für sie nur, was 'Gott' für sie bedeutet ... Aus allen diesen Beobachtungen kann [man] nur den Schluss ziehen: Trotz der offiziellen polytheistischen Religion in Mesopotamien ist die persönliche Frömmigkeit von einem 'primitiven', d.h. unreflektierten Henotheismus bestimmt. Der Gottesbegriff ist in dieser Religionsschicht nicht durch 'Eigenschaften', sondern funktional bestimmt."⁶ According to Di Vito, "Albertz has made an important contribution to the study of personal god ... [However] in the matter of the predominance of PNN with *ilum* in Old Akkadian he has overlooked the use of DNN as theophorous elements in even the earliest periods of Akkadian. Moreover, ... significant differences between the gods are and can be expressed in the onomasticon. ... [Therefore,] despite the soundness of his observation that in the onomasticon even the most fearsome gods are 'domesticated', the utilization of the PNN has been too schematic to warrant the kind of conclusions Albertz draws and his treatment needs a thorough review." The aim of Di Vito's [135] study is "the characterization of the piety, or devotion, which accompanies the worship of the personal god", for which purpose prominence is generally given to the onomastic evidence. Consequently, "the attempt throughout this study will be to understand the conventions of the Sumerian and Akkadian naming-traditions [of the third millennium] in their integrity and on their own terms."

The second section of the book (pp. 18–122) is dedicated to Sumerian personal names. A catalogue is provided of the names with dingir and examples of identical names without dingir "since the significance of names containing dingir can only be seen in relation to other theophorous names." In order to facilitate an analysis which takes into account a diachronic and geographical distribution of patterns, the names are divided into five sections: 1. ED II (ar-

⁵ Albertz 1978.

⁶ Albertz 1978: 138–39.

chaic Ur); 2. Fara (including Abū Ṣalābīḥ); 3. Pre-Sargonic; 4. Sargonic (Narām-Sin and later Sargonic); 5. Ur III. The name of the city in which the name is attested is also given. Within each period the names have been further divided according to name-patterns. A second list gives the translation of a representative name for each pattern and a table showing in which period it is attested to. The author notes “that prior to the Ur III period, dingir in conjunction with a suffix ... is attested only in non-verbal sentences where dingir-mu ‘my god’ qualifies a DN or, more commonly, a generic term such as ama, a, dam, lugal, nin, and šeš. This stands in contrast to Akkadian usage, where from the earliest period a suffixed form of *ilum* is employed either as the subject of a verbal or a non-verbal sentence.” Moreover, “in names of the Ur III period Limet notes only the tendency in Akkadian names to address above all the personal god (*ilī*), while Sumerian names prefer a concrete DN. In fact, throughout the third millennium, the tendency in Sumerian is to address local deities: viz. Ba’u at Lagaš or Šara at Umma. ... While the piety evident in Akkadian PNN highlights above all a personal (family) god, Sumerian names show a concern for the same local gods and goddesses whose cults were at the center of the city’s official worship” (pp. 83–84).

The two onomastic traditions are different. In Sumer, where the urban tradition was wellfounded and the majority of the population was concentrated in the large cities, the unnamed god, dingir, designates the head of a local pantheon. In Akkadian, *il(i)* is the expression of a different social structure: the family. In later time, and in those areas where there is greater integration with the city, this tradition is abandoned, as has been shown by R. Harris for OB Sippar, where the choice of a particular deity in a PN appears to have been conditioned primarily by the local pantheon.⁷

In the third section of the book (pp. 123–271), the Akkadian personal names are considered “with the aid of the foundation laid [by J. J. Stamm, *Die akkadische Namengebung*, 1939] for the Akkadian onomasticon of the second and first millennia. ... The chief concern has been to make an exhaustive collection of all PNN containing *ilum* ‘god’ or the logogram DINGIR, [of which I. J. Gelb had already provided a list in MAD 3] ... However, unlike the Sumerian catalogue, more effort has been expended in gathering examples of all name-types containing theophorous elements.” The onomastic material is ordered as in the Sumerian section, divided, however, into four periods since it begins with Fara. “A small number” of names from Mari and Ebla are also added. The system of transliteration is the traditional one of W. von Soden’s Syllabar, more familiar to scholars of later periods than the less interpretive system of Gelb. Here again

⁷ Harris 1972: 102.

a translation of a representative name for each name-pattern is provided. According to Gelb, the prevalence of the element *il* as a theophorous element in the Pre-Sargonic PNN seems to indicate that the DN Il(/El) was the chief deity not only of the West Semites but also of the Mesopotamian Semites of the Pre-Sargonic period.⁸ For Di Vito, however, it represents the generic term *ilum* without case-ending and mimation. Those cases where one finds *il* and not *ilum*, even where one would expect a subject and not an absolute or predicate state, can be explained as “non-standard spellings”, attested, if far more rarely, in PNN as *En-na-šar* and *Ar-ši-aḫ* for common nouns such as *aḫum* and *šarrum*. Besides, also *ì-lum* seems to represent a conventional writing rather than a morphological analysis in PNN like *BALA-ì-lum* “(The)-Reign-of-(the)-God”, and *I-mi-ì-lum*, “(The)-Support-of-(the)-God.” The chronological distribution of the element *il* presented in a table shows that “of the twenty-nine names containing the element *il*, nineteen are attested in the Fara period, twelve in the Pre-Sargonic period, two in the Sargonic period, and three in the Ur III period. The eclipse of the usage of *il* ... coincides precisely with where we place the complete reform of the writing system, i.e., the classical Sargonic period” (pp. 238–41). Further, a survey of the suffixed and non-suffixed forms of *ilum* indicates that most of the names employing *ì-lum* are attested in the Fara and in the Sargonic periods; most of those with *ì-lí* occur in the Sargonic and Ur III periods. But it is not that *ì-lí* simply replaces *ì-lum*: “While [137] *ì-lum* generally is found in the neutrally-framed names of thanksgiving, *ì-lí* ... is at home in the laments and in petitions addressed directly to the deity in second person.” That is to say that “neutrally cast references to a ‘personal god’ wane in favor of evermore explicit articulations of the personal relation between the god and the name-bearer” (pp. 243–50).

The author concludes (pp. 272–75) that: “The Sumerian and Akkadian PNN of the third millennium show that the notion of a ‘personal god’ or ‘personal gods’ exists from the earliest periods of Mesopotamian history ... The PNN provide a reasonably clear understanding of this deity, but it is one which lacks the kind of distinctiveness and specificity which might differentiate the personal god from those gods and goddesses in the onomasticon without any explicit indication of their status as personal gods. ... This lack of distinction does not mean, however, as Alberty has suggested, that the piety which comes to ex-

⁸ Gelb 1952: 6. The position of J. J. M. Roberts 1972: 32, is less resolute: “The occurrence of *il* in a nominal sentence name with a stative as the other element of the name is also hard to explain on any other analysis than that *il* is a proper divine name serving as the subject of the nominal sentence. ... Though the existence of Il as a proper divine name seems established, the lack of non-onomastic evidence makes it difficult to characterize him.”

pression in the OB Akkadian onomasticon is simply indifferent to the issue of specific gods or goddesses. Nor does it mean that the PNN reflect, as a result, a kind of primitive, unreflective ‘henotheism’. The lack of specificity in the attributes and actions ascribed to the deity in PNN shows only that the conception of the personal god, and of the gods in general, has been shaped by a common theological perspective which subordinates all specific differences to a distinctive but commonly shared agenda.” Notwithstanding the “anonymity” of the many gods worshipped in the names, the personal god, “a god passed down from father to son and standing presumably in a life-long relationship to the individual and his family”, was chosen from among the greater and lesser gods of the pantheon. Any god could function as the personal god.

Di Vito’s book represents an important contribution to our understanding of religion in the third millennium BC. He argues his case well and, as far as possible, tries to let the authors speak in their own words. The catalogues of Sumerian and Akkadian PNN, ordered according to categories of name-types which are provided with a translation, are extremely useful. The author attempts to define the functions of *dingir* and *il(um)* in relation to other theophorous elements: names of relations and, above all, DNN, and succeeds very well in his aim. We now know, also for the third millennium, which notions (engendering, bringing up the child, protecting, hearing, and so on) refer to *dingir* and *il(um)* and which other gods appear in PNN with the same functions.

Since, however, an element is functional within a system, it is wise to attempt also to define the “system” of theophorous elements to which *il* belongs. The material offered by the Ebla archives (from roughly the first half of the 24th century BC) is suitable for a parallel investigation of this sort. [138] Here we are dealing with homogenous epigraphic documents which cover a little over forty years and an area corresponding to modern northern Syria. This documentation, unlike the Akkadian, does not show Sumerian cultural influences.

1 The pantheon of Ebla and the theophorous elements in PNN

A condition for a correct evaluation of a pantheon is the ordering, by genre, of sources in which the gods are attested.⁹ In the case of Ebla the following groups of texts can be identified:¹⁰

⁹ Already de Moor (1970a) has studied the Ugaritic pantheon ordering the sources according to genre. See also Pardee 1988b.

¹⁰ See already Archi 1993g.

a) Lexical lists. They have a short list of gods, mostly Sumerian with Eblaite renderings.¹¹

b) Rituals. All but two of the texts are in Sumerian or are translated from Sumerian; of the two other rituals, one uses Sumerian elements, in the other the acting gods are Hadda, the deified Syrian river Baliḥ and two local deities: Adarwan and Amarig (this last is a deified mountain south of the Amanus).¹²

c) Juridical documents. In a royal verdict the king invokes Kura, Utu and Hadda. These were, therefore, the most important gods. The Sun-deity and Hadda are also mentioned in the political treaty with Abarsal but not Kura, probably because his cult was known only in the Ebla region.¹³

d) Offering lists. Twenty monthly documents, all to be dated to the last period of the archives, record deliveries of sheep from the Palace. The first section of each tablet concerns the sheep sacrificed to the gods by the king, the queen and other members of the court. The lists are rather stereotype and the number of the deities, including their hypostases, is slightly above forty.¹⁴ This was clearly the pantheon recognised by the Palace. The most frequently mentioned gods are: ^dA₅-da-bal/(KUL) (of A-ru₁₂-ga-du^{ki}, Lu-ba-an^{ki} and SA.ZA_x^{ki} “of the Palace”), ^d’À-da (Hadda; of Ḥa-lab_x(LAM)^{ki} “Aleppo” and Lu-ub^{ki}), ^dKu-ra, ^dRa-sa-ap, (of ’À-da-ni^{ki} and gú-nu). Less frequently attested are: ^dA-dam-ma, ^dAš-da-bīl, ^dBE (bēlum “Lord”; most of these hypostases refer to [139] Dagan), ^dī-lam, ^dGa-mi-iš, ^dŠa-ma-gan, ^dŠĀR-iš (Išḫara), ^dUtu. Some of these deities are Semitic; others (like Adamma, Ašdabil, Išḫara, Kura and probably Hadabal) were probably received from the substratum.

e) Administrative documents. These texts record revenue of expenditure of goods and represent the most consistent group of the epigraphic documentation. One way of ascertaining the relevance of a god in the cult is to identify the number of deliveries he receives and compare this with those received by the other gods. This method is not without its risks, but can be accepted in the absence of other, more satisfying means. If one considers the data collected in

¹¹ See Lambert 1984b.

¹² See Krebern timer 1984. The second Semitic ritual has been studied by Fronzaroli 1988b.

¹³ The verdict, TM.75.G.1444, has been published by Edzard 1981a [= ARET 16.27]. For the treaty with Abarsal, see Sollberger 1980 [= ARET 13.5].

¹⁴ Four of these documents have been studied by Pettinato 1979a.

the volumes of the texts edited in ARET 1–4, 7–10, concerning every sector of the administration, we have the following numbers of references:

1. ^d*Ku-ra*: 130 (references);
2. ^d*A₅-da-bal*/KUL: 105;
3. ^d*Ra-sa-ap*: 40;
4. ^d*Ā-da*: 31;
5. ^d*ŠĀR-iš* (*Išhara*): 25;
6. ^d*Ga-mi-iš*: 24;
7. ^d*Āš-da-bīl*: 20;
8. ^dUtu: 12, and ^dEn-ki (^ʾAyya): 12; (10) ^dBE *Du-du-lu*^{ki} (“The Lord of Tuttul”, i.e. Dagan): 7; ^dBE *Ga-na-na*(^{ki}) (Dagan?): 6.

Kura, the god of the city of Ebla (no hypostases are known for him) is the most important god of the pantheon. This is shown by the fact that every annual document relating to the distribution of precious metals always opens with the offering of a mina of silver for “the face of the god Kura”, evidently on the occasion of a annual ceremony for the renewal of the statue of the city-god. It is also of note that of the 130 attestations to Kura, 44 are from ARET 9 which contains the distributions of bread and flour for the court. After the amounts for the king and the Elders we find those for Kura and his temple, followed by rather smaller offerings for “the (other) gods: dingir-dingir-dingir”.

Kura is followed by Hadabal attested on a slightly smaller number of occasions. His most important sanctuaries were in *A-ru₁₂-ga-du*^{ki}, *ʾĀ-ma-du*^{ki} and *Lu-ba-an*^{ki} but his cult extended over all of the Eblaite territory and during a cult journey the god was celebrated in 39 different places.¹⁵ No other divinity is attested to even half the number of times that Hadabal is.

f) Personal names. The most frequently attested theophorous elements in the personal names are not the gods of the offerings lists and the administrative documents, but those listed here below according to the number of names in which they appear:¹⁶ **[140]**

- *-da-mu*: 146 (personal names); *-ma-lik*: 94; *-il*: 71 (one has to consider also: *Ī-lum*, *-ī-lum*: 16, *-ī-lu*: 3, *Ī-lum-*: 9); *-li-im*: 32 (including *Li-ma*-(^d)*Da-gan*); *-da-ar*/ *-dar*: 32 (25+2)

¹⁵ Archi 1979a*: 107–108 [619–621].

¹⁶ Pomponio 1983b: 154, had already noted, on the basis of onomastic data, “una grande differenziazione tra il culto ufficiale ... e religiosità popolare.” Data relating to personal names, including those in ARET 7, have been collected by Kreberník 1988a. In the present study, ARET 9 and 10 have also been taken into account.

- *-i-šar*: 20 (including *I-šar*, *I-šar-tum*, *I-šar-il* / *-li-im* / *-ma-lik*); *-šum*: 19; ^dUtu: 18. (including: ^dUtu-*a-ba*₄ / *-a-ḥu* / *-LU_x* / *-zu-rí-šu*); ^dKu-*ra*: 17; *-(^d)Da-gan*: 14 (including ^dDa-gan-*li-im*; cfr. *Li-ma-^dDa-gan*; also several of the 30 names with *-BE*, *BE-*, *-ba-al*₆ could refer to Dagan); ^dĀ-*da*: 9 and probably all the 9 names with *-Ḥa-lab_x*(LAM) “Ḥalab”, the place where the most important sanctuary of Hadda was to be found. ^dAš-*dar*: 8; ^dEn-ki and ^dRa-*sa-ap*: 4; ^dA₅-*da-bal*/KUL and ^dGa-*mi-iš*: 2.

By far the most frequently found element is *-da-mu*: the bond of blood (*dāmu* “blood”), “Stock”. This element is widespread in the royal family: seven of the names of the last eleven kings are formed with *damu*, as are the names of 20 out of 38 princes. This tradition is not peculiar to Ebla since also the four kings of Emar known to us have names with *-da-mu*.¹⁷ Another widely used deified element, deriving from the lexicon of social structures, is *-li-im* “Clan” (*lim* “multitude, people”; Akk. “thousand”).¹⁸ In this same semantic field we have *-da-ar* / *-dar* “Durability (of the stock), Generation” and *-šum* “name, posterity”.

Two deified appellatives are extremely frequent: *-ma-lik* “King, Ruler” and *-il* “god”. Moreover: *i-šar*/*I-šar*- “The Righteous one” (a feminine PN is: *I-šar-tum*). To these we may add: *-BE* / *BE-* / *-ba-al*₆ (30 PNN, some of which could refer to Dagan); *-gú-nu* “the Firm one” (16 PNN); *-na-im* “the Favourable one” (13 PNN); *-DÜG* “the Good” (10 PNN).¹⁹

Only four names of gods are found in notable numbers of PNN: those of the Sun-deity, of the city-god Kura, of Dagan, the god of Tuttul (to whom PNN with the epithet “Lord”, *BE*, Akkadogram of *ba-al*₆, may also refer; these names were possibly formed in the valley of the Middle [141] Euphrates), and of Hadda, mainly worshipped at Ḥalab²⁰ and who, in the second millennium, was to become the great Weather-god of the Amorites in Syria. A star (Ištar) is found in only nine names while the other gods occur in a very small number of PNN. Compound names with Enki (attested in ARET 1) are programmatic: *A-ku-^dEn-ki* is a priest (*pa₄-šeš*) of that god; *BU-^dEn-ki* and *I-ti-^dEn-ki* are two singers

¹⁷ Cfr. ARES 2: 290.

¹⁸ Cfr. Fronzaroli 1979a: 12; Krebern timer 1987–90: 25–27. Also for the Haneans, *lim* has the meaning of “clan”, cfr. Durand 1989: 180. It is possible that *-zi-kir* “the Name” (or “male”) also belongs to the social lexicon, see Gelb 1981: 21; further *-ga-mu*, *kam₄* (8+10 PNN), see Krebern timer 1988a: 93: “Viell. /kaym-/ zu akk. *kīmtum* ‘Sippe’”; and *-ga*, see Krebern timer 1984a: 84: “dürfte /gāy/ o. a. ‘Volk’ vorliegen”; cfr. Catagnoti 1988: 186–87 n. 6; and for the documentation from Mari, see Talon 1985: 278–80.

¹⁹ Some other names could present syllabic writings, see Krebern timer 1988a: 82.

²⁰ For the identification of *Ḥa*-LAM^{ki} as *Ḥa-lab_x*^{ki}, see Lambert 1990; Archi 1994a*: 250 [593].

(nar), a profession which requires wisdom, the quality of which Enki was the lord.²¹ It is of note that no deity of the substrate (such as Adamma, Ašdabil, Barama the consort of Kura, or Išhara) appears as an element in a personal name, apart from Hadabal,²² who is used to form only two names, while he is widespread in the cult. The only exception is Kura, the city-god.

This name-giving system is basically conservative in nature. On the one hand, basic social structures predominate, formed in the pre-urban period but continuing to co-exist with urban organization; that is to say blood-ties, Damu, and the clan, Lim, both deified (Lim, but not Damu, is also frequent in Amorite name-giving where it is the expression of a pastoralist society or its memory²³). On the other, those manifestations of the divine which ensure the well-being of the social group are chosen. It is wished that the god rule (Malik, “ruler” certainly cannot refer to the king), will ensure justice (Išar) and will be favourable and merciful (DÜG, Na'im).

When reference is made to a specific deity, this is the Sun, Utu, whose gaze no living being can escape. Otherwise it is a god who guarantees survival by controlling the elements; his supremacy is demonstrated by the fact that he is worshipped in a regional sanctuary: Hadda at Ḫalab and, in the Euphrates valley, Dagan at Tuttul.²⁴ Alongside these there is the non-Semitic Kura, the god of Ebla, at least in the name-giving of this city of Ebla. Aštar (Ištar) also enjoys a degree of popularity.

It should be stressed that popular religion most definitely does not find expression in this onomasticon, but rather a personal religion retaining archaic elements. This is demonstrated by the attested names of the royal family which are close to [142] the common naming-tradition. Masculine names show a preference for the theophorous element Damu, followed by Lim. Also, 9 of the 31 “daughters of the king”, *dumu-mí en*, have names with Damu. Only in the case of the third from last king, *Igriš-Ḫalab*, one may think of a god of the pantheon (Ḫalab is the circumlocution for the god of the place). The Ebla archives record, above all, the names of functionaries of the palace organization, of Ebla or other city-states, while male and female workers appear in administrative documents, normally, in anonymous groups. The PNN, therefore, reflect the cultur-

21 The fourth name formed with Enki, *Puzur₄-ra-dEn-ki*, is that of a man of Mari.

22 In order to interpret Hadabal as a Semitic name, one must accept that *-bal* is an anomalous writing per *-ba-al* and that this name is preceded by a verbal form; this typology seems to be known at Ebla only for PNN.

23 See ARM 16, 1: 264; cfr. Huffmon 1965: 226–27.

24 Dagan has even been identified with the clan: *^dDa-gan-li-im, Li-ma-(^d)Da-gan*. Cfr. the Amorite name *Li-mi-dIM*, Huffmon 1965: 226.

al environment which grew up around the Palaces. This, probably, is a situation which is not so very different from that documented for the Ur III period, while several Old Akkadian texts perhaps reflect more rural environments.

The pantheon on the one hand and the theophorous elements on the other, represent two different systems. Additional proof of this is provided by the ritual for the marriage of the king and queen, ARET 11. The first offering is for the Sun-god, Utu, whose position in the sky regulates the times of the action. Various offerings are then made to Aštar, Gamiš, Išhara and lesser deities such as ^dA-NI-ru₁₂, ^dDa-i-in, ^dIš-ru₁₂;²⁵ the goddess (Nin-)tu is then invoked. At the centre of the action, however, we have Kura and, beside him, his consort Bara-ma (who appears rarely in the administrative texts) since here the king and queen are seen as the counterpart of the greatest divine couple in the pantheon. With the marriage ceremony, a new couple is formed: “a new (gibil) king, a new queen”, and in the same time the union between god and goddess is renewed and they are all invoked together, ARET 11.1 § 65 = 2 § 68: ^dKu-ra gibil ^dBa-ra-ma gibil en gibil ma-lik-tum gibil. This ritual, which ensures the continuation of the dynasty, makes no reference to Damu or to Lim, who represent the deified lineage and who, as signs of well-wishing, appear so frequently in the masculine and feminine names of the royal family.

This custom of royal names preferably being formed with Damu (a term which is, however, deeply rooted in the common naming-tradition) establishes itself with the last kings, when seven out of eleven names have this theophorous element. To these should be added the last designated heir, Ir’aq-damu, who was prevented from taking the throne by the destruction of the city. It is as though they wished to underline that those princes legitimately represented the family par excellence; that through them the blood of their forefathers was transmitted. The development of this custom runs parallel to the establishment of Ebla as a city-state, [143] when the dynasty comes to head a developed palace organization. While the dynasty finds legitimacy in this naming-tradition, the primacy of the old god of the city, Kura (whose name can be seen to date back to the pre-Semitic time), is recognized by the cult, and the ideology of kingship has Kura and his wife Bara-ma as points of reference, as shown by the marriage rites.

²⁵ According to Fronzaroli, ARET 11: 52, the goddess ^dSI.GAR / ^dLa-bu₁₆-tum “Lioness” could be identified with Ištar.

2 // in Ebla documentation

The presence of the god El in the epic of Ugarit has convinced several scholars that the element *il*(/*el*) could represent not only the common word for god /'il-/, but also the god El.²⁶ As far as the Old Akkadian documentation represented by PNN is concerned, Di Vito maintains, instead, that *il* is just a writing of the common noun *ilum*. As said above, he notes that “of the twenty-nine [Akkadian personal] names containing the element *il*, nineteen are attested in the Fara period, twelve in the Pre-Sargonic period, two in the Sargonic period, and three in the Ur III period. The eclipse of the usage of *il* in these name patterns, particularly in those which do not go out of fashion, is dramatic, and coincides precisely with where we place the complete reform of the writing system, i.e., the classical Sargonic period. ... Assuming that the element *il* were a DN, one might argue that the lack of PNN attested in later periods is accidental or reflects the declining popularity of the specific god in question. But this is not expected in the case of a god with the stature presumed for Il.” (pp. 241–42). Di Vito recalls the use of BAD / BE, which at Ebla (and in some other Pre-Sargonic tablets) is an Akkadogram for *ba'lum*, *bēlum* “lord”,²⁷ and argues that “the writing *il* may simply reflect the use of a ‘Kish’-type logogram IL = *ilum*, representing the indigenous northern writing system of Pre-Sargonic times, subsequently supplanted by the Sargonic reforms, but found at Mari and Ebla, as well.” (p. 242). In reality *il*, which in the PNN has the function of the subject in a verbal sentence, is simply a name in the absolute state, like *išar*, *malik* and possibly *šar*, a common usage not only at Ebla.

Ebla confirms Di Vito's analysis. Il does not appear once in the offerings lists or in the administrative documents. How, therefore, is it possible for a frequent element like *il* to represent a specific DN in a name-giving system like such as that of Ebla, which uses DNN so rarely? To the roughly seventy names with *-il* should probably be added as many more which end in *-NI* the first element of which is not attested among those with *-il*. At Ebla /i'/ can indicate the loss of any final element²⁸, but [144] prosopographic studies show that *-NI* normally indicates the loss of the final /l/: *NI* = *ì*.²⁹ It can be noted that *ilum* (*NI-lum*) is far less frequent: apart from *ì-lum* (attested also in pre-Sargonic

²⁶ Cfr. Gelb 1957: 28: “*il* standing for DN Il or *il*, the predicate state of *ilum*”; Huffmon 1965: 162–163.

²⁷ Steinkeller 1981b: 22.

²⁸ ARES 2: 18.

²⁹ Müller 1980: 70–92; Archi 1980b: 17–18.

times; at Ebla we also find the PN II: ARET 4.3 obv. V 15³⁰) sixteen names have *-i-lum*, three *-i-lu* and nine *l-lum-* (*l-lum-a-ḥu/ḥa/ḥi*; -BAL; -KUR; -*na-im*, etc.).

If one considers the verbal forms and terms of the PNN with theophorous elements like *-il*, *-ma-lik*, *-da-mu* and so on, one sees that these are interchangeable. These theophorous elements, therefore, corresponded to largely analogous functions in the sphere of the religious attitude of those people who used this name-giving system. Now, it is possible to define the religious concepts of which the theophorous elements were an expression, only within the system which these formed. *Damu* “Stock” and *Lim* “Clan” date back (as already said) to the phase in which they represented the dominant social forms and which, later, came to co-exist with more complex structures. We have seen, for example, that *Damu* takes on a particular ideological value in the name-giving of the royal family. Since the primary form of community in which the individual is inserted is the family, the vows expressed in the PNN correspond to the basic needs of a family³¹: recognition and protection of the newborn, attribution of paternity or brotherhood to a god, and so on. A great scholar in Semitic studies, J. W. Robertson Smith, has claimed that “the system of an antique religion was part of the social order under which its adherents lived”, noting then that “the first steps of a social and religious development took place in small communities, which at the dawn of history had a political system based on the principle of kinship.”³² It is in that social system that the naming-tradition of Ebla was created and it were those links of kinship which were deified.

Clearly, today as then, PNN need not necessarily be conservative but can also be innovative, conditioned as they are by the political-cultural situations.³³ The fact that divinities of the substrate are scarcely to be found among the theophorous elements shows that the Eblaite onomasticon was created in ancient times, when the Semitic populations had not yet settled the Ebla region in any stable way. The exception lies in the PNN with the god *Kura*, which constitute an innovation. [145] The most productive theophorous elements relate either to the prosperity of the clan or to the need for a guide and a desire for justice; that is to say that they have strong social implications. They are not the major gods of the urban pantheon. One cannot think, therefore, that – at least in the formative phase of the onomasticon – *il* was prevalently used to

³⁰ The interpretation of *Il-il* is uncertain: ARET 3: 284; TM.75.G.2464 rev. XII 5.

³¹ Alberty 1978: 11.

³² Robertson Smith 1894: 28 and 32.

³³ The study of Liverani 1978, regarding the PNN in Syria under the Hittite overlordship, 14th–13th cent., is exemplary.

indicate any god of a developed pantheon, of the type attested in the offering lists or the administrative documents. Di Vito argues that “The names, as we have seen, testify to the fact that conceivably any god could function as the personal god” (p. 271), that is to say that, in the Akkadian PNN, in the place of *il*, *ilum*, *ilī*, one could, in theory, find the name of any deity. This, however, occurs in the Sargonic and Ur III periods and not before; while the case of Ebla shows that for the earlier Akkadian period a different evaluation is probably necessary.

Just as *malik* and *išar* are metaphors for the aspiration to good rule and justice, *il* sums up the need of an individual and his group for the divine, *Il* has numerous attributions in the PNN and lacks specificity because it represents the emotional state, the noumenous one, of divine experience. *Il* is “god” and the reference is to the god (or the nearest of the gods) worshipped by the community to which the newborn belongs. The formative stage of this naming-tradition is characterized largely by primitive henotheism, being conditioned by a rather simplified divine system. It is urban society which leads to a distinction between functions and attributions of the gods and organizes them into a pantheon. A large number of DNN in the onomasticon indicates that the process of adhering to the new social form has been completed. It is then that Kura, the god of Ebla, becomes a widespread theophorous element. In this phase *il* could also indicate a god of the pantheon. A clear example exists in the DN attested at Mari ^d*Il-ḥa-lab_x* “The god of Ḥalab”, that is Hadda.³⁴ Similarly, when the ideology of kingship triumphs with the Third Dynasty of Ur, the name of the deified king is frequent in the onomasticon: ^d*Šu-dŠîn*, ^d*Šul-gi*.

For Albertz: “Ob El der Göttervater ist, der im Himmel thront, ob Baal der Gott des Unwetters und der Fruchtbarkeit oder Jahwe der Gott des Krieges oder der Berg ist, spielt für die persönliche Frömmigkeit keine Rolle ... Nein, ‘der Gott’ in der Familie ist rein funktional charakterisiert, daß er der Familie ein Kind schenkt, daß er dem Einzelnen in der Bedrohung beisteht, daß er ihn schützt und aus [146] der Gefahr rettet ...” In personal piety, also, the individual turns mainly to those gods who belong to the “offiziellen Religion ... aber was man von dem betreffenden ‘Gott’ erwartete und auch erfuhr, war dasselbe, was man schon immer im Bereich der Familie von ‘Gott’ erwartet und erfahren hatte. ... Man [könnte dieses] Phänomen als ‘primitiven Henotheismus’ be-

³⁴ Charpin 1987: 99; see Lambert 1990. The GN is sometimes simply preceded by AN/dingir. For the Mari documentation, see: dingir *ḥa-lab_x*^{ki} “(Hadda) god of Aleppo”, Charpin 1987: 81: 22 III 6; for the Ebla documentation, see dingir *Du-du-lu*, that is Dagan, cfr. ARES 2: 203 (under IV ND). For city-names as a theophorous element in Akkadian PNN, cfr. Roberts 1972: 58.

zeichnen.”³⁵ This holds even true for Ebla, where the naming-tradition (and also that of the Pre-Sargonic period) made use of the element *il* and the high gods of the city do not appear, as is instead the case of those situations documented for the great urban centres of Babylonia from the second to the first millennium (which are those that Albertz considers in his study).³⁶

In his “Conclusion”, Di Vito writes that “The Sumerian and Akkadian PNN of the third millennium show that the notion of a ‘personal god’ ... exists from the earliest periods of Mesopotamian history.” (p. 272). In fact, a god is invoked in a PN so that he may exercise a tutelary function in relation to the newborn. He goes further: “The ‘choice’ of a particular god in a PN was neither arbitrary nor accidental, as might be suggested by the fact that by far the greatest number of theophorous PNN attested in OB texts are formed with the respective city gods (e. g. Šamaš at Sippar).”³⁷ (loc. cit.). This holds true also for Sumer, which enjoyed a long urban tradition: “Throughout the third millennium, the tendency in Sumerian is to address local deities: viz., Ba’u at Lagaš or Šara at Umma.” (p. 84).

The Old Akkadian religious experience, however, is without doubt different. The OB period represents the culmination of a lengthy process. As is clear from the PNN, it is in the Sargonic period that a pantheon of great gods is organized, who often are made to coincide with Sumerian deities.³⁸ It is likely that previously, with less well developed urban centres and a large part of the population living a rural life, the divine world was not so well organized, notwithstanding contacts with the neighbouring Sumerian regions. In this phase the worship of a god of the community, a local god, represented by *il* in the naming-tradition, may have shown signs of henotheism. The parallel religious experiences of Ebla and of the Amorites strongly support this interpretation. It is precisely Di Vito who claims that “the experience behind the use [147] of the word *ilum* ‘god’ articulates itself through time, reaching its most explicit development in the designation of a particular god *ilī* ‘my god’.” (p. 257). The relationship between the name-bearer and the god is emphasized during the Sargonic period when the element *ilī* becomes more frequent and appears in PNN which represent laments and petitions.³⁹

³⁵ Albertz 1978: 72–73.

³⁶ See already Stamm 1939: 67–70.

³⁷ For the naming-tradition at Sippar, see Harris 1972.

³⁸ Sources relating to the official cult of Akkad consist almost entirely of a few royal inscriptions, cfr. Jacobsen 1970: 34–35; Roberts 1972: 145–64, who has some hesitation as regards the interpretation of the element *il*, see above, n. 8.

³⁹ See particularly pp. 241–53. On this problem, see also Roberts 1972: 121–44.

Examination of the theophorous elements in the Amorite onomasticon shows that the element *il* cannot represent the god El even in that tradition. The two most frequently attested gods in the PNN are Hadda and Dagan. Both were received by the Amorites from the Semites of the third millennium together with their main sanctuaries, respectively at Ḥalab and Tuttul on the Baliḥ. These are followed by the two celestial bodies Yeraḥ “moon” and Šamaš “Sun”, the pan-Semitic goddess Ištar and the appellative *malik*. Terms of kinship such as *ḥammu* “paternal uncle”, *lim* “clan”, *sumu/samu* (*šumu*) “name, posterity”, show that the Amorite onomasticon was formed in a tribal environment. The process of integration of those tribal groups into an urban society led to the insertion in the naming-tradition of some gods of the pantheon.⁴⁰ El, however, does not appear in any Amorite pantheon.⁴¹

A precise evaluation of the meaning of *il* can be achieved only by means of a thorough study of the theophorous elements of an onomastic system. This excludes also the fact that with *il* one necessarily invokes the “god of the family”. These gods who passed from father to son were mostly deified ancestors and came from the depths of the family group memory. They are similar to those which Rachel took from Laban (Gen. 31.19). They belong to the main heir. In Emar VI.3, 201: 50–51 we find: “NP is my eldest son; and my god belongs to the main house.” The same concept holds true at Nuzi, where one refers clearly to his own ancestors and we have the couple: *ilānū etemmū* “the (family) gods and the spirits of the dead.”⁴² The peripheral centres of Babylonia (significant data only goes back to the second millennium) show how little the family **[148]** environment was influenced by theological suggestions.⁴³ However, the naming-tradition drew on a wider system than mere family cult.

⁴⁰ The Amorite PNN have been studied by Huffmon 1965; see in particular pp. 154–273. For the theophorous elements in the PNN from Mari, see ARM 16, 1: 257–68.

⁴¹ Angelo Brelich, apud Moscati 1958: 137, states: “El è indubbiamente protosemitico, ma, appunto, non è una divinità politeistica, e nemmeno riesce ad inserirsi nel sistema politeistico mesopotamico, mentre in quello cananeo occupa il posto riservato agli dèi sovrani meno attivi delle altre divinità”. See also Stolz 1980.

⁴² See Deller 1981 (particularly at p. 73); Grosz 1988: 34–35. For the documentation from Emar, see now van der Toorn 1994.

⁴³ The situation differs in Babylonia, see Groneberg 1986a. This work has also the merit of taking iconographical representations into consideration alongside the textual data.

3 El at Ugarit

The documentation of Ebla, so much more complete than Amorite documentation, brings a different perspective to the problem of El in the tradition of Ugarit, which is held to represent the major expression of Canaanite culture.

At Ugarit, El is lord of the gods, he receives the epithet of “father”, *ab*, and several gods refer to him as their “father”. In fact, according to the mythological texts, he procreated several gods. El is also “father of mankind”, *ab adm*, and perhaps he is also described as modelling mortals from clay.⁴⁴ He is at the head of the gods’ lists (the so-called pantheon) and opens the offering lists. For this reason it is generally believed that, not only at Ugarit but also in West Semitic cultures of the first millennium BC, El was the most important god in the pantheon, with the characteristics of a “highest god”. It was, above all, F. M. Cross who contested the famous interpretation of A. Alt, according to whom the *’elīm* of the Old Testament were “Lokalnumina.”⁴⁵ For Cross, instead, these were names applied to El, the high god of the Canaanite pantheon.⁴⁶ [149]

The only precise datum which could be produced for El as creator of the earth is the name El-kunirša in the Hittite translation of a Canaanite myth, in which the title attributed to El also in the Karatepe inscription is preserved: *’el qn ’rš* “El creator of the earth”. But this Ugaritic El, so characterized in functions and personality, is the result of the influence of other cultures and a later

⁴⁴ See Pope 1955: 47–54. According to him (pp. 49–50): “There is hardly anything that could be called a creation story or any clear allusion to cosmic creativity in the Ugaritic texts ... It is altogether probable that El was a Creator God, but the Ugaritic evidence is by no means explicit. All the Ugaritic allusions to El’s creativity are in terms of generation and Paternity.” On El as creator, see de Moor 1980: 171–87.

⁴⁵ Alt 1953, 18–21.

⁴⁶ Cross 1962; Id. 1973: 44–75. Cross wrote later (1985), in a study (occasionally excessively critical of the German school) aimed at highlighting the vitality of biblical studies, continually enriched by new discoveries: “The historian of Israelite religion also must come to terms with the lore of contemporary biblical archaeology. In viewing patriarchal religion, we are forced to recognize that *’El* is the Patriarch of the gods, creator of the gods, of earth, and of man. Alt’s *’elīm*, genii of local shrines, are a figment of the scholarly imagination. The epithets of the gods of the father prove to be those of personal gods, epithets revealing the convenantal or kinship relation of the gods of the Patriarch who keeps his cult. In West Semitic religion these kinship names usually applied to high gods. Despite the replacement of Alt’s speculation with hard, new data, I heard a lecture recently by a distinguished European scholar who recited like a catechism Alt’s notions of nameless gods and multiple, minor *’elīm*. Alt’s rightly famous paper was written in 1929, just when mounds at Ugarit and, shortly later, at Mari, began to divulge their texts. Thirty-five years later there is little excuse for scholars to stick their heads in the sands of older literature and ignore the newer resources.” (p. 12).

development. The new evidence from Ebla, together with a careful evaluation of Old Akkadian and Amorite evidence, compels us to accept this conclusion. Ebla takes us back a thousand years in the religious experience of the Semitic populations settled in the western regions. During the third millennium El not only was not a creator god, but he was not even included in the pantheon.

It is within a well-organized pantheon that relationships of kinship between the gods are created and placed in order according to generation. In Mesopotamia, a theogony occurs already in the Early Dynastic god-list from Fara. It “serves only to create a remoteness for the first pair (Enki-Ninki); the identity for the intervening pairs is unimportant ... the term ‘mother father’ is constantly used to describe these pairs”.⁴⁷ Likewise, we also have “the father and the mother” of Enlil and of An.

The Hurrians acquired this concept of generations of gods from the Akkadians. They included Alalu and Anu as the first two generations of gods in their succession myth (Kumarpi); further, “the father and mother of [DN], the father and mother of Išḫara” are invoked among “the Primeval Gods” at the beginning of that myth.⁴⁸ In the lists of deities of the political treaties, among these Primeval Gods (twelve, in an order of couples where the first name rhymes with the following one) we find Nara and Namšara.⁴⁹ This latter is a corruption of Enmešarra who, with Ninmešarra (“The Lord/Lady of all the divine ordinances”) represents the last pair before Enlil and Ninlil in the Sumerian lists. This idea of providing the gods with ancestors is received into the cult, and the Hurrian texts from Kizzuwatna list: “the god(s) of the father” (*enna(-ša) attaniwe-na(-ša)*) of Tešub, Ḫebat, Ištar / Šauška, Lilluri, the Sun-god Šimegi and the Moon-goddess Ningal.⁵⁰ [150]

The influence of Babylonian and Hurrian cultures did not reach the point of inspiring a complex theogony in Ugarit, while that of the Hurrians was accepted in some Phoenician milieu, as shown by the myth transmitted by Phylon of Byblos. However, the cultural climate of the time is reflected in the order which the theologians of Ugarit gave to their pantheon. We know their thought from the poem called “The Birth of the Gods” (SS). It was necessary to provide an origin for the gods: the word “god”, *il*, was used, and it then became a proper name.⁵¹ El was considered as being king (*mlk*) of the gods whom he had generated. The device of this theological construction can clearly be seen from

⁴⁷ Lambert 1957–71: 469.

⁴⁸ See Güterbock 1946: 6; Hoffner 1990: 40.

⁴⁹ Cfr. Archi 1990.

⁵⁰ Laroche 1979: 64; cfr. Haas 1994: 111.

⁵¹ For an excellent study on El, see Caquot, Sznycer and Herdner 1974: 55–68.

the myth itself. El, in reality, is old and impotent, and only a verbal formula (!) can compensate for his lack of virility (SS 31–51). Although El may be “the most distant of the gods” (V AB, D 78), he, nonetheless, had a certain relevance in the cult. El opens the offering lists, where he comes before Ba‘al, being the most ancient of the gods,⁵² and a temple was dedicated to him.⁵³

The canon of “the gods of Sapan” (the sacred mountain overlooking Ugarit) provides us with a classification following theological principles which does not correspond to the offering lists. “The god, the father”, *ilib*, the ancestral spirit of the family, is followed by El, Dagan and Ba‘al, following the Babylonian canon, which gives the order of the first gods by generations (El, Dagan and Ba‘al are equated, respectively, with Anum, Enlil, Haddu). In fact, the canon of the gods of Ugarit and that of the Hurrian gods have an influence on each other.⁵⁴ The Hurrian canon opens with the mysterious *šalanni* gods; there then follow “the god the father/the gods the fathers”, *in(š) atn(š)*,⁵⁵ El (in the Kizzuwatna lists: Anum), Tešup and Kumarpi (equated with Dagan/Enlil). Further, in the Akkadian translation (RS 20.24) two gods of Ugarit, Pidray and Aštar are equated with the Hurrian Hēpat and Aštabi. [151]

El became a major god in Ugarit and the Canaanite area probably towards the middle of the second millennium. He is found (somewhat impoverished) in the Syrian area during the first millennium in the inscriptions from Zincirli, Sfire and Karatepe. In the Old Testament he is equated with Yahwe.

El, the god who holds supremacy over the other gods, was not yet born in the third millennium.

52 Cfr. RS 24.256 = KTU 1.112, 1. 22.

53 Cfr. RS 24.266 = KTU 1.119, 1. 15: *bt il*. El is traditionally identified as the bearded god represented on a stele, ANEP², fig. 493, and in a statuette, see Yon: 1991b.

54 For the Ugaritic canon, see RS 1.17 = KTU 1.47, RS 24.264+280 = KTU 1.118, with the Akkadian translation in RS 20.24; cfr. the offering list RS 24.643 = KTU 1.148 (a text with a Hurrian section). See J. Nougayrol, in *Ugaritica V*: 42–64; Healey 1985: 115–125. For the Hurrian canon, see the texts collected and studied by E. Laroche, in *Ugaritica V*: 518–527. These canons have been reproduced in two tables by Dietrich and Loretz 1988: 300–305.

55 This is an adaptation of the Ugarit canon. In the Hurrian lists of Kizzuwatna one has: “the gods of the father of DN”, as noted above.

43 The God Ḥay(y)a (Ea/Enki) at Ebla

An investigation into Enki, the god associated with wisdom and cunning, would be an excellent way of honouring a learned colleague: Enki's first aspect is an essential prerequisite for a scholar, whilst the second is of unquestionable benefit also in academic life. I am afraid, however, that Ben Foster will have to take my contribution merely as a sign of friendship, since it is impossible to demonstrate that the god ^dEn-ki of the Ebla texts was, in fact, the god of wisdom. Whereas in Babylonia, even before the Old Akkadian period, there was already a marked syncretism between the Sumerian Enki and the Semitic Ea, we have every reason to believe that at Ebla there was a very different concept of this divinity, a concept shared by the Northern Semitic peoples before they came into contact with Sumerian culture. In Eblaite, ^dEn-ki would appear quite simply to be the Sumerogram for the local god Ḥay(y)a. In the administrative documents, the name of the god is always written with the logogram ^dEn-ki.

The Eblaite bilingual list D has: ^dEn-ki = 'à-u₉ /ḥay(y)u(m)/, supporting the etymology from *ḥyy "to live."¹ Since Enki was the god of the subterranean freshwater ocean (Abzu), the name "living" could characterize Ḥay(y)a (from here on written in the traditional form: Ea) as the god of [16] freshwater springs and spring-fed pools. This is only a supposition, since the particularly terse Eblaite administrative documents provide only a few indications of the actual functions of the gods.

We must make a very clear distinction between the administrative documents, which reflect certain requirements of the local cult, and the so-called

Pp. 15–36 in *Opening the Tablet Box. Near Eastern Studies in Honor of Benjamin R. Foster*, eds. Sarah C. Melville and Alice L. Slotsky. Leiden–Boston: Brill. 2010.

¹ Conti 1990: 193. The etymology, previously suggested by Roberts 1972: 20 (accepted by Westenholz 1978: 168; not considered sure by Lambert 1999: 359), has been presented for the Ebla source by Krebern timer 1983: 31. The equivalence is VE 803, Pettinato 1982: 290. Notice also the obscure VE 909: BAN.EN = ḥi-ti ^dEn-ki, (Pettinato 1982: 301).

Tonietti, 2003, remarks that the second element in the PN *I-ti*-^dĀ(Ē), which alternates with *I-ti*-^dEn-ki (see section 5), has to be a defective writing for /ḥayya/ or a spelling for the form /ḥay(y)/, and quotes some PNs in -Ē from Abū Ṣalābikh (see, further, the alternation EZEN-^dEn-ki/^dĀ in section 2.5).

Cf. further, the writings: *a-a*, in a *Silbenvokabular A* (Sollberger 1965: 21; Nougayrol 1968: 248, with the Hurrian equivalence: *e-ya-an*); Hittite, Luwian, Hurrian in the Hittite texts: ^dA-a(-aš) (van Gessel 1998: 1–2); *i-ia(-as)* in Luwian Hieroglyphic (see, e.g., Hawkins 2000: 58 § LXXIII).

literary texts which are, quite simply, religious texts imported from Babylonia.²

1 The Religious Texts from Babylonia

1. ARET 5.6, a duplicate of IAS 326 + 342, is a hymn in “Akkadian” to Šamaš. Ea (^dEn-ki), mentioned several times, is totally assimilated to Enki. He is “the burning light, the fiery radiance ... of the Apsû, the leader among the Anunna gods,” C 1.2–2.1; the Apsû is “the fortress of Ea,” C 12.3–4; “the Anunna-god Ea came ...”, C 14.1 (see also C 3.2; 13.2; 14.2).³
2. ARET 5.7 is a hymn in “Akkadian” to Nisaba: “A.NIR gave birth to lofty Enlil. ... spoke. His son Ea, the lord of NIN.KI *sa-ma-NI*, the king, he summoned. The exalted ... Enlil spoke to Ea,” 4.3–5.3; “The al₆-gar (instrument), the trees, and the orchards, the ME of Ea, (Nisaba) the young woman caused to be there” 10.4.⁴
3. Incantation no. 19 *b–d*: “Tamarisk, unique tree, tree of An, its roots below (are) Enki and Ninki, its branches above (are) An, the princely cleansing priest.”⁵
4. Incantation 20 *b–d*: “Tamarisk, its roots (below) (are) Enki and Ninki, from (its) top (?) (is) Enlil. Tamarisk, by the life of Heaven, the life of Earth, the life of An, Enki, Ninki (you are conjured).”⁶
5. Incantation 25 *b*: “for Enki ... (?)” [17]⁷
6. Incantation 28 *a*: “Enki has bound the evil in the inner part; Nisaba has untied it.”⁸
7. Incantation 33 *b*: “Ea (^dEn-ki), king of the Absû.”⁹

² A previous list of the occurrences of ^dEn-ki has been given by Pomponio and Xella 1997: 164–69.

³ Krebernik 1992: 72–86.

⁴ Krebernik 1992: 87–94.

⁵ Krebernik 1984: 96–99. For references to the previous edition of these incantations by Pettinato 1979d: 329–351, see Pomponio and Xella 1997: 166–67. Krebernik notes in 1984: 228–29: «In diesen Aussagen über die Wurzeln sind mit Enki und Ninki sicherlich die von dem ‘großen’ Enki und seiner Gattin Damgalnunna zu unterscheidenden Erdgottheiten gemeint. Der Fara-Text (Beschw. 18) hat hier eigenartigerweise Enlil und Nin-KID.»

⁶ Krebernik 1984: 102–103.

⁷ Krebernik 1984: 126.

⁸ Krebernik 1984: 150–51.

⁹ Krebernik 1984: 170–71.

8. Incantation 34 *a*: “Enki travel with the boat. Enki get off the boat.”¹⁰
9. Incantation 35 *a*: “The snake, Enki (its) mouth eats (?)”¹¹
10. Incantation 36, against snakes: Apsû is mentioned in *a*, Enki in *d*.¹²

All of these texts come (indirectly) from Babylonia. Text [1] has a duplicate from Abū Šalābikh. The two hymns, [1] and [2], and the incantation [7], in “Akkadian” (the others are in Sumerian), are merely more or less faithful versions of Sumerian compositions. This explains why Ea (written ^dEn-ki) has specifically Sumerian characteristics. These texts show how Semitic-speaking peoples, settled a few kilometers north of Nippur, had greatly assimilated the Sumerian culture, at least from the mid-third millennium onwards (and probably even a few centuries earlier). In this period and for these areas, the syncretism between Enki and Ea must already have existed.

2 The Eblaite Sources¹³

2.1 The Monthly Offerings to Ea

Twenty-two monthly documents register deliveries of sheep to the central administration. The texts present three sections: a) sheep immolated to the gods in Ebla (é-é dingir-dingir); b) sheep for consumption at the palace; c) sheep for offerings outside Ebla and as provision for messengers. [18]

1. TM.75.G.2517+ obv. XII 7–12: 2 udu ^d[En-ki][PN][in ud] nídba ^dEn-ki “2 sheep: [PN] has offered [(to) Ea on the day] of (his) offering;” rev. I 6–8: 2 udu šeš-II-ib ^dEn-ki “2 sheep (for members) of the šeš-II-ib (confraternity to be offered to) Ea” (month I).
2. TM.75.G.10103 obv. III 17–24: 2 udu ^dRa-sa-ap ^dEn-ki 2 udu ^dRa-sa-ap gú-nu en nídba “2 sheep (for) Rašap (and) Ea, 2 sheep for Rašap *gunu*, the

¹⁰ Krebernik 1984: 172–74.

¹¹ Krebernik 1984: 176–77.

¹² Krebernik 1984: 180–82.

¹³ Particular abbreviations: the name of the three ministers of Ebla are abbreviated in the following way, Arr.: Arrukum; Ibr.: Ibrium; I.Z.: Ibbi-zikir. Other abbreviations: a.-T.: aktum-TÚG; 'à-T.: 'à-da-um-TÚG; íb.: íb-III-TÚG; kb.: kù-babbar; s.-T.: sal-TÚG; t.: túg; T.: TÚG; z.-T.: zara₆-TÚG.

Month I: iti *i-si*; month III: iti *za-'à-tum*; month VI: iti *i-rí-sá*; month X: *i-ba₄-sa*; month XI: iti MAXGĀNAtenû-sag; iti XII: iti MAXGĀNAtenû-úgur (it is, however, not sure that the year began with month *i-si*).

- king has offered”; IV 11–18: 20[+x udu] [-x-d]a [-r]a? ^dEn-ki in GIŠ-nu-kiri₆ [e]n nídba “20[+x sheep] ... of Ea in the garden the king has offered” (month I).
3. TM.75.G.2635 obv. VIII 2–4: 1 udu TUR(–)sag ^dEn-ki “1 sheep for the ... of Ea” (month II).
 4. TM.75.G.1945 obv. IV 15–18: 1 udu ^d<En->ki *ma-lik-tum* nídba “1 sheep: the queen has offered (to) Ea” (month IV).
 5. TM.75.G.2598 obv. III 9–21: 20 udu ^dEn-ki in GIŠ-nu-kiri₆ en nídba in ud níḡ-du₈ ḫúl-sù 1 udu TE+KAL GIŠ-RU ^dEn-ki “20 sheep (for) Ea the king has offered in the garden on the occasion of the *pawn* of his festival. 1 sheep (for) ... of the bow of Ea” (month VII).
 6. TM.75.G.11010 obv. V 2–6: 7 udu UB-GUD.GUD ^dEn-ki *Īr-’à-ag-da-mu* nídba “7 sheep (for) the ... of Ea, (the crown prince) Ir’aq-damu has offered” (month XI).
 7. TM.75.G.2398 obv. V 8–13: 10 udu ^dEn-ki lú GIŠ-ù-suḫ₅ *I-ti-d’A₅-da-bal_x* šu-du₈ “10 sheep (for) Ea of the cedar, Iti-Hadabal has received the delivery;” V 14–17: 1 udu GIŠ-RU ^dEn-ki lú GIŠ-ù-suḫ₅ “1 sheep (for) the bow of Ea of the cedar” (month XII).¹⁴
 8. TM.75.G.10222+ obv. II 9–12: 10 udu UB-GUD.GUD ^dEn-ki lú GIŠ-ù-suḫ₅ “10 sheep (for) the ... of Ea of the cedar” (month XII).¹⁵
 9. TM.75.G.2517+ rev. VIII 24–28: 4 udu ^dEn-ki lú *Ḫar-za-nu^{ki}* *I-ti-d’A₅-da-bal_x* nídba “4 sheep (for) Ea of the town of Ḫarzanu Iti-Hadabal has offered” (month I).
 10. TM.75.G.10167 rev. III 3–6: 4 udu ^dEn-ki lú *Ḫar-za-an^{ki}* “4 sheep (for) Ea of the town of Ḫarzan” (month VIII).

There is a single offering to ^dNin-ki, performed by the queen. It is possible that this goddess was considered at Ebla the spouse [19] of Ea(/Enki), not of the Sumerian Enki “lord of the Earth” (the Ninki of the incantations of Sumerian origin has instead the traits of the Mesopotamian goddess):¹⁶

11. TM.75.G.1764 obv. VI 7–10: 1 udu ^dNin-ki *ma-lik-tum* nídba (month III).

¹⁴ For GIŠ-ù-suḫ₅ = *ù-rí-núm* “cedar” VE 1362, see Civil ARES 4: 103 *ad* 216. Iti-Hadabal could be a son of the former minister Ibrium.

¹⁵ For GIŠ-RU, see Civil ARES 4: 146–47 and 379.

¹⁶ The passages, with bibliography, are quoted in Pomponio and Xella 1997: 295. For the equivalence nin-ki = *na-iš gār-[ga-rí-im]* in a lexical text, see Cavigneaux and Krebernik 1998–2001: 446–47.

2.2 The Cult Centers of Ea Outside the City of Ebla

The passages 9 and 10 of the preceding paragraph (from the third section of the respective documents) mention Ea of Ĥarzanu, a locality apparently otherwise unknown. The cult of Ea is attested also at Amisadu¹⁷ and Gagadu,¹⁸ two rural centers, and in the more important Gurat, which was not among the villages providing cereals and animals to the palace.¹⁹

1. TM.75.G.2165 obv. V 17–19: 1 t.-NI.NI *pa₄-šeš* ^dEn-ki *A-mi-sa-du*^{ki}.
2. TM.75.G.2636 obv. XII 5–8: 1 s-T. 1 íb. ^dEn-ki lú *Ga-ga-du*^{ki}.
3. ARET 3.8 4–6: 1 z.-TÚG ^dEn-ki *Gu-rat*^{ki}.

2.3 Offerings, Festivals, and Personnel of Ea²⁰

2.3.1 Minister Arrukum

1. ARET 15.19 § 33: 1 kù-sal 1 buru₄ mušen ^dRa-sa-ap ^dEn-ki “1 buckle and 1 shield/crow (in metal) (for) Rašap (and) Ea” (iti I).
2. ARET 15.38 §§ 41–47: 1 t.-NI.NI 2 *bu-di* 10 (gín) zabar dam šu-mu-“tag₄” ^dUtu 1 s.-T. 1 íb. guruš šumu-“tag₄” ^dUtu 1 KIN siki tuš ^dUtu 1 gu-zi-mug-T. ÛZ.SAL 2 t.-NI.NI *za-ga-rí-iš* ká SA.ZA_x^{ki} 1 t.-NI.NI 1 íb. *Ba-lu-zú* 21 na₄ siki ir₁₁-ir₁₁ ^dEn-ki 1 t.-NI.NI dumu-munus *Za-ni-tum* in ud u₉-zú *Ig-rí-iš-Ĥa-lab_x* *du-da-ù* (iti XII).
3. TM.75.G.1872(+) rev. XII 12–17: 5 gín kb. níg-ba ^dEn-ki LAK-390 LUM-*a-nu* dumu-nita en. [20]

2.3.2 Minister Ibrum

1. TM.75.G.10149 rev. VII 22–24: 10 gín kb. zi-du₈ ^dEn-ki.
2. TM.75.G.1793 rev. III 4–8:] 1 gír kb. ^dRa-sa-ap{-KI} ^dEn-ki in kaskal NE-*a-ù*^{ki} “1 dagger of silver (for) Rašap (and) Enki on the road (to) N.”²¹ (iti X).

¹⁷ To the four passages listed in ARES 2: 106, add TM.76.G.205 obv. III. 5, and TM.76.G.971 rev. III. 4 (deliveries of barley); TM.75.G.1439 rev. III. 4 and TM.75.G.1992 obv. III. 1 (lists of fields).

¹⁸ For Gagadu, see ARES 2: 227; add TM.75.G.10048 (a delivery of barley) rev. VI. 2.

¹⁹ For Gurat, see ARES 2: 254–55.

²⁰ The references to the month are added in the passages quoted below only to the monthly documents. For a first attempt to study the nídba of Ea, see Simonetti 1993.

²¹ Neau was a centre of cult of the god Hadabal (ARES 2: 397).

3. TM.75.G.1867 rev. III 4–7: (clothes) en sikil é ^dEn-ki.
4. MEE 10.3 obv. V 5–11: 1 z.-T. sikil en in ud nídba ^dEn-ki lú GIŠ-nu-kiri₆ (iti [x]).
5. TM.75.G.1922 rev. I 6–10: 1 s.-T. *En-na-il* lú *Ba-lu-zú* *pa₄-šeš* ^dEn-ki.
6. TM.75.G.1708 rev. XI 13–17: 2 gu-mug-T. 2 a.-T. 2 íb. *ḫu-ma-ra* *íl-zi* *šeš-II-ib* ^dEn-ki.
7. ARET 4.12 § 21: 1 s.-T. *Ma-nu-wa-at*^{ki} du₁₁-ga nídba ^dRa-sa-ap ^dEn-ki in *Du-si-gú*^{ki} *šu-ba₄-ti* (iti VI).
8. TM.75.G.1436 rev. IX 1–11: 1 'à.-T. 1 a.-T. 1 íb. *A-ku*-^dEn-ki *pa₄-šeš* ^dEn-ki 1 t.-NI.NI dam 1 s.-T. 1 íb. [1] gur[uš] gaba-ru ^dEn-ki 1 gu-mug-T. 1 “ÜZ”.SAL 2 na₄ siki al₆-tuš ^dUtu 2 “bala”(KUL) gi₆ 2 “bala” babbar LAK-390 12 na₄ siki 6 dam 4 dumu-nita ne-di 1 'à.-T. 1 a.-T. 1 íb. *A-ku*-^dEn-ki GIŠ-DU en *wa ma-lik-tum* 1 z.-T. dam-sù in ud [níd]ba ^dEn-ki maḫ (iti XI).
9. ARET 3.203 VI 1–8:] 1 íb. guruš *wa* 4 na₄ siki dam gaba-ru ^dEn-ki 8[na₄ siki].

2.3.3 Minister Ibbi-zikir

1. MEE 10.20 (TM.75.G.1860) obv. V 24–28: 30 (gín) kb. níg-sam₁₀ 1 gud nídba en ^dEn-ki.
2. TM.75.G.10074 rev. XX 22–26: (1 *gú-li-lum*) *Si-na-ḫu* ḪÚB in ud nídba ^dEn-ki.
3. TM.75.G.1903 rev. VI 17–25: 2 íb. *Du-bí* *En-na-ma-gú* *šeš-II-ib* *kéš-da* SA.ZA_x^{ki} in ud nídba ^dEn-ki (iti III).
4. TM.75.G.2331 rev. IV 3: 6 íb. *Du-bí* *Kùn-da-ba-an* *A-bí-šum* *Maḫ-ri* *A-mu-ri* [*Du-b*]*í-šum* *šeš-II-ib* *kéš-da* in nídba ^dEn-ki (iti [x]).
5. ARET 1.3 §§ 65”–69”: 1 a.-T. 1 íb *A-ku*-^dEn-ki *pa₄-šeš* ^dEn-ki 1 íb. 1 guruš 4 na₄ siki 1 dam gaba-ru ^dEn-ki 14 na₄ siki 8 dumu-nita 6 [21] dumu-munus ne-di 1 na₄ siki 1 *du-rúm* 1 *bu-di* zabar 2 bala siki gi₆ 2 bala siki babbar LAK-390 in ud nídba tur ^dEn-ki (iti XII).
6. ARET 1.13 § 22: 5 íb. *Dur*-’à-*bí-zu* *Bar-i* *Wa-da*-’à *Bù-sum* *Ba-du-lum* ḪÚB SA.ZA_x ki in GIŠ-nu-kiri₆ in ud nídba ^dEn-ki *šu-ba₄-ti* (iti I).
7. ARET 4.5 §§ 4–9: (7 cloths 5 dam en 1 nin-ni en) (clothes) *Téš-zi* *u₉-zu* in ud nídba ^dEn-<ki> tur 1 a.-T. 1 íb *A-ku*-^dEn-<ki> *pa₄-šeš* ^dEn-ki 1 íb. guruš 4 na₄ siki 1 dam gaba-ru ^dEn-ki 8 na₄ siki 8 dumu-nita 6 na₄ siki 6 dumu-munus ne-di 1 na₄ siki 1 *du-rúm* 1 *bu-di* zabar in ud nídba tur ^dEn-ki *šu-ba₄-ti* (iti XI or XII).
8. MEE 7.14 obv. I 1–II 10: 1 a.-T. 1 íb. *A-ku*-^dEn-ki 1 íb. 1 dumu-nita gaba-ru ^dEn-ki 1 KIN siki 1 dam gaba-ru ^dEn-ki 8 na₄ siki mu₄^{mu} 8 dumu-nita 6 na₄

- siki mu₄^{mu} 6 dumu-munus ne-di 1 *bu-di* 1 (gín) zabar 1 na₄ siki 2 *du-rúm* u₉-zu 2 bala gi₆ 2 bala babbar LAK-390!(MI.AŠ) *in* nídba tur lú ^dEn-ki šu-ba₄-ti. ... obv. III 8–11: 1 + 1 cloths *Du-bí-zi-kir* u₉-zu lú *En-na-ni-il* (iti I).
9. TM.75.G.2357 rev. III 2–IV 6: 1 t.-NI.NI 1 íb. *A-mu-du* pa₄!(MAŠ)-šeš ^dEn-ki 1 t.-NI.NI dam pa₄!-šeš ^dEn-ki 1 s.-T. 1 íb. *Bù-da-ì* 1 íb. gù-II-di 6 KIN siki maškim pa₄!-šeš ^dEn-ki 6 KIN siki dam-dam ne-di *Zi-ga-nu* nídba ^dEn-ki GIŠ-dug-DU tur (iti XII).
10. TM.75.G.2372 obv. II 18–V 22: 1 z.-T. 1 gíd-TÚG 1 dib 18 (gín) kg. 8 geštu_x-lá 18 (gín) kg. 1 šu-dub 4 (gín) kg. 2 *bu-di* 20 (gín) kb. 2 sag-sù kg. 1 *bu-di* 2 (gín) zabar sag-sù (unwritten) *Téš-zi* 2 u₉-za 2 *bu-di* 18 (gín) zabar 2 na₄ siki babbar al₆-tuš ^dUtu ^dEn-ki 2 t.-NI.NI *zi-ga-rí-iš* 1 ká en uru-bar 1 t.-NI.NI géme-kar-kid 1 t.-NI.NI 1 dam 1 s.-T. 1 íb. 1 guruš nídba 1 íb. 1 guruš gaba-ru ^dEn-ki 1 gu-mug-T. ÛZ.SAL 1 'à.-T. 1 a.-T. 1 íb. *A-ku*-^dEn-ki pa₄-šeš ^dEn-ki *in* ud nídba <tur> ^dEn-<ki> *wa* ^dZi-la-šu 1 'à.-T. 1 a.-T. 1 íb. *A-ku*-^dEn-ki sá-du₁₁-ga-sù 2 + 2 + 2 t. *A-ku*-^dEn-ki pa₄-šeš ^dEn-ki GIŠ-DU en *wa* *ma-lik-tum* 20 na₄ siki 14 dumu-nita 6 dam ne-di 2 GIŠ-bala siki babbar 2 GIŠ-bala siki gi₆ LAK-390!-LAK-390!(MI.AŠ) 2 na₄ siki babbar šu-kešda-šu-kešda *ti-ba-lu* ^dEn-ki *ma-na* túg-nu-tag 1 na₄ siki 2 *du-rúm* 2 u₉-za nídba ^dEn-ki maḥ lú NAGA.A (iti XII).
11. TM.75.G.2497+ARET 12.642 + 749 obv. IX 8–X 22: 1 a. 1 íb. *I-ti*-^dEn-ki [pa₄-šeš (?) ^dEn-ki(?) 1 íb. 1 guruš 4 na₄ siki 1 dam gaba-ru ^dEn-ki] 8 na₄ siki 8 dumu-nita *wa* 7 na₄ siki 7 dumu-munus ne-di 1 na₄ siki *du-rúm* dumu-munus 2 bala(KUL) siki babbar 2 bala siki gi₆ LAK-390 *in* ud nídba ^dEn-ki (iti XI).
12. TM.75.G.2511+10139 obv. IX 14-rev. I 4: 1 z.-T. 1 gíd 1 na₄ <siki> 1 *bu-di* zabar *Téš-zi* 1 t.-NI.NI 1 íb. *A-ku*-^dEn-ki pa₄-šeš ^dEn-ki [22] 1 t.-NI.NI dam gaba-ru 1 s.-T. 1 íb guruš gaba-ru 2 na₄ siki (unwritten: <al₆-tuš>) ^dUtu 2 “bala”(KUL) siki babbar 2 “bala” siki gi₆ LAK-390 12 na₄ siki 6 dam 4 dumu-nita ne-di 1 gu-mug-T. ÛZ *in* ud nídba maḥ *ap in* ud nídba tur nu šu-ba₄-ti 1 'à.-T. 1 a.-T. 1 íb. *A-ku*-^dEn-ki pa₄-šeš ^dEn-ki *a-bí-iš* šuku(-)TÚG *Téš-zi* u₉-za *áš-da* *Ku-tu* šu-ba₄-ti nu-sá-du₁₁-ga 1 s.-T. 1 íb. *Ì-lum-bal* šuku zar ^dEn-ki *in* ud lú GIŠ-BU nídba maḥ (iti XII).
13. TM.75.G.2524 obv. V 6–VII 7: 1 t.-NI.NI 1 íb. *A-ku*-^dEn-ki pa₄-šeš ^dEn-ki 1 t.-NI.NI dam gaba-ru 1 s.-T. 1 íb. dumu-nita gaba-ru ^dEn-ki 2 bala siki gi₆ 2 bala siki babbar LAK-390 12 na₄ siki babbar 6 dam 4 dumu-nita ne-di 2 na₄ siki tuš ^dUtu 1 gu-mug-T. “ÛZ” 1 na₄ siki 1 *bu-di* zabar <1> *du-rúm* dumu-munus *in* ud nídba maḥ šu-ba₄-ti *ap in* ud nídba tur nu-šu-ba₄-ti lú ^dEn-ki 1 'à.-T. 1 a.-T. 1 íb. *A-ku*-^dEn-ki pa₄-šeš ^dEn-ki nu-sá-du₁₁-ga *ma-lik-tum in* na-sum-sù 1 s.-T. 1 íb. *En-na-ì* šuku zar^{ki} ^dEn-ki *in* ud lú GIŠ-BU; X 4–14: (3 + 3 + 3 cloths) *Bù-na-im* *En-na-ì* *Wa-NE-sum* 3 maškim en *Ì-mar*^{ki} *in* ud

nídba ^dEn-ki šu-ba₄-ti “(cloths) (for) Bu-naim, Enna-i(l), WaNEsum, 3 representatives of the king of Imar, have received on the occasion of the offering to Ea” (iti [x]).

14. TM.75.G.2591 rev. IV 1–1:] 1 d[am] gaba-ru ^dEn-ki 8 na₄ siki 8 dumu-nita 6 na₄ siki 6 dumu-munus ne-di nídba ^dEn-ki 1 bu-di zabar 1 na₄ siki 1 du-rúm 2 bala gi₆ 2 bala babbar siki LAK-390!(MI[-AŠ]) (iti I).
15. TM.75.G.2647+2650+11861 obv. IV 5–VI 13: 1 ’à.-T. 1 a. 1 íb. A-ku-^dEn-ki níg-du₈ en wa ma-lik-tum in GIŠ-DU 1 a.-T. 1 íb. A-ku-^dEn-ki níg-du₈ Íl-’à-ak-da-mu in GIŠ-DU 1 ’à.-T. 1 a. 1 íb. Du-bí-zi-kir 1 z.-T. 1 bu-di zabar 1 na₄ siki Téš-zi u₉-za 1 ’à. 1 a. 1 íb. A-ku-^dEn-ki pa₄-šeš ^dEn-ki 1 t.-NI.NI dam 1 s.-T. 1 íb. 1 guruš gaba-ru ^dEn-ki 1 gu-mug-T. 1 “ÜZ” 2 na₄ siki al₆-TUŠ ^dUtu 2 “ba[la]”(MEGIDA) babbar] 2 “bala” g[i₆] LAK 390 12 na₄ siki 6 dam wa 4 dumu-nita ne-di in nídba [^dEn-ki] maḥ; IX 1’–8’: 1+1+1 cloths Ma-gal maškim Íl-zi BAD é šuku zar^{ki} ^dEn<-ki> (iti I).
16. TM.75.G.10278(+) obv. VII 1–VIII 7: 1 ’à. 1 a. 1 íb. A-ku-^dEn-ki pa₄-šeš ^dEn-ki 1 t.-NI.NI 1 dam 1 s.-T. 1 íb. 1 guruš gaba-ru [(about 12 lines)] Ra-i-zú 1 ’à.-T. 1 a.-T. 1 íb. Ba-du-lum lú EN-ŠID šuku zar^{ki} ^dEn-ki [(iti [x]).
17. TM.75.G.1918 obv. XII 18–XIII 6: 20 (gín) kù-babbar 2 ti-gi-na 12 gín kù-gi nu₁₁-za-sù 20 (gín) kù-babbar 2 GIŠ-DU 38 ½ (gín) kù-babbar 1 š[u-dub](?) 20 (gín) 60 gur-gú-ru₁₂ 1 (gín) 60 gú-su-ra-na-tum 2 ½ (gín) 30 duru₁₂-gú 6 Téš-zi u₉-zu. [23]

2.3.4 No datable documents

1. ARET 12.131 rev. I 1–5: [...]ŠA?[...] š[uku] zar^[ki?] ^dEn-[ki] lú GIŠ-B[U] 1[.].
2. ARET 12.1249 III 1–2:] ^dEn-ki lú GIŠ-nu-kiri₆.
3. ARET 12.32 I 1–II 6:] A-[ku-]^dEn-ki pa₄-šeš [^dEn-ki]i [(about 13 lines)] 1 bu-di zabar in ud nídba ^dEn-ki tur.

2.4 Foodstuffs for Ea

1. ARET 9.17 §§ 17–22: (breads) dingir en / ^dEn-ki / si-in ud-zal-ud-zal / dingir [Ba-ga-da-]mu / [dingir En-]àr-[da-]mu / dingir I-šar-ma-lik.
2. ARET 9.107 § 1: (long list of foodstuffs) sá-du₁₁-ga ^dEn-ki; (3) (more foodstuffs) dub-gar sá-du₁₁-ga ^dEn-ki “document of the regular offerings (to) Ea.”

2.5 Ea as an Element of Theophoric Personal Names

1. *A-ku*-^dEn-ki (*pa*₄-šeš “attendant” of Ea; I.Z.) (see 6.1). This is a single case, in which the name of the god in a theophoric name is in agreement with a religious function. A *pa*₄-šeš of the god Kura, for example, was named *Enna*-^dUtu, TM.75.G.2275 rev. I 3–5, TM.75.G.2353 obv. IV 17–19.
2. *Bu*-^dEn-ki (nar “singer”). ARET 1.8; TM.75.G.10281 rev. III 28 (IZ).
3. EZEN-^dEn-ki: ARET 7.16 § 35 (= MEE 2: 43) (Arr.): *Ib-du-lum* EZEN-^dEn-ki; for the first element of this name, cfr. EZEN-BAD in ARET 12: 407; EZEN-^dĀ(Ē) ARET 3.389 I 2, probably a phonetic writing from dictation for: ^dĀ-u₉²² (the preceding name, *Du-AN*, is that of a nar).
4. *I-ti*-^dEn-ki a) (nar, nar-maḥ “singer; senior singer”). The passages are quoted in Archi 1988b: 277. Notice the writing: *I-ti*-^dĀ(Ē) in ARET 3.498 rev. II,²³ while in ARET 3.468 obv. III the name is [24] written *I-ti*-^dEn-ki²⁴ (add TM.75.G.1427 obv. IV 9; TM.75.G.2448 obv. VI 8:] PN₁-PN₅ nar-nar-tur mašk-im-mašk-im *I-ti*-^dEn-ki).
5. b) TM.75.G.2450 rev. II 17.
6. *Šum*-^dEn-ki TM.75.G.11322 II 1.
7. *Udua*_x-^dEn-ki (nar). TM.75.G.2448 obv. VI 2: U. ... nar-tur mašk-im *I-ti*-^dEn-ki.

2.6 Analysis of Ea’s Festival

The terse registrations of the administrative documents can only be fully understood by comparison with parallel passages. The gods were the object of an annual rite known by its culminating point as the “offering,” *níd*ba (the term *ezen* not being used). This rite foresaw a “recitation; invocation,” *du*₁₁(-ga).²⁵ The term *du*₁₁(ga) does not, however, appear in the festival of Ea (see, however, *za/igairiš*, below: section 2.6.6).

The festival of Ea was celebrated in month XII, according to the passages Arr. 2; I.Z. 5, 7, 9, 10, 12. The fact that Ibr. 8, I.Z. 11 are dated to month XI, and I.Z. 6, 14 to month I, does not alter this, as these were clearly entered into the accounts prior to or after the event itself.

²² Cf. n. 1 above.

²³ The passage has been collated: after -Ē there is the line closing the case.

²⁴ The lists are quoted also in Archi 1988b: 279–80. For the variant *I-ti*-^dĀ(Ē), see n. 1 above.

²⁵ ARET 4.1 § 119: *du*₁₁-ga *níd*ba ^d*Ga-mi-iš*; 8 § 29: *du*₁₁-ga *níd*ba ^d*Ku-ra*; 8 § 30: *du*₁₁-ga *níd*ba ^d*Ga-mi-iš*; 11 I. 75: *du*₁₁-ga *níd*ba ^dĀ-*da-bal La-ru*₁₂-ga-*du*^{ki}; 11 § 91: *du*₁₁-ga *níd*ba ^dĀ-*la*, etc.

The passage in Arr. 2 is quite detailed: “a) 1 t.-NI.NI cloth, 2 pendants of 10 shekels of bronze (to) the woman who was consigned (to) the Sun-goddess; 1 s.-T. cloth (and) 1 kilt (to) the man who was consigned (to) the Sun-goddess. b) 1 *gu-zi-mug-T.* of a she-goat. c) 2 t.-NI.NI cloths for the *recitation* (at) the gate of the palace. d) 1 t.-NI.NI (and) 1 kilt (to) Baluzu (the servant: *pa₄-šeš*, of Ea); 21 measures of wool (to) the serfs of Ea. e) 1 t.-NI.NI (to) a girl on the occasion of the *u₉-zú* (when) they praise (*du-da-ù*)²⁶ (the previous king) Igriš-Ḫalab.” All of these records relate to a single ritual action which is not, as one might think, for the Sun-goddess, but for Ea, mentioned only in the reference to the serfs (*ir₁₁-ir₁₁*), as may be seen in the parallel passages. [25]

2.6.1 The Servant, *pa₄-šeš*, of Ea

The principal character is the *pa₄-šeš*, a name which at Ebla has to be interpreted as “he who anoints,” *pāšišu* (not *pašišu*!) and which we can translate as “valet, attendant, servant.” The *pa₄-šeš* served an individual and his household. They themselves were not high-ranking, as can be seen from their numbers: ca. 80 for the king, 65 (women) for the queen. Some of them had precise responsibilities, such as the “barbers,” *šu-i*. Others, instead, given their proximity to the king, could also have had the role of court dignitaries and “representatives,” *maškim*, of their lord. This explains why a son of the minister Ibrium, or the son of an important dignitary from Urš’aum, Kuntisu, could also be *pa₄-šeš* of the king. The gods generally only had one *pa₄-šeš* each, with two for the principal gods: Kura, Hadda and Hadabal.²⁷

We can deduce that Baluzu, who is not defined with this term, was the servant, *pa₄-šeš*, of Ea at the time of the minister Arrukum from the fact that he was the father of Enna-il, *pa₄-šeš* of Ea, under the subsequent minister, Ibrium (Ibr. 5). Aku-Ea/Enki began his career under Ibrium, and was active for most of the 17 years of the minister Ibbi-zikir (Ibr. 8; I.Z. 5, 7, 8, 10, 12, 13, 15, 16). His name, “Ea is reliable,” indicates that he was dedicated to the god from birth. He was succeeded by Amudu, mentioned in I.Z. 9, which can be dated to 5 or 6 years before the destruction of Ebla by synchronism with the campaigns against Ibal which preceded the expedition against Mari.

²⁶ For the form *du-da-ù*, see *du-ti-ù* in ARET 11.1 § 75: *wa-a du-ti-ù na-ti-lu na-da-a*; the parallel text, ARET 11.2 § 79, has: *zà-me-ma balag-di balag-di* “they praise, the lamentation singers sing.” Fronzaroli, ARET 11: 45, interprets *du-ti-ù* as */tuddi’uḥ/* as D Stem form: “to mark; to attribute,” from **wd’* “to know.”

²⁷ Archi 1996a.

In general the *pa₄-šeš* is mentioned at the start of the section of text relating to the *nídba* of Enki and receives a complete set of clothes for his cultic action: 1 cloak, 1 tunic or skirt, 1 kilt, the annual usual gift for important people.

Documents dedicated solely to recording outgoing goods can only provide indirect information regarding the event to which the passage of goods is related. Another set of clothing is also given (extremely unusual in relation to a single ceremony) to the *pa₄-šeš* “(for) the jewel GIŠ-DU (bangle, bracelet)²⁸ of the king and the queen; 1 z.-T. for his spouse (dam),” (Ibr. 8).²⁹ In I.Z. 10, Aku-Enki receives 2 sets for this event. We can translate I.Z. 15 as: “1 set of clothes (to) A. (as) recompense [26] (*níg-du₈*)³⁰ (by) the king and the queen for the GIŠ-DU; 1 + 1 cloths (as) recompense (by the hereditary prince) Ir’aq-damu for the GIŠ-DU.” It would appear that these jewels were provided by the *pa₄-šeš*. In I.Z. 17 one of these jewels, together with three kinds of pearls for a necklace, is given to Tešzi by the administration (see section 2.6.8). According to I.Z. 10, the delivery of this set of clothes was regular, *sá-du₁₁-ga*; on the contrary, in I.Z. 13 (see also 12) it was “not regular,” but given by the queen.

2.6.2 dam ... guruš gaba-ru ^dEn-ki

Arr. 2 has: 1 t.-NI.NI 2 *bu-di* 10 (*gín*) *zabar dam šu-mu-“tag₄”* ^dUtu 1 s.-T. 1 íb. *guruš šu-mu-“tag₄”* ^dUtu “1 cloth, 2 toggle-pins of 10 (shekels of) bronze (for) the woman who has been (?) consigned/presented (to) the Sun-goddess; 1 + 1 cloths (for) the man who has been (?) consigned/presented (to) the Sun-goddess.”

From Ibrum the documents give a different formula: 1 t.-NI.NI *dam* 1 s.-T. 1 íb. *guruš gaba-ru* ^dEn-ki “1 cloth (for) the woman, 1 + 1 cloths (for) the man supplied/presented³¹ (to) Ea.” Ibr. 8. See, further, Ibr. 9; I.Z. 5, 7, 8, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16 (some wool may replace the clothes; the mention of the man may precede that of the woman). These differences in the formulation show that the rite for Ea concerned the Sun-goddess in some way (see section 2.6.3).

²⁸ Archi 2002b*: 190 [790].

²⁹ The spouse of the *pa₄-šeš* is mentioned also in I.Z. 9.

³⁰ Archi 2003d: The term *níg-du₈* in several passages means “price of release; ransom.”

³¹ In several passages, the term *gaba-ru* means “supply,” see, e.g.: “(clothes) supply (for) the military expedition (against) GN / (for) the commercial expedition of PN (*gaba-ru níg-kas₄* GN: TM.75.G.2250 rev. X ll. 10–14; 2401 rev. VIII ll. 14–20 / *gabaru kaskal* PN: TM.75.G.1254 rev. VI l. 15–VII l. 3).”

In I.Z. 10, a “prostitute,” gême-kar-kîd (who receives a mantel, t.-NI.NI) precedes the dam and the guruš.

2.6.3 ^dUtu

According to Arr. 2, the presentation of a woman and a man to the Sun-goddess (section 2.6.2) is followed by “1 measure of wool placed/presented (?) (to) the Sun-goddess,” 1 KIN siki tuš ^dUtu. We find this formula again also in the documents for some of the following years (the quantity of wool may vary, but is still only a modest amount), Ibr. 8, I.Z. 10, 12 (?) and 15: al₆-tuš ^dUtu; I.Z. 13: tuš ^dUtu. [27]

tuš, al₆-tuš means “to seat; to reside.”³² It is also possible that al₆-tuš ^dUtu could mean “when the Sun goes down.” In the ritual for the marriage of the royal couple, the Sun is the first deity to receive the offering of a sheep (ARET 11.1 § 2, 2 § 2). Reference is then made to the Sun to start certain ritual actions: “when the Sun is present,” ^dUtu al₆-gál, in ARET 11.1 § 62; “at the rising of the Sun,” ^dUtu è, in ARET 11.1 § 37, § 40, § 51, § 63, etc. (the passages are listed in ARET 11: 134).

We do not know why this wool is given to the Sun or what purpose it serves. The relation between Ea and the Sun has been noted also for Arr. 2, where the consignment (šu-mu-tag₄) of a man and a woman to the Sun-goddess is attested, whilst the subsequent documents show that these two people were, in fact, presented to Ea (see section 2.6.2).

In TM.75.G.2369 rev. VIII 1–5, the Sun-goddess is connected with Rašap gunum: 2 zi-ri siki du₁₁-ga ^dRa-sa-ap gú-núm ^dUtu (similarly also the fragmentary ARET 12.35 rev. II 3). Here, however, the two measures of wool concern two different invocations (and perhaps two different rites): one for Rašap and another one for Utu.

2.6.4 The Jugglers, ne-di, and Other Personnel

About ten young jugglers, “ne-di,” participated in the ritual. They were male (dumu-nita: d.n.) and female (dumu-munus: d.m.; dam: d.), Ibr. 8: 4 d.n. + 6 d.; I.Z. 5: 8 d.n. + 6 d.m.; I.Z. 7: 8 d.n. + 6 d.m.; I.Z. 8: 8 d.n. + 6 d.m.; I.Z. 9: 6 mašk-im pa₄-šeš ^dEn-ki (“6 representatives of the servant of Ea”) + 6 dam-dam; I.Z.

³² TM.75.G.1824 obv. IV l. 12–V l. 3: “(silver for) 90 men (and) 90 women (who) reside in the city (al₆-tuš uru^{kl}).” For the use of tuš and al₆-tuš, see, further, ARET 11 ll: 139, 172.

10: 14 d.n. + 6 d.; I.Z. 11: 8 d.n. + 7 d.m.; I.Z. 12: 4 d.n. + 6 d.; I.Z. 13: 4 d.n. + 6 d.; I.Z. 14: 8 d.n. + 6 d.m.; I.Z. 15: 4 d.n. 6 d.

According to Arr. 2, also some “serfs,” $ir_{11}ir_{11}$, took part in a yearly festival of Ea.

The member of a confraternity, šeš-II-ib, participated instead in the monthly cult of Ea (1., text 2), and Ibr. 6; I.Z. 3, 4.³³

2.6.5 The Cloth Made with the Wool of a She-Goat

Arr. 2 mentions 1 gu-zi-mug-T. ÛZ.SAL. Precisely what this cloth was used for is not stated here or in the other passages where it is mentioned: [28]

Ibr. 8; I.Z. 10, 12, 13, 15. In I.Z. 10 we have the correct form: ÛZ.SAL; in I.Z. 12 there is only: ÛZ. Ibr. 8 has: “ÛZ”.SAL, where the first sign is misinterpreted; I.Z. 13 and 15 have: “ÛZ” (see fig. 1).

Ibr. [8] TM.75.TG.1436 rev. IX 10	
IZ [10] TM.75.G.2372 obv. IV 4	
IZ [13] TM.75.G.2524 obv. VI 3	
IZ [15] TM.75.G.2647 obv. V 17	
	ÛZ (.SAL)
IZ [16] TM.75.G.10278(+) obv. XIII 4–5	
	šuku zar ^{ki}

2.6.6 The Invocation

The cloth of the she-goat wool is followed in Arr. 2 by “2 cloaks for the invocation (at) the gate of the palace,” 2 t.-NI.NI za-ga-rí-iš ká SA.ZA_x^{ki}. I.Z. 10 has

³³ On the confraternity of the šeš-II-ib, see Archi 2002d.

this variant: 2 t.-NI.NI *zi-ga-rí-iš* 1 *ká en uru-bar*: “(at) 1 (!?) gate of the king (to) the neighborhood.”³⁴ The relation with the gate is rather obscure.

In I.Z. 9: 1 cloth *gù-di-II* is mentioned.³⁵

2.6.7 The Emblem LAK-390

An emblem, LAK-390, for which 2 “skeins,” *bala*, of black wool and two of white were needed, was one of the objects required for the festival: [29] Ibr. 8; I.Z. 5, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15. In I.Z. 8, 10 and 14 the sign is written erroneously as: MI.AŠ. According to Arr. 3, the value of this object was 5 shekels of silver.

2.6.8 The *u₉-zu* rite

In Arr. 2, “1 cloth (was given to) the daughter of Zanitum on the occasion of the *u₉-zú* (when) they praise (*in ud du-da-ù*) (the previous king) Igriš-Ḫalab.”

The usual writing in the other documents of the later period is *u₉-zu* (not *-zú*); in the dual: 2 *u₉-za* (I.Z. 10). The passages I.Z. 7 and 17 have the sg. form *u₉-zu* preceded by the f. PN *Tēš-zi* (was she “the daughter of Zanitum”?). Also the dual form *u₉-za*, in I.Z. 10, 12 and 15, is preceded by a single PN: *Tēš-zi*.

Tešzi received 1 mantle (*zara₆-T.*) in I.Z. 7, while in I.Z. 8, and 15, she received 1 toggle-pin of only 1 shekel of bronze and 2 ribbons (*du-rúm*, made by only 1 “stone measure (*na₄*)” of wool).³⁶ This is also the case of I.Z. 10 (final section), followed by: 2 *u₉-za*. The first part of text I.Z. 10 has: “1 mantel z.-T., 1 long dress, 1 plate of 18 shekels of gold, 8 earrings of 18 shekels of gold, 1 pendant of 4 shekels of gold, 2 toggle-pins of 20 shekels of silver, their 2 heads of gold, 1 toggle-pin of 2 shekels of bronze, its head (? unwritten) for *Tešzi* 2 *u₉-za*.”

All these cases show that *u₉-zu*, *u₉-za* (in the dual), had to be a ritual action, which in some cases was reduplicated, and where a single officiant acted. The last section in I.Z. 8 points also in this direction: “clothes (for) *Dubi-zikir* (for) the *u.* of *Enanni-il*,” 1 + 1 cloths *Du-bí-zi-kir u₉-zu lú En-na-ni-il*.³⁷ Arr. 2

³⁴ For the equivalence in VE 215: *inim-si₁₁* = *mu-da-bí zi-ga-rí* (cfr. Akk. *zakāru*, “to declare; to invoke;” *zikru* “utterance; invocation”), see Conti 1990: 98.

³⁵ For VE 186: *gù-di* = *dal-da-gi-lum*, see Conti 1990: 95–96.

³⁶ Archi 2002b*: 189 [789]: The *du-rúm* could be made also in gold.

³⁷ *Dubi-zikir* is associated with *Tešzi* for the *u₉-zu* also in I.Z. 15: 1 ‘à.-T. 1 a. 1 íb. *Du-bí-zi-kir* 1 z.-T. 1 *bu-di zabar* 1 *na₄* *siki Tēš-zi u₉-za*.

(quoted above) is the only passage which offers hints to understanding this action: “on the occasion of the *u₉-zú* (when) they praise (*du-da-ù*) (the previous king) Igriš-Ḫalab.”³⁸ Even more obscure is a passage in I.Z. 12: “Aku-Enki, the servant of Ea for the father ... (*a-bí-iš šuku(-)TÚG*), Tešzi has received (for) the *u*. by K. (*u₉-za áš-da Ku-tu šu-ba₄-ti*).” [30]

u₉-zu/zú has been interpreted as a kind of vaticination, deriving from **hzy* “to see, to observe as a seer” in Hebrew; “to observe birds” in Arabic (*HAL*³: 288–89).³⁹

In the fifth year of the minister Ibbi-zikir, Tešzi received an important gift for a *u₉-zu* rite, I.Z. 17: “20 shekels of silver (for) 2 *t.*, 12 shekels of gold for plating it; 20 shekels of silver for 2 bangles; 38 ½ shekels of silver (for) 1 pendant of 20 shekels, 60 spherical beads of 1 shekel, 60 clasps of 2 ½ shekels, 30 conoid beads of 6 shekels (to) Tešzi (for) the *u*. (*Téš-zi u₉-zu*).” The text does not identify what the vaticination was about.

2.6.9 *ti-ba-lu* ^dEn-ki

The following passage in I.Z. 10 is obscure: 2 *na₄* siki babbar šu-kešda-šu-kešda *ti-ba-lu* ^dEn-ki *Ma-na* túg-nu-tag “(white wool) (for) sashes *t.* Ea *M.* (PN?) the weaver.”

The term *ti-ba-lu* occurs in another three texts:

- a) ARET 15.38 § 25: (1 cloth) FPN dam-dingir in-na-sum *ti-ba-li*.
- b) TM.75.G.2517(+) (offering list) obv. II 13–16: 8 udu *ti-ba-li* é ^dKu-ra.
- c) TM.75.G.10103 (offering list) obv. XII 13–18: 10 [udu] *ti-ba-li* in ud še-šu-šum é en.

2.7 The Functions of Ea

2.7.1 Ea as Provider of Prosperity

In I.Z. 10 Ea is associated with ^d*Zi-la-šu*, a deity whom Pomponio and Xella have identified convincingly with Siras Š/Siris, the Mesopotamian goddess of beer:⁴⁰

³⁸ On *du-da-ù*, see n. 26.

³⁹ Pasquali 1997: 230 with n. 64. This root is attested at Ebla in VE 216, KA-a.zu 5 = ’à-za-zu /ḫazzāzu(m)/ “seer,” see Conti 1990: 98.

The term *u₉-za*, in the hymn ARET 5.6, has to be analyzed, instead, as *wašú* “to come out,” Krebernik 1992: 139.

⁴⁰ Pomponio and Xella 1997: 346–47. This identification has been accepted by Krebernik 1998–2001: 442b, and Fronzaroli, who, commenting that the Eblaite form *ti-rí-šu* is to be related

- a) TM.75.G.2372 (= 3.3., I.Z. 10; month XII) obv. IV 5–12: *A-ku*-^dEn-ki *pa*₄-šeš ^dEn-ki *in* ud nídba <tur> ^dEn-<ki> *wa* ^dZi-la-šu [31]
- b) This is a deity very rarely attested, celebrated in month X. Two passages qualify her as the goddess “of wine,” “of honey ...”
- c) TM.75.G.2075 (month X) obv. VI 5–11: 1 udu ^dZi-la-šu lú geštin 1 udu izi-gar ^dZi-la-šu lú ŠĒ-làl.⁴¹
- d) TM.75.G.2397 (month X) obv. VI 9–13: 1 udu izi-gar ^dZi-la-šu ša-ti geštin
- e) TM.75.G.11365 obv. V 25: ^dZi-la-šu

Both Ea and Zilašu had to be related to prosperity.

At Ebla Zilašu was undoubtedly a god of wine, in line with the NWSem. terminology of the 2nd and 1st millennium. In Akkadian, the name of the Goddess Siraš is also a word for beer.⁴² The case of Zil/rašu is, therefore, a good exemplification of the significance of contact with the Sumerian culture for the pantheon of the Northern Semites.

Some passages with an “allotment of grain-heap/field(s)(?)” related to Ea: šuku zar^(ki) ^dEn-ki, point also to an interpretation of Ea as a god of prosperity. If this interpretation is correct, Ea was connected also with grain:

- aa) I.Z. 12: 1 íb. *Ì-lum-bal* šuku zar ^dEn-ki *in* ud lú GIŠ-BU nídba maḥ
- bb) I.Z. 13: 1 s.-T. 1 íb. *En-na-ì* šuku zar^{ki} ^dEn-ki *in* ud lú GIŠ-BU
- cc) I.Z. 15: 1–11 cloths *Ma-gal* maškim *Íl-zi* BAD é šuku zar^{ki} ^dEn-<ki>
- dd) I.Z. 16: 1 'à.-T. 1 a.-T. 1 íb. *Ba-du-lum* lú EN-ŠID šuku zar^{ki} ^dEn-ki
- ee) 3.4. text 1: [...]ŠA?[...] š[uku] zar^[ki?] ^dEn-[ki] lú GIŠ-B[U].

According to these passages, a man, always different from text to text, was responsible for the šuku zar^{ki} of Ea. In cc, it is Magal, a representative of Ilzi, master (BAD = *ba'lum*) of the house (é: i.e., the house of the king) (this Ilzi is mentioned also, e.g., in MEE 12.36 obv. IV 22–23). The action concerning the zar^{ki} of Ea was in connection with a rite (?) which needed an instrument, one part of which was a long pole (GIŠ-BU).⁴³

to NWSem. *trṭ*, explains ^dZi-la-šu as a dissimilated form (Fronzaroli 1998a: 231, with n. 34). For the discussion of the related forms in NWSem. (Ug. *trṭ*; Heb. *tyr(w)š*) see HAL³: 1591–92; in Luwian (*tuwars-*), see Meriggi 1962: 136.

⁴¹ Pettinato 1979a: 150.

⁴² On the relation between Zilašu and Siraš, see Xella 2003. Kreberník 1998–2001: 442b notes: “Im Akkadischen scheint die Verwendung von Siraš als Eigennamen primär zu sein, da auch in der Bedeutung ‘Bier’ gewöhnlich der status absolutus benutzt wird.”

⁴³ Conti 1990: 129, VE 407: GIŠ-gíd = *ma-za-rí-gú*; cfr. Civil ARES 4: 73.

2.7.2 Ea as an Underworld God

The passage Arr. 2 (3.2) mentions the deceased king Igrīš-Ḫalab probably in connection with a rite. Moreover, ARET 9.17 §§ 17–22 (4. text 1) [32] presents the following sequence of bread offerings: “the god of the king” (dingir en) – Ea (^dEn-ki) – “the days of the past (?)” (ud-zal-ud-zal) – the god of the former king Baga-damu (dingir PN) – the god of the former king Enar-damu – the god of the former king Išar-malik (i.e., the 19th, 20th and 21st king of the dynasty).⁴⁴

Although this sequence is preceded by several other gods, Ea precedes the list of the deceased kings, opened by the enigmatic “days of the past” (in section § 13 there already is, however, the god of a deceased king: Samiu, the 3rd of the dynasty!). The long list of edible goods delivered as “regular offerings,” sā-du₁₁-ga, to Ea, ARET 9.107, unique of its kind in the archive L. 2712, has no elements which explain its intent.

In some other passages, Ea is directly connected with Rašap, a god of the Netherworld.⁴⁵ [33]

⁴⁴ Archi 2001: 13.

⁴⁵ This has been noted by J. Pasquali (2002), commenting on the passage in TM.75.G.1418 (= ARET 15.19). According to Pasquali, jewels in form of a hawk or crow, buru₄-MUŠEN, were offered usually to Rašap and sometimes to his spouse (see, e.g., the passages listed in MEE 12: 623, where 4 offerings are to Rašap and 1 to Hadabal), because this bird should have a particular connection with the Netherworld. I cannot follow him: aburu₄-MUŠEN could be offered also to Kura, Aštabil, and other gods. Alternatively, this object could have been a shield (which would apply very well to Rašap); see Civil ARES 4: 15–16, 127.

Because Rašap is followed in few passages by AN.EN.KI, Pasquali interprets it as a toponymic denomination for the royal cemetery: ^den^{ki}, suggesting *gumu(m)*^(ki) (a frequent epithet of Rašap) for its phonetic reading (which is impossible because of the sequence: ^dRa-sa-ap ^dEn-ki ... ^dRa-sa-ap *gū-nu* in the passage a). He thinks that the equivalence of the lexical lists VE 800: AN.EN = *ma-’ā-um* supports his interpretation, because it could be understood as *nomen loci*: “(the place of) repose,” /nahhalum/ from *nhl “to rest,” see Conti 1990: 192. This form *ma12a3* can be, however, interpreted also as “who is resting,” referred to the deceased king (^den). In VE 801: AN.EN.EN = *na-u₉-lum*, the D Stem form /nahhulum/ (Conti 1990: 192) can be interpreted also as an intensive form: “(the deceased kings) who are resting (^den-en).” Akk. *šalālu* “to be asleep, to be at rest,” is the usual euphemism for the condition of the dead. Similarly, Sum *nú* “to lie, rest”, cfr. *Eden usagake* e+149-f+189, Cohen 1988: 675–76, 681–82.

Pasquali (2009) finds further support for his thesis in passages with the sequence: PAD SU₇^{ki} ^den^(ki), the “uncultivated land of the cemetery,” which would be an oxymoron if the cemetery was really called “the garden!” I read ZAR^{ki} instead of SU₇^{ki} in all the passages quoted in 7.1, because the sign SUM is inscribed in LAGAB (with the higher horizontal not always clear, as in fig. 1 above). The Sign-list from Ebla distinguishes between SUM (no. 114) and zar! (not inscribed in LAGAB) = *za-ru₁₂-um* (Archi 1987b: 97–98.v).

The documentation is undoubtedly in favor of the reading: ^dEn-ki for AN.EN.KI. A *pa₄-šeš* was in service exclusively to human beings or deities (not assigned to buildings or institu-

- a) 1. text 2: 2 udu ^dRa-sa-ap ^dEn-ki 2 udu ^dRa-sa-ap *gú-nu*
- b) 3.1. Arr. 1: 1 kù-sal 1 buru₄-MUŠEN ^dRa-sa-ap ^dEn-ki
- c) 3.2. lbr. 2:] 1 gír kb. ^dRa-sa-ap{-KI} ^dEn-ki
- d) 3.2. lbr. 7: níd_{ba} ^dRa-sa-ap ^dEn-ki

The first passages have the parallelism: Rašap Ea – Rašap *gunu* “of the garden” (one of the most frequent hypostasis of this god); also in the second passage Rašap and Ea form a dyad which receives a *single* jewel.

While in Mesopotamia the garden was a place of pleasure, sometimes with an erotic connotation,⁴⁶ the WSem. image of the garden was gloomy, *gn* being at Ugarit, perhaps the royal necropolis. It is uncertain that *gunu(m)* may be the phonetic reading for GIŠ-nu-kiri₆ (VE 443 gives no Eblaite equivalence to it). Some rites of the offerings and festival for Ea took place, in any case, in the garden:

- aa) 1. text 2 (after having mentioned ^dRa-sa-ap ^dEn-ki... ^dRa-sa-ap *gú-nu*): ^dEn-ki *in* GIŠ-nu-kiri₆
- bb) 1. text 5: ^dEn-ki *in* GIŠ-nu-kiri₆
- cc) 3.2. lbr. 4: *in* ud níd_{ba} ^dEn-ki lú GIŠ-nu-kiri₆
- dd) 3.3. I.Z. 6: *in* GIŠ-nu-kiri₆ *in* ud níd_{ba} ^dEn-ki
- ee) 3.4. text 2: ^dEn-ki lú GIŠ-nu-kiri₆

There is no evidence at all that at Ebla *gunu(m)* was a methonymy for cemetery. This could be deduced only from the fact that it was an epithet of Rašap, and from its possible meaning in Ugaritic. If GIŠ-nu-kiri₆ had not such a connotation, it would denote Ea as a god of vegetation. Rašap is never connected with GIŠ-nu-kiri₆.

2.8 Final Considerations

The cult of Ea was virtually limited to the city of Ebla itself, where the god had a place of cult, 3.2 text 3: é ^dEn-ki. Two monthly offerings lists register offerings for Ea of (i.e. at) Ḫarzanu (1., texts 9 and 10), a site not otherwise known to us but clearly not far from Ebla. Texts 2.1 and 2 mention deliveries of clothes in connection with Ea of Amisadu and Ea of Gagadu, two modest rural centers in

tions). It is not probable that a PN as *A-ku-AN.EN.KI* may have “cemetery” (may it be royal or not) as its second element. For ^dNin-ki, see section 2.1, text 11.

⁴⁶ Groneberg 2001: 104, 108.

the Eblate territory. In text 2.3, Ea is related to Gurat, a center which would seem to have been more important.⁴⁷ [34]

The passages 1.1–8 relate to offerings to Ea in the city of Ebla. Text 1 mentions “the festival of Enki.” This is dated to month I and confirms that the festival of this god fell in month XII (see 6.1).

The ten passages collected in 1 are the only references to Ea in the twenty-two offerings lists concerning the very last months of Ebla. It is significant that Ea is mentioned so rarely and seldom receives offerings from the king.⁴⁸ The principal gods, such as Kura, Hadda, three hypostases of Hadabal, Rašap and Aštabil, received offerings of sheep from the king, the queen, the hereditary prince Ir’aq-damu and other princes *every month*.⁴⁹ In the months in which the festival of one of these gods fell, the offerings were increased.

^dNin-ki, appears only once in the offerings lists (1, text 11).

In conflict with this is the fact that, from another kind of administrative documents (the monthly deliveries of clothes), Ea was the only god to have “a big and a small festival (maḥ, tur nídba),” which were celebrated in the same month and were of a complexity not recorded for the festivals of other gods. Ea’s festival included a presentation of a man and a woman to Ea (Section 6.2); the participation of jugglers (ne-di: 6.4; ḤÚB: 3.3, texts 2 and 6); a cloth made from the wool of a she-goat (6.5); the invocation at the gate (6.6); the emblem LAK-390 (6.7); a vaticination, *u₉-zu* (6.8); the *ti-ba-lu* offering (6.9).

Also contradictory is the fact that Ea is the only god who is consignee of a large amount of edible goods (oxen and sheep, breads, cereals, wine, honey), ARET 9.107.

The reason for the evident contradiction must lie in the nature of the god, clearly of lesser rank. We have very few elements enabling us to identify the functions of Ea. The association with the goddess of wine and honey, Zilašu (section 2.7.1), suggests that Ea was a god of nature. In some cases, however, Ea appears to be paired with Rašap, perhaps already a god of the Netherworld in the 3rd millennium. It is not sure that *gunu(m)* is the phonetic reading of GIŠ-nu-kiri₆, where a rite was celebrated for Ea (section 2.7.2). In this case Rašap-Ea could be a kind of hendiadys, with Ea as a metonymy of garden. There is no evidence, however, which may suggest that GIŠ-nu-kiri₆ was the burial place of the kings of Ebla. [35]

⁴⁷ See n. 19 above.

⁴⁸ The number of erroneous writings for ^dEn-ki is unusual. ^dEn<-ki> in I.Z. 7, 10, and 15; A-ku-^dEn<-ki> in I.Z. 10; <En>-ki in 1, text 4.

⁴⁹ See the four documents published in Pettinato 1979a.

On the contrary, according to the texts, some kings were buried in the mausoleum (é *ma-tim*) in the town of NEnaš, whilst for other kings a hypogeum was created beneath the royal palace.⁵⁰

The etymology of the name (from **ḫyy* “to live”) indicates that Ea symbolized life. His relationship with Rašap would appear to suggest an underground life force which favored nature. This led the Semites settled in Mesopotamia to assimilate Ḫay(y)um with Enki, the god of the subterranean freshwater, together with all of his manifestations. At Ebla, because of his underground aspect, Ea could have been related also to the cult of the dead.

⁵⁰ See, respectively, Fronzaroli ARET 11: 144 and Matthiae 1997.

44 Divinités sémitiques et divinités de substrat: le cas d'Išḫara et d'Ištar à Ébla

1 Ištar d'Ébla au deuxième millénaire

La religion est l'un des fondements de l'identité d'un peuple. Mais les religions polythéistes qui fondent divinités étrangères et autochtones, en accueillant même de nouvelles, montrent aussi l'évolution de ces identités culturelles. Ces processus d'évolution donnent souvent à voir la constance d'éléments structuraux se présentant sous des formes nouvelles. L'on sait la surprenante continuité de plusieurs lieux de culte qui n'ont pas changé de nature malgré l'affirmation d'une nouvelle religion même monothéiste. Parfois, c'est plutôt l'une des fonctions de la divinité qui persiste, même si le nom de la divinité change. Tel est le cas de la grande divinité féminine d'Ébla.

Dans une version du rituel *tākultu* (III R. 66), provenant de la bibliothèque d'Assourbanipal mais dont l'original est probablement médio-assyrien, l'on invoque aussi, parmi plus de deux cents dieux, une « déesse d'Ébla », ^d*Ib-la-i-tu*. Les sources mésopotamiennes gardent donc encore les traces d'une divinité d'Ébla, et d'une seule, même au moment où la ville n'est plus réduite qu'à une petite agglomération, sinon à un simple monceau de ruines. Et il s'agit d'une divinité féminine. « Ištar certainement », affirme R. Frankena,¹ et très justement, comme l'a prouvé la découverte de l'inscription d'un dynaste éblaïte de l'époque paléo-syrienne (environ 1900 av. J.-C.): Ibbiṭ-lim fils d'Igriš-Ḫep, consacrée précisément à Ištar.² De cette inscription, gravée sur la statue votive qui représente celui qui la lui dédie (dont seul le torse est conservé), l'on déduit qu'Ištar était la divinité tutélaire de la dynastie éblaïte dans les premiers siècles du second millénaire:

« À la déesse [Eštar] Ibbiṭ-lim, le fils d'Igriš-Ḫep, roi de la lignée éblaïte, a apporté un bassin (au temple), et cela lors de la huitième année qui suivit l'apparition d'Eštar à Ébla. Ibbiṭ-lim (a écrit) son nom (sur) la statue pour sa propre vie et celle de ses enfants. Eštar l'aima, et il érigea sa statue devant Eštar sa souveraine ... »

MARI 7 (1993) 71–78.

1 Frankena 1954: 92 no. 76. La transcription du passage est à la p. 8, col. IX 20.

2 Matthiae 1977: 140–141 et fig. 56. L'inscription a été publiée par Pettinato 1979b: 23–27 = 1981a: 23–27. Voir aussi Lambert 1981; Gelb 1984; Gelb and Kienast 1990: 369–71.

Le fragment de statue provient de la zone G, située sur le versant sud-occidental de l'acropole, de niveau tardif. On retrouva dans la même zone, lors de la campagne de 1985, une grande stèle basaltique datant d'environ 1800 av. J.-C, aux quatre côtés sculptés et à plusieurs registres, dédiée à Ištar. La déesse y est représentée debout, à l'intérieur d'un petit temple ailé placé sur le dos d'un taureau [72] et flanqué de deux hommes-taureaux. La riche iconologie illustre des éléments cosmologiques liés à la déesse et au rôle tutélaire qu'elle exerce sur la royauté. La base de la stèle a été retrouvée *in situ*, à l'entrée de la pièce G 3, identifiée comme étant un petit temple et dont la dernière phase de construction remonte à une date comprise entre 1725 et 1675 av. J.-C.³

À environ 25 mètres, au nord, s'élève le temple D, un édifice remarquable de 27 mètres sur 14, pourvu de vestibule, antichambre et chambre; il accueillait probablement à l'origine la statue votive d'Ibbit-lim consacrée à Ištar. La représentation d'un être mythique: le lion ailé laissant couler de sa gueule des filets d'eau, visible sur le bassin sculpté retrouvé à l'intérieur du temple, prouve lui aussi que le temple, qui autrefois dominait vraisemblablement l'acropole de ses murs épais et élevés, était consacré à notre déesse.⁴

Des fouilles récentes faites dans la zone septentrionale de la ville basse ont ramené un autre temple, P2, à la lumière du jour, incontestablement le plus vaste d'Ébla (33,5 sur 19,8 m). Peut-être a-t-il été lui aussi le théâtre d'un culte d'Ištar car on y a retrouvé, en plus d'un certain nombre de statues votives mutilées, un fragment de bassin sur lequel est représentée la déesse ailée, sévèrement martelée et dont il ne reste que le profil de la partie supérieure.⁵

2 Išhara au troisième millénaire

La destruction totale d'Ébla au 24^e siècle et les changements politiques et sociaux qui bouleversèrent la Syrie entre le troisième et le deuxième millénaire provoquèrent une fracture radicale. Mais la plus ancienne Ébla honorait déjà une déesse importante, nommée Išhara. Le panthéon de l'Ébla protodynastique est composite: il groupe des divinités sémitiques et des divinités de substrat.⁶

³ Voir l'étude approfondie que Matthiae (1987) a consacrée à la stèle.

⁴ Voir Matthiae 1977: 136–138 et tavv. 82–83. Et pour l'identification des dieux auxquels étaient consacrés les temples d'Ébla de l'âge du Bronze Moyen, voir Id. 1986b (pour le temple D, voir pp. 352–56).

⁵ Matthiae 1989a: 49–54.

⁶ Voir Archi 1993g: 7–11.

Parmi les dieux les plus vénérés, l'on trouve le dieu de la tempête Hadda, la déesse soleil, Kamiš et Rašap, communs aux populations sémitiques de la Syrie septentrionale. Mais le dieu le plus important de la ville est Kura dont on ne connaît l'existence que grâce aux archives d'Ébla⁷ et qui, de ce fait, appartient probablement au substrat. Dans le nom de ^dNI-*da*-BAL/KUL, dont le culte est répandu dans tout le territoire éblaïte, BAL, le troisième signe qui compose son nom (il faut interpréter la variante KUL comme une simplification graphique de BAL) peut difficilement signifier *ba'l*: « seigneur », car ce serait une graphie insolite; aussi ce nom n'a-t-il pas l'air, lui non plus, d'être sémitique. Adamma (la parèdre de Rašap), Aštapi(l) (le dieu de la guerre dans le panthéon hourrite du deuxième millénaire) et Išhara sont, elles aussi, des divinités importantes héritées du substrat.

Au cours des millénaires, on assiste à la diffusion du culte d'Išhara, cette grande déesse de la région d'Ébla, dans différentes populations de langue sémitique et non sémitique. Son nom constitue l'un des éléments des noms de personnes théophores du vieil-akkadien et de la troisième dynastie d'Ur. Au second millénaire, il apparaît dans les textes du panthéon de Mari, Imar, Ougarit (dans les listes sémitiques et hourrites des divinités): elle entre même dans le panthéon hittite en même temps que d'autres divinités des Hourrites de Kiz-zuwatna.

La documentation d'Ébla prouve qu'Išhara est une grande divinité de la Syrie septentrionale du troisième millénaire et les données de la troisième dynastie d'Ur renvoient encore à cette région (Išhara [73] est liée à Dagan et à la ville de Mari). Cette ancienne localisation du culte, la diffusion même dans ces territoires sémitiques aussi bien qu'hourrites et hittites, le fait qu'elle ait été assimilée à Ištar, par certains de ces aspects, en Babylonie,⁸ donnent à penser que la déesse appartenait, à l'origine, au panthéon du substrat syrien.⁹

Les listes bilingues d'Ébla donnent la succession: AN.AMA-ra (sans équivalent éblaïte) et ^dBARA₇ (GĀxSIG₇)-ra = *iš-ḥa-ra/la*. L'on distingue soigneusement les deux logogrammes dans les textes administratifs. Le premier, se référant peut-être à une divinité – lui aussi –, indique toujours le nom d'un mois.¹⁰

7 Mais G. Wilhelm (1992) attire l'attention sur un dieu ^dKu-ur-ri, mentionné dans une section de la fête hourrite de *ḫišuwa*.

8 Lambert 1976–80a: 177a.

9 Diakonoff 1971. 64: « ^dKubaba und ^dIšhara sind wohl vorhurrisch »; Haas 1978: 62–64; Archi 1992c: 8–10.

10 L'interprétation de Pettinato (1974–77: 29), qui parle de un « mois d'Ištar », ne peut être partagée. Remarquons le nom de personne *Puzur₄-ra-^dAMA-ra* in ARET 9.53 v. VI 3. La « liste des dieux » d'Abū-Šalābikh, IAS 82 VI et 86 V, a: ^dAMA-ra; ^dMÜŠ.ZA(.ZA); cf. Lambert 1985: 537.

Le second, comme le montre l'équivalent éblaïte, est utilisé pour le nom de la déesse Išhara¹¹ on peut le simplifier en: LAGABxSIG₇, avec perte d'un clou vertical du signe GĀ; il est en général, mais pas toujours, complété par: -ra- ou -iš, respectivement la dernière et la première syllabe du nom de la déesse.¹²

Išhara est mentionnée souvent dans les documents administratifs, moins toutefois que d'autres divinités masculines. Dans l'index des volumes des éditions de textes publiés jusqu'à ce jour, elle apparaît dans: ARET 2.8 II 1 (I. de la ville de Zidara); ARET 3.35 r. VI 1, 323 v. VI 1-4 (I. de MaNE et Zuramu), VI 4", côté II 2 (I. de MaNE), 334 III 5 (2 I.), 371 II 4 (I. de MaNE), 415 I 2 (I. de Zuram); ARET 4.4 r. IX 2, 6 r. II 8, 7 v. II 2 et IX 6, 9 r. X 3, 16 v. IV 2; ARET 7.58 r. II 2, 150 v. I 7; ARET 8.522 XVII 19 (à lire: ^dGĀxSIG₇-ra), 534 XVI 20 (à lire: ^dGĀxSIG₇-iš-^dGĀxSIG₇-iš; I. de Zuramu, MaNE et Ugušu). Est attestée également, avec à peu près la même fréquence, la présence d'autres divinités féminines qu'Išhara: Adamma, Barama et ^dBE-mí, c'est-à-dire *ba'ltum* «dame», mais il s'agit des parèdres respectives de Rašap, Kura et Hadabal, aussi les trouve-t-on parfois associées au dieu avec lequel elles forment un couple. Un second sondage mené sur les quatre listes d'offrandes aux dieux publiés jusqu'à nos jours donne les résultats suivants:¹³ Išhara est mentionnée 5 fois (Išhara, Išhara de MaNE et Išhara de Zuramu: une fois chacune; Išhara de Zidara/Zidala: 2 fois) peu de choses si l'on compare cette fréquence avec celle des grands dieux masculins: 24 fois pour Kura, 49 pour Hadabal (d'Arugadu, Luban et SA.ZA_x^{ki}), 40 pour Rašap dans ses différentes hypostases. Mais parmi les autres divinités féminines, Barama n'est jamais mentionnée: Adamma et Ba'ltum de Hadabal le sont respectivement 2 et 3 fois seulement.

Parmi les divinités féminines, il en est une qui est à considérer séparément, celle du soleil. Elle se nommait très probablement Šamaš (ougaritique: Šapš; pour l'alternance *b/m* déjà documentée à Ebla voir von Soden 1987: 84; Steinkeller 1993b), nom toujours écrit avec le sumérogramme ^dUtu. Comme à Ougarit et chez les Arabes, elle devait être du genre féminin, ce que l'on peut déduire de l'incantation ARET 5.3 §1, où le verbe qu'on lui destine porte la marque du préfixe de la troisième personne féminin singulier (Utu *ti-a-ba-an* sig₄-gar i-dím é *I-li-lu* a-mu dingir-dingir-dingir: «La déesse Soleil modelait des

11 Pettinato 1979a: 105. Parmi les signes composés de GĀ, comme le rappelle Lambert (1984b: 400), on trouve dans la Liste Ea (MSL XIV, p. 366: 279) et AN = Anum III 257 suiv.: GĀxIŠ.ĤU.AŠ glosé *iš-ĥu-ru(m)*, et expliqué comme Nisaba; en outre «also in Ea (op. cit., p. 365: 243) GĀxPA glossed [*i*]š-ĥu-ur is explained as Nissaba, while in An = Anum III 353 ^dGĀxPA is glossed *iš-ĥa-ra* and explained as Ištar!»

12 Dans 75.2078 v. I 3 l'on a les deux compléments phonétiques: ^dGĀxSIG₇-ra-iš!

13 Pettinato 1979a: 85-215. Les listes sont au total au nombre de vingt.

briques; le père des dieux Enlil construisait (sa) maison ». ¹⁴ Ce qui a tout l'air d'être confirmé par TM.75.G.2593 rev. IV 4-7: 1 aktum-TÚG u₆ ^dUtu-nita in ʿx' [. Si dans ce passage il a paru nécessaire de faire suivre le sumérogramme du terme: nita « masculin », cela signifie qu'on entendait distinguer cette divinité solaire masculine, sans doute originaire de la Babylonie, de celle plus [74] courante, de genre féminin. C'est à ce dieu masculin qu'était consacré l'hymne connu d'Abū Šalābikh IAS 326 (+) 342, dont ARET 5.6 est un duplicat rédigé très probablement à Ébla. ¹⁵

Le soleil qui voit toute chose est la divinité qui, dans les religions du Proche-Orient, rend la justice. Voilà pourquoi, même à Ébla, c'est la déesse Soleil (et non Išḫara) qui garantit les accords. Dans le décret (TM.)75.(G.)1444, où le roi fait le geste rituel de lever les yeux au ciel, geste qui est loin d'être occasionnel, on lit: « Alors le roi déclara: « Ecoute Kura, Soleil et Hadda, que (tous) les dieux écoutent ». Et le souverain jura, en levant les yeux au ciel: « Moi ... » » (IV 4-V 5). ¹⁶ Dans le traité politique avec Abarsal, on lit: « Quiconque (mettra tout en œuvre) pour faire du mal, (alors) le Soleil, Hadda, tous les dieux ... » (ll. 608-611); ¹⁷ Kura dont le culte avait pour centre Ébla, était inconnu dans des régions lointaines.

Dans les quatre listes d'offrandes publiées, Utu est mentionné 6 fois, une fois de plus qu'Išḫara; dans les autres documents administratifs aussi, Utu et Išḫara sont pratiquement équivalents. Dans à peu près 140 occurrences d'Išḫara pour toute la documentation, elle apparaît 40 fois dans les listes d'offrandes et 100 dans les autres textes. Le nom de la déesse est souvent déterminé par des noms de lieux (tous situés dans le territoire éblaïte), sièges du culte qui lui est voué, à savoir: (par ordre décroissant): *Má*-NE^{ki} (où Ébla remettait ses tributs à Mari, vraisemblablement sur l'Euphrate); ¹⁸ *Zu/Zú-ra-am₆/mu*; *Zi-da-ra/la*^{ki} (dont *Zi-ti-lu*^{ki} pourrait être une variante); *U₉-gú-a-āš/šú*^{ki}; *Zú-za-ga-bù*^{ki}; et enfin, avec une seule attestation chacune, *A-ru₁₂-ga-du*^{ki}, *Ba-na-i-um*^{ki} et *Wa-NE-du*^{ki}.

On ne nomme que deux fois un temple d'Išḫara 75.10176 r. I 4-5; 10251 r. VIII 17-18. L'on vénérât aussi la déesse dans le temple du dieu polyade Kura,

¹⁴ Edzard, dans ARET 5: 23, a: « « du streichst » », mais ajoute: « eine 3. Sg fem. ist denkbar, wenn wir ^dUTU als weiblich annehmen ». P. Fronzaroli, qui a réinterprété l'incantation (1988b), opte pour la 3^e personne féminin, *ibid.*, p. 18, où il donne également les passages parallèles, ARET 5.1 § 1: *a-bí-nu-um i-a-ba-nu* sig₄-gar « Le fabricant de briques modelait les briques »; 2+ r. I 1-3: *I-li-lu i-la-ba-nu* [sig₄-gar] « Enlil modelait [des briques] ».

¹⁵ L'hymne a été étudié par Lambert 1989.

¹⁶ Edzard 1981a: 38. XV 1-11 est parallèle, *ibid.*, p. 44 [ARET 16.27 §§ 8, 27].

¹⁷ Sollberger 1980: 147 [= ARET 13.5 § 5].

¹⁸ Voir Archi 1985a: 65; ARES 2: 379-81.

75.1349 v. IX 16–19 (^dB. en é ^d*Ku-ra*); et peut-être même dans celui de Hadabal de Luban, ARET 3.161 v. I; ARET 4.9 § 18.

Les documents de comptabilité, qui constituent la plus grande partie des textes d'Ébla, ne permettent pas d'établir clairement à quelles fonction présidaient les différents dieux. Par rapport aux autres divinités, Išhara est la seule qui soit liée directement et de façon non équivoque à la royauté. Son hypostase la plus fréquente est celle d'« Išhara du roi » (^dB. en), (ARET 4.4 § 25, 7 § 39; 75.1356 r. II 3–4; 1349 v. IX 16–19 (dans le temple de Kura); 1362 r. V 3–4; 1418 v. VIII 8–9; 1442 r. 10–11; 2368 r. VII 11–14 (^dB. en lu *A-ru₁₂-ga-du^{ki}*); 2460 r. IV 13–14. Aucun autre dieu n'a un tel appellatif. Dans la liste des offrandes vouées à dix souverains défunts divinisés, ARET 7.150 (colophon: « les dieux des rois (dingir-dingir-dingir en-en) résidant à Darib »), elle est l'une des huit divinités associées au culte et elle suit les couples: Hadabal et Ba'ltu, Rašap et Adamma, Agu et Guladu ainsi que [^dx-r]*a-ru₁₂* de Darib. Išhara reçoit alors l'épithète de: lú *da-da* en « aimée du roi » (v. II 1; voir le nom de personne *Da-da-il/i*). La déesse apparaît dans le grand rituel d'intronisation 75.1939+ (r. VI), mais sans éclat particulier: les divinités principales de cette célébration étaient Kura et sa parèdre Barama.¹⁹ Il n'y a aucun indice sur la nature chtonienne de la divinité Išhara. C'était la divinité personnelle du souverain qui pouvait de ce fait constituer des hypostases particulières. Dans 75.2455 r. X 6–10, il est écrit: « le jour de l'offrande d'Išhara de Kun-damu », in u₄ ^dI. *Kun-da-mu*, et dans ARET 3.334 III: « 2 tissus gada aux 2 Išhara de Kun-damu ». Ce Kun-damu ne peut correspondre qu'au quatrième roi de la liste ARET 7.150, le prédécesseur d'Igriš-Ḫalab et d'Irkab-damu; et comme dans 75.2455 col. II l'on trouve Ibrium, le vizir de ces deux souverains, à la rédaction de ce document Kun-damu devait être déjà mort. L'Išhara tutélaire de ce roi, et sous les deux formes d'ARET 3.334 (peut-être de MaNE et Zuramu), était devenue alors de toute évidence une hypostase en soi.

La déesse avait aussi une fonction purificatrice (qui ne lui était pourtant pas particulière), 75.10169+ r. II 21–27: « 4 moutons à Išhara pour la purification du roi (à l'occasion des célébrations) de sa purification », 4 udu ^dB. sikil en nídba in sikil-sikil-sù (de même en va-t-il pour Kura et Hadda dans [75] r. II 28–III 11). L'on trouve d'autres offrandes à Išhara pour la « purification du souverain » dans 75.2398 r. I 29–30; 2403 r. VIII 10–13 (^dB. sikil é en); 2635 r. IV 21–22; 10169 r. II 9–10; 10222 r. II 5–6, V 1–2. C'est pour cette raison que la reine fait des dons à Išhara, sous trois hypostases, à l'occasion des cérémonies funéraires consacrées à la princesse Tište-damu, 75.2276 r. VI 6–14: « 3 + 6 vête-

19 Sur le rituel, qui sera publié par P. Fronzaroli dans ARET 11, voir Id. 1988d.

ments, don de la reine qu’ItiNE a remis à la divinité de MaNE, à celle de Zura-mu et à celle de Uguasu (dingir *Má-NE^{ki}*) dingir *Zu-ra-mu^{ki}* dingir *U₉-gú-a-šu^{ki}* ». Ces trois localités sont si souvent associées à Išhara que l’identification des divinités ne fait aucun doute.²⁰

3 Ištar au troisième millénaire

Ištar, ou sous sa forme plus correcte Eštar, connue de tous les Sémites, est l’une des rares divinités qui puisse être considérée comme proto-sémitique.²¹ Sa présence est attestée en Mésopotamie dès l’époque présargonique par un certain nombre d’anthroponymes; en Syrie par des inscriptions dédicatoires et les tablettes présargoniques de Mari, par les archives d’Ébla, par les textes d’Ougarit aussi et enfin par les inscriptions des Sémites du Nord-Ouest et du Sud. Mais à Ébla, dont les textes permettent de nous documenter sur le panthéon sémitique le plus ancien que l’on connaisse, Ištar (^dAš-dar)²² n’est pas l’une des divinités les plus importantes. Le panthéon éblaïte, comme nous l’avons déjà dit, s’est constitué grâce à la fusion de dieux provenant des populations de langue sémitique qui s’étaient établies dans la Syrie occidentale avec ceux qui appartenaient aux populations autochtones et c’est probablement la présence d’Išhara qui a tenu dans l’ombre celle d’Ištar.

Dans les listes d’offrandes qui reflètent bien le culte de la cour, Ištar n’apparaît pas plus de 5 fois: 75.2397 r. IX 25; 10167 r. VI 5; Ištar de *Bir₅-ra-ru₁₂^{ki}*: 75.2517 r. XI 3–4; de *Zār-bad^{ki}*: 75.10103 r. II 22–23, v. VI 27–28. Et dans les autres documents 26 fois: beaucoup moins que les 140 attestations de la présence d’Išhara.

C’est sans aucun doute à Ébla que se trouvait le temple d’« Ištar du Palais (SA.ZA_x^{ki}) », 75.1417 v. III 9–10. Ištar avait aussi un temple dans la petite ville de ḪalaNEdu, 75.2328 r. XIII 6–11: du-du in *Ḫa-a-NE-du^{ki}* *áš-da* é ^dA.; et un autre en pleine campagne, ARET 7.154 v. II 8–11: « 300 mesures de terrain en face (gaba) du temple d’Ištar ». Son culte était sans doute rendu dans le temple de Kamiš également, 75.1417: « une ceinture, deux boucles d’oreille: don fait à

²⁰ Cf. ARET 8.534 XVI 18–23: níg-ba *ma-lik-tum* ^dBARA₇-iš^dBARA₇-iš *Zu-ra-mu^{ki}* *Má-NE^{ki}* *U₉-gú-šu^{ki}*.

²¹ Voir Bottéro 1958: 40–42; Roberts 1972: 37–40; Pope, 1965; Höfner 1965.

²² Le signe AŠ est en général horizontal (ARET 2.8 III 5; ARET 7.9 r. IX 6, v. I 9 and 154 v. II 11; 75.1823+: première version du rituel d’intrônisation), mais parfois oblique (75.1923+, deuxième version du même rituel).

Ištar (du temple) de Kamiš (^dA. lú ^dGa-mi-iš»). La déesse apparaît une fois (comme Išhara aussi) dans le rituel funéraire, 75.1823+ v. VI 4 = 1939+ v. V 14, (1823+) ARET 3.178 v. III 2 = 1939+ v. VI 28. Elle est liée à la remise d'offrandes au roi de Mari, ARET 7.9 § 17 et § 19: « 21 mines d'argent et 3 mines d'or remises par Igi (au) roi de Mari; expéditions (kaskal-kaskal) (pour) Ištar / Ištar de Zarzuad ». ²³

L'hypostase principale de la déesse a tout l'air d'être celle d'Ištar du Palais (SA.ZA_x^{ki}) (6 attestations), ²⁴ épithète qui est également attribuée à la déesse Soleil (9 fois) et à Hadabal (3 fois) (alors qu'Išhara reçoit l'épithète d'« Išhara du roi »). D'autres hypostases empruntent leur nom à de petits centres éblaïtes: Ištar de Bir₅-ra-ru₁₂/lu^{ki}: EN-sar^{ki}; Ī-ab^{ki}; Ĥa-la/a-NE-du^{ki}; Ti-in^{ki}; Za-ār-zu-ad^{ki}

Le nom Ištar, contrairement à celui d'Išhara, constitue l'un des éléments qui composent certains anthroponymes théophores. Et comme ce sont surtout les noms de divinités sémitiques qui apparaissent dans les noms de personnes théophores, l'on en déduit l'appartenance d'Išhara au substrat. ²⁵ Les noms qui apparaissent avec Ištar sont: ^dAš-dar-a-an (75.2453 r. VI 2); Ba-^dAš-dar (ARET 8; 75.1349 = [76] MEE 2.33 r. XI 17), Ib-du-^dAš-dar (ARET 1; 2; 3); I-na-^dAš-dar (ARET 8); I-ti-^dAš-dar (ARET 8); Kun-^dAš-dar (75.1705 v. XI 11); Puzur₄-(ra-)^dAš-dar (ARET 8); Šu-ma-^dAš-dar (ARET 8).

Peut-être le nom de la divinité a-t-il engendré le toponyme Aš-dar-rúm/lum^{ki} (ARET 1; 4), ou simplement Aš-dar^{ki} (ARET 10.100). ²⁶

L'une de ces hypostases, Ištar de Šarbat, est connue à Mari également, Mari présargonique (Inanna Zār-bad). ²⁷ et dans une liste de l'époque des šakkanakku ²⁸ La ville de Šarbat(um) (dont le nom vient de: šarbatu: « peuplier de l'Euphrate ») est mentionnée dans les textes du second millénaire de Mari et Tell al-Rimah (Ša-ar-ba-at^{ki}), aussi faut-il la chercher à l'Est du Ḥabur. ²⁹ On ne sait avec certitude si Ébla connaissait cette forme d'Ištar directement, de par ses rapports politico-économiques avec cette région ou par l'intermédiaire de Mari. ³⁰

²³ Le passage 75.12717 r. VIII 13–17 est obscur: (1 + 1 + 1 vêtements) Ik-rí-sa Bur-ma-an^{ki} GIŠ-dug-DU en ^dAš-dar-^dAš-d[ar] [...]

²⁴ Cf. Ištar / Bēlet ša ekallim à Mari paléo-babylonienne.

²⁵ Voir Archi 1993g: 12–14.

²⁶ Texte déjà publié par Pettinato 1974–77 (voir p. 7, VII 12).

²⁷ Voir Charpin 1987: 92.

²⁸ Dossin 1967; cf. Edzard 1967: 70.

²⁹ ARM 16, 1: 30–31; OBT Tell Rimah: 266; Groneberg 1980: 202.

³⁰ Zār-bad^{ki} est plutôt rare dans la documentation administrative éblaïte, cf. 75.1878 r. V 2–4: A-ga-nu A-da-wa-zú Zār-bad^{ki}. Dans la Liste des nomes géographiques, nn. 263–264 la graphie est Za-ra-ba-da^{ki}; à Abū Šalābikh: Zār-bad^{ki}, Za-ra-bād^{ki}, voir Pettinato, MEE 3: 238 et 241 (où le toponyme est identifié avec Sarepta!).

À Mari la situation est différente car Ištar y est considérée comme l'une des plus grandes divinités. Des cinq temples présargoniques qui ont pu être dégagés, deux sont consacrés à deux différentes formes de la déesse.³¹ Et dans les documents économiques de la même époque, *Aš-dar* est de loin la divinité le plus fréquemment mentionnée.³²

Ces données confirment la position privilégiée d'Ištar dans le panthéon des plus anciens peuples de langue sémitique.

L'on peut constater la présence d'une divinité de genre masculin, *ʿAttar* (qui correspond phonétiquement à *Ašdar*, dans la graphie d'Ébla et de Mari) dans les tablettes d'Ougarit, dans les inscriptions sudarabiques et en Moab (dans le double nom divin *Aštar-Kamoš*). La forme féminine, *ʿAttart*/*ʿAštart* est attestée à Ougarit, chez les Phéniciens et les Hébreux.³³ *ʿAttart* et *ʿAštart* représenteraient les deux aspects de la planète Vénus, étoile du soir, étoile du matin.³⁴ Cette dualité apparaît également dans la Mari présargonique: les inscriptions du temple situé dans la partie occidentale (!) de la ville montrent que les statues votives étaient consacrées à un Ištar masculin, ^dInnana-nita;³⁵ dans celles qui proviennent du temple situé dans le quartier du centre, on lit au contraire le nom de ^dInanna-ZA(.ZA), désignant certainement la divinité sous l'une de ses formes féminines.³⁶ Pendant longtemps, l'on a considéré que même à Mari (comme dans la région côtière syro-palestinienne), le nom de la divinité prenait la marque grammaticale du féminin lorsque celle-ci se présentait sous sa forme féminine: mais dans les inscriptions votives retrouvées dans le temple adossé à celui d'Inanna-ZA.ZA, il faut lire non pas (G)*išdarat* mais: *Ba-sur_x*(SĀRxMAŠ)-*ra-at*.³⁷

Les listes lexicales éblaïtes qui donnent l'équivalence: Inanna = *aš-dar*, prouvent que les Sémites de la Syrie occidentale n'avaient aucune difficulté à reconnaître dans *Ašdar* (sans épithète) la divinité féminine sumérienne Inanna. D'ailleurs les documents administratifs d'Ébla et de Mari montrent qu'il existait une *seule* Ištar (sous différentes hypostases selon les lieux de culte où on la vénérât). L'« Ištar virile » est une épiphanie de cette déesse qui régnait tant sur l'amour que sur la guerre, une déesse contradictoire « qui change le blanc en noir, et le noir en blanc », et « transforme l'homme en [77] femme et la femme

31 Parrot 1974: 66–73; Id., MAM I et III, *passim*.

32 Charpin 1987: 99.

33 Voir n. 21.

34 En sud-arabique, le sens astral d'*ʿAttar* est certain.

35 Thureau-Dangin 1934: 137–43.

36 Cf. Lambert 1985: 537.

37 Comme l'a démontré Krebernik 1984: 165.

en homme ». Inquiétante au point d'avoir elle-même un caractère androgyne,³⁸ elle dont le nom employé comme nom commun, *ištaru*, signifiait « déesse » tout court. Voilà bien un aspect qui, attesté à Mari à l'époque présargonique, s'est ensuite conservé au cours des siècles jusqu'à imprégner la Šawuška hourrite qu'on lui assimila. Il s'agit d'une déesse qui apparaît constamment dans les listes de divinités féminines mais qui, dans le sanctuaire rupestre de Yazılıkaya, est représentée sous ses deux formes aussi bien dans la procession des divinités féminines que dans celle des divinités masculines.³⁹

Or Ištar est déjà une divinité féminine aux quelques apparitions « masculines » au troisième millénaire. Du reste, même dans les milieux ougaritiques, où l'on trouvait aussi bien un *'Attar* qu'une *'Aṭtart*, la forme masculine apparaît seulement dans les narrations mythologiques alors qu'elle est évanescence dans le culte. Et si dans le culte éblaïte le rôle d'Ištar est secondaire, contrairement à ce que l'on peut constater à Mari et en Babylonie (où elle est amalgamée à Innana), c'est sans aucun doute parce qu'à Ébla la tradition du substrat avait imposé une autre grande déesse: Išhara.

4 Išhara au deuxième millénaire

Les bouleversements dont une grande partie du Proche-Orient fut le théâtre entre le troisième et le deuxième millénaire remirent en cause le système polythéiste d'Ébla. Et les nouveaux venus, les Amorrites imposèrent leur organisation du divin en plaçant Ištar au premier rang parmi les divinités féminines. Certaines divinités du substrat, exclues du nouveau panthéon, purent être prises en charge par d'autres groupes qui s'en approprièrent. C'est le cas d'Adamma, Aštapi(l) et Ammarig(u), qui furent incluses dans le panthéon des Hourrites de Syrie et du Kizzuwatna.⁴⁰

Dans la région syrienne, Išhara dut céder sa primauté à Ištar, devenue désormais la grande déesse de toute l'aire occidentale. Mais le culte d'Išhara se répandit en Mésopotamie en assumant des fonctions semblables à celles d'Ištar. Dans une incantation d'amour paléo-akkadien les deux déesses sont

³⁸ Sur Ištar androgyne, voir le bel essai de B. Groneberg 1986. W. Heimpel (1982: 13–15) considère, lui, que l'Ašdar sémitique était masculin et l'Inanna sumérienne féminine: « The change of sex from Ashtar to Ishtar was complete, but residues of the male deity survived in Babylonia. Halfway between Ebla and Babylonia, in Mari, both deities ... were venerated side by side ».

³⁹ Laroche 1948: 122; et en général sur Šawuška, Wegner 1981.

⁴⁰ Cf. Archi 1992c: 10–13.

invoquées simultanément.⁴¹ Dans le panthéon d'Imar, Išhara occupe une place de premier plan.⁴² À Ougarit – on l'a dit – elle est incluse dans les listes de dieux tant hourrites qu'ougaritiques. Dans les listes hourrites du Kizzuwatna, elle apparaît souvent aux côtés d'Ištar/Šawuška et d'Allani, la reine des Enfers.

Dans l'aire syro-anatolienne, Išhara est « la reine du serment ». C'est en cette qualité qu'elle figure, aux côtés du dieu Lune, « roi du jugement », dans les listes de dieux des traités politiques hittites et dans un verdict de Tuthaliya IV (RS 18.06+);⁴³ elle est mentionnée, ainsi que Teššub et la déesse Soleil, dans la formule de malédiction du traité entre Idrimi et Pilliya (AIT 3). Il s'agit là d'une fonction qui était étrangère à celle de l'Išhara de la documentation éblaïte.

Pourtant l'une des manifestations de la déesse reste quasiment inchangée. À Ébla, Išhara est une des divinités purificatrices à laquelle on fait des offrandes lors d'une cérémonie funèbre. Et dans un rite funéraire hittite, KUB XXX 28+, célébré par les prêtresses d'Išhara, *išharalli*, et dans lequel on promet une vie dans l'au-delà (v. 10–11: « < Où est allé (le défunt)? > < Sa mère l'a [appelé], a pris sa main et le guide > »), l'on invoque la déesse Ḫamrišhara,⁴⁴ « Išhara du temple »⁴⁵. L'Išhara qui était parvenue [78] jusqu'aux Hittites à travers le Kizzuwatna n'était pas seulement une divinité salvatrice. Elle proposait la mort aussi, et en particulier causait celle de ceux qui violaient les serments: « Si un homme tombé malade à cause d'Išhara, est frappé (de la maladie) d'Išhara (*išharišhari*) et meurt ... » (KUB XXX 26 I 1–2).⁴⁶ Qu'est-ce là sinon l'envers d'une même fonction?⁴⁷

41 MAD V 8, 1. 33; voir J. et A. Westenholz 1977: 201–209. À Alalah aussi, du moins dans un jeu de graphie, l'on accouple Išhara à Ištar/Šawuška: le nom *Eḫ-li-(d)Iš-ḫa-ra* devrait correspondre à *Eḫ-li-(d)IŠTAR(MÜŠ)* (dans 30 1. 13: *-(d)IŠTAR-ra*); comme *Um-mi-Iš-ḫa-ra* à *Um-mi-IŠTAR-ra*, ou le signe MÜŠ (comme BARA₇ à Ébla) peut avoir pour complément phonétique *-ra* pour signifier: Išhara; voir D. J. Wiseman, AIT: 9 n. 2 (qui exprime toutefois prudence); Laroche 1955: 11.

42 Pour Ekalte (Tall Munbāqa), cf. le nom de personne: *Abdi-dIšhara*, voir Mayer 1990: 53, 1. 12.

43 Nougayrol, PRU IV 17, 1. 9: « Sin, Išhara, maîtres du serment ».

44 Le rituel a été étudié par Otten 1958: 94–97.

45 C'est là un autre point de contact entre Ištar/Šawuška, comme me l'a suggéré Ilse Wegner. Le nom Ḫamrišhara devrait signifier au sens propre: « temple (hourrite *ḫamri*) (d')Išhara ».

Sur la déesse représentée à l'intérieur d'un temple, voir Porada 1948: 128, *ad n.* 960, et tab. CXLIV. Buchanan 1981: 412–413, *ad n.* 1186; 432–33, *ad n.* 1262.

46 KBo VI 34+ III 19–22: « Qu'Išhara [arrach]e de ses membres l'enfant de celui qui viole le serment, et qu'elle le dévore! », voir Oettinger 1976: 12–13, ll. 22–23.

47 Sur Išhara en Anatolie, voir Otten 1958: 98–101. Cf. Burde 1974: 12–16; Frantz-Szabó 1976–80: 177–78.

Pour le mont: ^{HUR.SAG}Išhara en Kizzuwatna, voit Laroche 1958: 267; Gonnet 1968: 125.

45 Divination at Ebla

It is possible that those who *išimū šimat* for Gernot Wilhelm to direct studies on the Boghazköi/Hattusa archives at the Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur – Mainz did not consult any omens. Theirs was, however, a happy decision. At Ebla of the 3rd millennium, instead, every single important decision required an omen, following a tradition that in Syria, as in Mesopotamia, would last for the next two thousand years.

It was Pelio Fronzaroli who noted that, in the letter TM.76.G.86 the term *igi-gar* has the technical meaning of “to inspect” a victim in order to observe the omens; sections [1] (5)–(6) *wa ĩr-am₆-ma-lik nı̄dba-ma nı̄dba wa igi-gar gú-šum ug₇ áš-dag igi-gar* “And PN has performed the sacrifice, and he observed the victim, he observed death by you (/ašda-ka/)”; sections (15)–(16): *wa igi-gar nı̄dba-nı̄dba wa du₁₁-ga ĩul ù-ma du₁₁-ga sa₆* “And he will observe the sacrifices. And he will say: (the omen) is unfavourable, or he will say: (the omen) is favourable” (Fronzaroli 1997b).

1 “to inspect” a “victim”

The Bilingual Lists give two glosses to *igi-gar*: *ba-la-um* /barāyumu/ from **bry*, cfr. Akkadian *barû* “to inspect, to observe”, *bārû* “diviner”; *ma-da-u₉*, cfr. Akk. *naṭālu* “to see” (Conti 1990: 86–87, with previous bibliography).¹ The meaning “victim” for *gú-šum* is confirmed by the gloss: *al₆-gír-šum = gu-šum*, *gu-wa-šum* /guwšumu/ “killing by means of cutting, slaughter/throat-cutting” (Fronzaroli 1997b: 14–15).

The omen requested by the minister Ibbi-zikir related to certain requirements for a military expedition, *nı̄g-kas₄*: sections (12)–(13). The technical term for observing omens, evidently by examining the liver or entrails of a sheep, is the same as that found in Mesopotamian tradition (and in second millennium

Pp. 45–56 in *Festschrift Gernot Wilhelm anlässlich seines 65. Geburtstages an 28. Januar 2010*, ed. Jeanette C. Fincke. Dresden: ISLET Verlag, 2010.

¹ The term *igi-gar* has not always this technical meaning, see MEE 12.35 obv. XXI 7–12: (gifts) *Ti-ša-li-im šè DU.DU igi-gar Da₅-du-da-mu* “(to) Tiša-lim, because she went to visit Dadu-damu”. There is no evidence that the act of inspecting, /mapqadum/, performed by the king and the queen in the temple of the god Kura could concern divination; the documentation is collected in Archi 1997b.

Syria). With regard to this tradition, [46] instead, it would appear anomalous to consider the victim inspected to be “offered; sacrificed”, *nídba*. The Sumerian-Akkadian term *nidba*, *nídba*, *nindabû* refers to “cereal offering, food offering, provisions”, CAD N, 2: 236.² At Ebla this term is used to denote “the act of presenting a good to the god” (Pettinato 1979a: 123), that is to say, an “(animal) offering (Pettinato 1979a: 123–124, ARET 11: 163); (bread) offering (ARET 9: 399); (oil) offering (ARET 1: 299)”.

2 “diviner (Opferschauer)”; “sheep”; “act of divination, omen”

In the letter [1] TM.76.G.86, Iram-malik, who posed the oracular question, is not qualified by any title. Other documents, however, specify that he is a *lú-máš(-máš)* (ARET 8: 63 “exorcist”) (§ 3, below).³ The Eblaite word for *lú-máš(-máš)* “diviner (Opferschauer)” is probably *bārû* as in Akkadian.⁴

Along with A. Falkenstein, we must presume that *máš* = *urīšu* “buck, he-goat” “verweist auf das Tier, aus dessen Eingeweiden die Orakeldeutung gewonnen wurde. Verwaltungsurkunden der III. Dynastie von Ur, die Auslieferungen an den *máš-šu-gíd-gíd* buchen, nennen allerdings unter den Zuteilungen nur Schafe und Lämmer” (Falkenstein 1966b: 46). We can see the same situation in Ebla. The term *udu* can stand for sheep or goats of either sex and of any age. The lists of deliveries of *udu* to the central administration often record animals for divination through extispicy, [2] TM.75.G.1764 rev. I 5–17: 6 *udu šu-du₈ máš Ír-am₆-ma-lik šu-du₈ / 7 udu šu-du₈ máš Ar-ḥa-du^{ki} šu-du₈ / 5 udu šu-du₈ máš en Ĝar-mu^{ki} šu-du₈ “6 sheep (for) taking omens: Iram-malik has taken possession. 7 sheep (for) taking omens: (someone of) GN has taken possession. 5 sheep (for) taking omens: the king of GN has taken possession” (transliteration of the text by Pettinato 1979a: 137; see also § 7, below). In only one case it is specified that the animals used for extispicy were lambs, [3] TM.75.G.10148 obv. II 10–12: [x] *gín D(ILMUN) kù-babbar níg-sa₁₀ sila₄ lú šu-du₈ máš* “[x] shekels silver: price of lamb(s) which are (for) taking an omen”.*

2 Behrens and Steible 1983: 257: “Speiseopfer”; Kienast 1994: 259: “(Opfer)gabe, Abgabe”; Selz 1995a: 151 n. 635: “der Ausdruck *nidba-kéš* (‘Fischbündel’) ist in unseren Quellen auf Fischopfer beschränkt”.

3 For *maš--pà* “durch Eingeweideschau bestimmen” in Urnanše 24 III 6, see Steible 1982: 7–8.

4 For a first study on the *lú-máš(-máš)*, see Catagnoti and Bonechi 1998: 33–35. Fronzaroli (ARET 13: 15) suggests that at Mari a priestess (*ama dingir-dingir-dingir*) performed incubation.

If *lú-máš* was *bārû*, *máš* was probably *bīru* “an act of divination (Opferschau)”. In several passages *máš* is written in the line following *šu-du₈*, which points to the meaning: “to take an omen”.⁵ Sometimes *máš* is reduplicated (e. g. in no. [10], below).

Three significant cases in which it is held necessary to use divination have already been quoted by Biga (1999). Of particular interest we have the omen requested of the God of the father for the king’s mother on the marriage of king Išar-damu with Dabur-damu. [4] TM.75.G.2417 rev. VII 6–18: (garments) *Ti-ti-nu maškim* [47] *Ib-rí-um níg-“mul” ama-gal en máš sa₆ lú dingir a-mu Da-bur-da-mu ma-lik-tum Ib-la^{ki}* “(for) Titinu, the representative of (the minister) Ibrium, (who) brought the news (to) the king’s mother that the omen (was) favourable: that of the God of the father (concerning) Dabur-damu, (who can become) queen of Ebla”. [5] TM.75.G.2503 obv. V 9–19: (garments) *I-ti-^d’Ā-da maškim I-šar níg-“mul” máš Dar-ib-da-mu sa₆ in ud tar₆-bí(BAN-NE) bur-kak-sù* “(for) Iti-Hadda, the representative of Išar, (who) brought the news that the omen (for) Darib-damu was favourable on the occasion of the elevation (in relation with) her bur-kak vase.⁶ [6] TM.75.G.10078 rev. III 1–9: (garment) *EN-da-za Gi-*

⁵ In the passages quoted in this study, this is marked by the sign/before *máš*.

⁶ The Annual Account of Delivery of Metals of the 17th year of the minister Ibrium dates this event, TM.75.G.10210 rev. III 14–24: 1 *kù-sal níg-ba Dar-ib-da-mu dumu-munus en ^dBAD-munus si-in Lu-ba-an^{ki} in ud tar₆-bí bur-kak-sù ^dĀ-da-“bal”* “1 buckle: gift (to) Tarib-damu, the daughter of the king, (for) the Lady (i.e. the spouse of the god Hadabal) to GN (the god’s sanctuary), on the occasion of the elevation of her vase b. (to) the god Hadabal”. *bur-kak* (var. *bur-NI*) is a small vase, often decorated with gold or silver, see ARET 7: 207–208; MEE 12: 404–406. It is often related to *níg-mu-sá*, see ARET 1: 300; ARET 7: 230 (two passages with: *níg-mu-sá* 1 *bur-kak* FPN). In Ebla, *níg-mu-sá* means “marriage ceremony”, see the passages listed in ARET 11: 164. For passages like: *níg-dé ì-giš al₆ sag FNP in ud níg-mu-sá* “to pour oil on the head of FPN on the occasion of (her) marriage”, see Archi 1980b: 20–21. The *bur-kak* had to be the container of the oil for the anointing the bride; cfr. ARET 4.23 § 29: 38 (*gín*) *kù-gi* 1 *bur-kak ì-giš lú I-bí-zi-kir ì-na-sum níg-ba lugal Ma-rí^{ki}* “38 (shekels) gold (for) 1 b. of oil, which Ibbi-zikir gave as a gift (to) the king of GN”.

tar₆-bí is /*tarbiy-um*/ means, according to Fronzaroli as “elevation in rang”, cfr. the stem 0/2 of *rabû* (Fronzaroli 2008). Tarib-damu was priestess, *dam dingir*, of the god Hadabal of Luban already from the 12th year of the minister Ibrium, TM.75.G.1464, in second position after her sister Tinib-dulum, and after Amaga from the 6th year of Ibbi-zikir (Archi 1998c*: 48–49 [705–706]). The event of the /*tarbiy-um*/ of her *bur-kak* vase (although important because mentioned only in these two passages) seems not to refer, therefore, neither to her consecration as a priestess, nor to the annual gift of a *bur-kak* to Hadabal, which fell on the XI month MAXGÂN*Atenû*-sag (the /*tarbiy-um*/ of Tarib-damu, TM.75.G.2503, is dated to the IV month *gi-NI*). Here is a list of this annual gift to Hadabal:

minister Arrukum: ARET 15.12 § 11.

minister Ibrium: ARET 1.11 § 15 (*Puzur₄-ra-BAD*); ARET 3.136 III 3–5 (*En-na-ì*); 335 VI 8–10 (*Puzur₄-ra₄-BAD*); ARET 12.389 III 1–4; 465 I 7–9 (*Puzur₄-ra₄-BAD*); TM.75.G.1524 obv. V 4–8 (*I-rí-*

ti-ne^{ki} níg-“mul” máš *Ib-rí-um* è *al*₆ *A-da-ra-du*^{ki} “(for) EN-daza of GN, (who) brought the news of the omen (that) Ibrium should move concerning GN”. To these can be added a further two passages: [7] ARET 15.30 § 39 (minister Ar-rukum): (garment) *šu-du*₈ / máš *Dag*-“mul”-*da-mu* “(for the diviner who) took the omen (concerning the princess) Dagmul-damu”; [8] TM.75.G.10013 rev. II 5–11: níg-mu-sá bur-kak¹(MU) *Ti-iš-te-da-mu* dumu-munus en DU₈:TÚG *šu-du*₈ máš “(for) the marriage (through the anointment with the oil) of the b.-vase of Tište-damu, the daughter of the king, (for whom) TÚG-DU₈ took an omen”. [48]

3 The diviner (Opferschauer)

The cases in which an individual is qualified as a *lú-máš* are very rare. [9] TM.75.G.1894 rev. VI 16–17 (I.Z.): *A-ba-da-mu* *lú-máš*. [10] ARET 8.525 § 27 (last years of the minister Ibbi-zikir: I.Z.): *Du-bí* *lú-máš-máš* níg-“mul” GN₁ GN₂ til “Dubi, the diviner, who brought the news that GN₁ (and) GN₂ were destroyed”. [11] TM.75.G.10019 rev. II 5–7 (I.Z.): 2 dumu-nita *Puzur*₄-*ra*-BAD *lú-máš* “two sons of Puzurra-BAD, the diviner”.

Iram-malik, who performed the oracular questions in [1] and [2], appears in some other documents, all of the time of minister Ibbi-zikir. [12] TM.75.G.2088 rev. I 1–3: (20 shekels gold) *Îr-am*₆-*ma-lik* *lú-máš*. [13] TM.75.G.10056 obv. II 7–9: (30 shekels gold) *Îr-am*₆-*ma-lik* *lú-máš*. The Annual Account of Delivery of Metals (AAM) of the 13th year of minister Ibbi-zikir and the monthly lists of deliveries of sheep (§ 7, below) confirm that he was active in the years immediately preceding the destruction of Ebla,⁷ [14] TM.75.G.10202 rev. XII 16–19: 40 gín D. kù-gi 1 dib *Îr-am*₆-*ma-lik* *šu-du*₈ / máš “40 shekels gold (for) 1 plate (for) Iram-malik who took an omen”. The meaning of the passage that follows is not certain (*î-giš-sag* is the ceremony performed in the case of the death of a relative), [15] TM.75.G.10127 obv. VI 5–9: (garments) *î-giš-sag* *Îr-am*₆-*ma-lik* *šu-du*₈ / máš-máš “(for) the purification of Iram-malik, (who) took

ig-î); TM.75.G.1706 obv. VI 14–VII 4 (*I-rî-ig-î*); TM.75.G.1795 obv. IX 5–9 and rev. II 2’–6’ (*I-rî-LUM*); TM.75.G.2233 obv. XII 20–rev. I 1 (*I-rî-LUM*); TM.75.G.2476 obv. III 9’–11’ (*I-rî-ig-î*); TM.75.G.10151 obv. IV’ 13–V’ 2 (*I-rî-LUM*).

minister Ibbi-zikir: ARET 4.14 § 16; ARET 8.532 VII 14–17 (read: 1 bur-kak instead of 1 nar!); 540 § 18; MEE 7.50 obv. VII 11–14 (*I-rî-ig-î*); TM.75.G.2474 obv. V 3–6.

⁷ The letter [1] TM.76.G.86 has been found in the vestibule (L. 2875) of the central archive, where some of the most recent documents were kept; the addressee, Ruzi-malik, could be a son of the minister Ibbi-zikir (Fronzaroli 1997b: 1–2).

omens”. [16] MEE 7.48 obv. V 10–13: (garments) *Īr-am₆-ma-lik* šu-du₈ / máš. [17] ARET 12.747 IV 1–5: (garments) *Īr-am₆-ma-lik* šu-du₈ máš in *Dur-NE-du^{ki}* “(for) Iram-malik (who) took an omen in GN”.

Amur-damu is another well-known diviner from the time of the minister Ibbi-zikir (active until the 13th year of the minister, together with Iram-malik). [18] ARET 1.4 § 66': (garments) *maškim A-mur-da-mu* šu-du₈ máš. [19] ARET 1.15 § 2: (garments) *A-mur-da-mu* šu-du₈ máš. [20] TM.75.G.10074 obv. VIII 6'–IX 3 (I.Z. 6th year): 12 gín kù-gi *A-mur-da-mu* šu-du₈ / 1 máš “12 shekels gold (for) A., (who) took 1 omen”; rev. XII 17–27: 15 shekels gold for (the decoration of) a belt ... 2 reins (níg-anše-ak) *A-mur-da-mu* šu-du₈ / máš. [21] TM.75.G.2426 obv. IV 12–17 (I.Z. 13th): 3;06 minas gold for 2 reins and their decorations *A-mur-da-mu* šu-du₈ / máš concerning the expeditions against Mari (níg-kas₄ *Ma-rí^{ki}*: IV 7–9; Archi and Biga 2003: 21). [22] TM.75.G.2330 rev. VI 7–15 (I.Z.): 10 íbXIII-TÚG sa₆ gùn dumu-nita-dumu-nita sikil lú *áš-da A-mur-da-mu* máš šu-du₈ níg-kas₄ *Za-bur-rúm^{ki}* “10 kilts (to) the pure young men who assisted Amur-damu, (who) took an omen (for) the expedition (against) GN”. [49]

4 gír šu-du₈ máš “dagger for taking omens (extispicy)”

Extispicy requested particular daggers. These were made of bronze and sometimes decorated with silver. [23] TM.75.G.2507 obv. VII 13–20: 12 gín D. ½ an-na šub *si-in* 1 ma-na tar 7 ½ a-gar₅-gar₅ 10 [gír-gír] l[ú] šu-d[u₈] / máš sú-ša gín D. kù-babbar *zi-du-sù* “12 ½ shekels tin to be melted in 1;37 ½ mina refined copper (for) 10 [daggers] (for) taking omens; 20 shekels silver for their hilts”. [24] TM.75.G.2464 rev. XVI 16–18: 4 (gín) an-na kin_x-ak 4 gír šu-du₈ máš “4 (shekels) tin for making 4 daggers (for) taking omens”. [25] TM.75.G.2464 obv. XV 21–22: 8 gín kù-babbar nu₁₁-za 4 gír šu-du₈ máš “8 shekels silver (for decorating with) a sheet 4 daggers for taking omens”. [26] TM.75.G.10077 obv. VIII 1–3: 8 gín D. babbar:kù *zi-tum* 4 gír-gír šu-du₈ máš “8 shekels silver for the hilts⁸ of 4 dag-gers for taking omens”. [27] TM.75.G.10077 rev. III 7–12: 4 g[ín] D.

⁸ The form *zi-tum* is attested also, e.g., in TM.75.G.2464 obv. V 21–VI 2: 1 ma-na kù-babbar *zi-tum* 20 gír mar-tu *ba-du-u₉* kù-babbar kù-gi, and TM.75.G.10144 obv. I 16–19: 7 gín D. *zi-tum* 1 gír mar-tu en. The usual writing is *zi-du*, see ARET 7.43 §§ 1–2: 19 ½ (gín) kù-gi *zi-du* (correct the edition!) 2 gír mar-tu; 62 § 7: 22 (gín) kù-gi *zi-du* gír mar gír mar. Quoting a passage where *zi-du* seems to interchange with nu₁₁-za, P. Fronzaroli translates “ornament” (Fronzaroli 1996b: 64). nu₁₁-za, however, is related to several kinds of objects; its meaning is “shiny covering”, i.e. a gold or silver sheet for covering an object (Archi 1988g*: 54). *zi-du*, on the contrary, is found only in relation to gír “dagger”, see ARET 8.537 § 8; ARET 12.1120 rev. III 1–3; MEE 7:

babbar: kù] *nì-zi-mu* nu₁₁-za 2 gír šu-du₈ máš lú *Ib-rí-um* “4 she[kels silver] (for) laminating (with) a sheet 2 daggers for taking omens of (the minister) Ibrium”. [28] MEE 12.36 § 15: 10 gín D. kù-babbar níg-sa₁₀ 1 gír mar-tu ti kù-gi *Du-bí* šu-du₈ máš [50] “10 shekels silver value of 1 dagger m. ti (decorated with) gold (for) Dubi (see [10]) (for) taking omens”. [29] TM.75.G.2410 obv. XI 4–8: 14 gín D. kin_x-ak 7 gír šu-du₈ / máš-máš “14 shekels silver for making 7 daggers (for) taking omens”.

5 The “month, moon(?)” of the diviner for the temple of Hadda at Ebla

In the Annual Account of Delivery of Metals of the 16th year of the minister Ibrium, “3 shekels gold (are employed to) replace 1 ‘month’ of the temple of

386; MEE 12.35 § 28, or KA.SI (see below). The only passage where *zi-du* is not related to these objects is MEE 2.36 obv. II 5–6: 33 ma-na tar kù-babbar *zi-du* “33;30 minas silver (for) *zi-du*”.

zi-du is never preceded by a numeral. The most frequent sequence is the following: tin and copper for making x dagger(s) – gold for its *zi-du*, see e.g. TM.75.G.2622 rev. 22–XXIII 1: 2 (gín) 4 NI an-na šub *si-in* 18 (gín) a-gar₅-gar₅ 1 gír mar-tu 4 gín D. kù-gi *zi-du-sù* “2 shekels 4 NI tin to be melted in 18 shekels of copper (for) 1 dagger m.; 4 shekels gold (for) its z.” A description as “a dagger (decorated with) gold”, gír kù-gi, can simply mean that its *zi-du* was decorated with gold, TM.75.G.1860 rev. XXI 15–24: 50 gín D. an-na šub *si-in* 6;20 ma-na a-gar₅-gar₅ kin_x-ak 20 gír mar-tu ti kù-gi *’à-lum* ... 1;20 ma-na kù-gi *zi-du-sù*. The meaning “hilt, grip” for *zi-du* seems evident (1 dagger and its hilt). Hilts of daggers were in wood or other materials, decorated with metals. The hilt of the gold dagger of the Cemetery of Ur is in lapis lazuli decorated with gold nails. A dagger from Byblos presents a silver blade laminated with gold crossed by four lines in niello; its wood hilt is decorated with silver and covered with gold (Montet 1928: 180, no. 655 with plate CII).

The meaning “handle, grip” could fit also the few passages where *zi-du* is related to KA.SI. See TM.75.G.2023 obv. I 1–II 5: 1;40 ma-na kù-gi *zi-du* 4 KA.SI 1;20 ma-na kù-gi 4 kù-sal 20 (gín) 40 (gín) kù-gi 2 níg-anše-ak 12 kù-gi 4 *zi-kir-ra-tum* “783 g of gold (for) the grips of the 4 straps; 624 g of gold (for) 4 bosses of 156 g (each); 313 g of gold (for) 2 bridles; 94 g of gold (for) 4 z.”.

The basic harness for a pair of mules were: *a*) the reins: 1 band made by wool: 1 eškir_i(KA.ŠÈ); *b*) 2 bridles: 2 níg-anše-ak, put on the mule’s head, made by wool, sometimes decorated with gold; *c*) 4 bosses: 4 kù-sal, sometimes made by gold, one to each side of the mules’ mouth (Conti 1997: 44–51, with previous literature). In few passages (as in TM.75.G.2023, quoted above), besides the 4 kù-sal, there are 4 KA.SI and 4 *zi-kir-ra-tum*. Each KA.SI can weigh even about 240 g (TM.75.G.1481 obv. I 1–3: 2 ma-na kù-gi *zi-du* 4 KA.SI) and more; they can be decorated with eagles (Conti 1997: 50; add, e.g., TM.75.G.10074 rev. XV 2–3: 4 kù-sal te₈-MUŠ-EN). It seems therefore probably that they were decorations applied to straps hanging from both side of the neck of the animal, kept together by a kind of grip.

Hadda of the diviner”, [30] TM.75.G.2465 obv. III 29–IV 7: 3 gín kù-gi lul-gu-ak 1 iti lú é ^d’Ā-da lú-máš. Thirteen years later, according to the AAM of the 11th year of the minister Ibbi-zikir, this object had to be replaced once more because it was lost (zāḥ); the passage states that it concerns the temple of Hadda at the Palace, not that at Ḫalab, [31] TM.75.G.2507 obv. II 36–III 6: 3 gín D. kù-gi lul-gu-ak 1 iti zāḥ lú-máš é ^d’Ā-da lú SA.ZA_x^{ki} “3 shekels gold to replace 1 ‘month’ (which was) lost, of the diviner, of the temple of Hadda of the Palace”.

A “month” could be represented by a moon. It was, however, a crescent moon, ud-sakar, which was usually devoted to a temple. It is not clear precisely how a “Opferschauer” might have used it.

These are the only two passages which mention the temple of Hadda in connection with the diviner. The documents from Amorite Mari confirm the fame of the oracles of Hadda (Durand 1993: 43–45). Monthly documents show that some oracular observations were performed in the temple of Kura, the city-god of Ebla (see § 7 Text 3, below).

6 šu-du₈ máš “to take an omen (extispicy)”

The Sumerian term lú-máš, “the man of the omen” is rare (note lú-máš-máš in [10]); far more frequent, instead, is the expression: šu-du₈ máš “to take an omen” (máš is often written on a separate line; notice šu-du₈ 1 máš in [20] “to take 1 omen”; šu-du₈ máš-máš “to take omens” in [15]). Some passages ([7], [8]) demonstrate beyond the shadow of a doubt that this is the meaning of šu-du₈ máš. In [15]–[17] it is Iram-malik who acts, the person responsible for the oracular question in [1]; in other passages he is qualified as lú-máš. In [28] the expression šu-du₈ máš also refers to Dubi, another lú-máš (no. [10]). Passage [22] shows that “pure young men” helped the diviner in taking an omen.

Since šu-du₈ means “to hold in the hand, to possess”, and šu-du₈-a (Akk. *qātātu*) “guarantee, security, pledge”, the interpreters of the Ebla texts have taken šu-du₈ máš to indicate “tax, Pflichtablieferung; (MEE 12: 111 ad § 18); deliver (what is due) (ARET 13: 299)”.⁹

The fact that, in the administrative documents, šu-du₈ máš refers to a limited number of people (see in particular the case of Amur-damu, [18]–[22]), obliges us to interpret this expression as “to take an omen”.¹⁰ This meaning is con-

⁹ Notice that according to P. Steinkeller, the meaning “interest” for máš is not recorded before Ur III (Steinkeller 1981a: 140).

¹⁰ In the following list, the sections concerning the ministers Ibrium and Ibbi-zikir are not complete.

firmed by the fact [51] that extispicy required a particular kind of knife, *gír šu-du₈ máš*. The diviners generally received a garments or set of garments for having obtained an oracular response. In a few specific cases (during the last years of Ebla, when more valuable goods were in circulation) they received also objects decorated with gold (passages [14], [20], [21]).

a) minister Arrukum (all the diviners receive only garments)

- *A-bí-NAM lú I-ti^dAš-dar šu-du₈ / máš*: ARET 15.24 § 22.
- *A-ti-Aš-dar šu-du₈ máš A-bar-sal^{ki}*: ARET 15.24 § 25 and 58 § 9; *A-ti-Aš-dar šu-du₈ máš(-máš)*: ARET 15.32 § 78 and 34 § 67.
- *En-na^dRa-sa-ap šu-du₈ / máš Hu-ḥur-du^{ki}*: ARET 15.22 § 39; *En-na^dRa-sa-ap šu-du₈ / máš*: ARET 15.38 § 71; *šu-du₈ / máš En-na^dRa-sa-ap*: ARET 15.49 § 101.
- *Gār-sa-ma-lik šu-du₈ máš*: ARET 15.35 § 44.
- *Gú-nu-ga-Aš-dar šu-du₈ / máš*: ARET 15.21 § 29. *Iš_x(LAM)-a-da-mu šu-du₈ / máš Ib-al^{ki}*.
- *Kùn-na-Aš-dar šu-du₈ / máš*: ARET 15.21 § 46.
- *Mi-mi šu-du₈ / máš*: ARET 15.42 § 45.
- *Za-mi-ga-ḥu šu-du₈ / máš*: ARET 15.55 § 65.

See, further: ARET 15.16 § 30: *dumu-nita Íl-gú-uš-da-mu šu-du₈ / máš-máš*; ARET 15.19 § 2: *šu-du₈ / máš Bur-ma-an^{ki}*; ARET 15.57 § 36: *šu-du₈ / máš-máš Da-ša-ba-ù^{ki}*.

b) minister Ibrium

- [32] TM.75.G.1324 obv. IX 18–21: (garments) *A-NAM-uš-gú A-ba-ti-um^{ki} šu-du₈ máš*.
- [33] TM.75.G.1324 rev. X 3–6 (Ibrium 1st year): *Ír-am₆-ma-lik šu-du₈ / máš*.
- [34] TM.75.G.1335 obv. X 2–4: (garments) *šu-du₈ máš Ar-ḥa-du^{ki}*.
- [35] TM.75.G.1834 rev. III 1'–7': *níg-“mul” Ib-rí-um Ne-zi-ma-lik máš / šu-du₈ in Zi-da-gú^{ki} “(who) brought the news (to) Ibrium (that) Nezi-malik has taken an omen in GN”*.
- [36] TM.75.G.1881 rev. VII 8–VIII 9: (6 + 6 garments) *Íl-ba-ma-lik lú Ír-am₆-ma-lik Gi-ra-ma-lik lú I-bí-šum A-bù^dKu-ra lú I-bí-zi-[x] Ru₁₂-zi-ma-lik lú Dam-da-il [x]^rx^r-zu lú Bîl-ma-lik Kùn-i-šar lú Du-bù-uš-da-mu šu-du₈ máš si-in níg-kas₄ Kak-mi-um^{ki} “PN₁ of PN₂-PN₁₁ of PN₁₂ have taken an omen for the expedition (against) GN”*.

c) minister Ibbi-zikir

- [37] ARET 1.5 § 70: (garments) 2 *dumu-nita Puzur₄-ra-BAD 2 na-se₁₁ 'Ā-za-an^{ki} šu-du₈ máš* “2 sons of Puzurra-BAD (and) 2 people of GN (who) took an omen”.

- [38] ARET 3 rev. II 1–3: *A-tar₆]-ma-lik Du-bí-šum* šu-du₈ / máš.
- [39] ARET 4.18 § 63: (garments) *Dab₆-bí Du-bí* šu-du₈ máš.
- [40] ARET 4.19 § 15: (garments) *Ru₁₂-zi A-du-úr^{ki}* šu-du₈ máš. [52]
- [41] ARET 4.20 § 22: (garments) 2 *Ar-ḥa-du^{ki}* šu-du₈ / máš.
- [42] ARET 4.22 § 20: (garments) *Da-NE* šu-du₈ máš.
- [43] ARET 8.521 § 18: (garments) *A-bù-ma-lik Du-lu^{ki}* šu-du₈ / máš (wool) 1 dam-sù.
- [44] ARET 8.523 § 15: (2 + 2 + 2 garments) *Ar-si-a-ḥu Gàr-ga-mi-iš^{ki}* maškim *Ru₁₂-zi-ma-lik A-si-ma-lik Du-lu^{ki}* šu-du₈ / máš “Arsi-aḥu of GN, representative of Ruzi-malik, (and) Asi-malik of GN (who) have taken an omen”.
- [45] ARET 8.523 § 19: (2 + 2 garments) 2 *dumu-nita Bù-ʿxʿ* šu-du₈ máš.
- [46] ARET 12.93 obv. I 5–8: (1 + 1 garment) (unwritten) *Ar-ḥ-a-du^{ki}* šu-du₈ máš.
- [47] ARET 12.172 II 2–4: *Nu-wa-NE* šu-du₈ máš *Ar-ḥ-a-du^{ki}*.
- [48] ARET 12.184 rev. I 1–2:] *Ar-ḥ-a-du^{ki}* šu-du₈ máš.
- [49] ARET 12.239 III 1–4:] šu-du₈ máš *si-in níg-kas₄ Ma-nu-wa-ad^{ki}* “] who took an omen for the expedition (against) GN”.
- [50] ARET 12.719 II 1–4: *Puzur₄-ra-BAD* šu-du₈ máš maškim *Za-ba-rúm*.
- [51] ARET 12.977 obv. IV 6–8: (garments) *Bù-sum* šu-du₈ máš.
- [52] MEE 7.50 obv. XII 4–6 and TM.75.G.1643 obv. IX 13–X 3: (2 + 2 + 2 garments) *Ar-ḥa-du^{ki}* šu-du₈ máš.
- [53] TM.75.G.2270 rev. I 3–13: (4 garments) 1 *I-li-NE-lum^{ki}* 1 *Zu-ša-ga-bù^{ki}* 1 *Dara-sa-gá^{ki}* 1 *Sa-da-ba-sá-ù^{ki}* šu-du₈ máš “(for) 1 of GN₁, 1 of GN₂, 1 of GN₃, 1 of GN₄ (who) took an omen”.
- [54] MEE 12.36 § 15: 10 gín D. kù-babbar níg-sa₁₀ 1 gír mar-tu ti kù-gi *Du-bí* šu-du₈ máš “10 shekels silver value of 1 dagger m. (decorated with) gold (for) Dubi (who) took an omen”.
- [55] TM.75.G.2285 obv. IV 9–11: (garment) *Da-bí* šu-du₈ máš; VII 5–7: 2 *Ar-ḥa-du^{ki}* šu-du₈ máš.
- [56] TM.75.G.2509 obv. III 10–IV 2: (3 garments) *Du-bí-šum A-tar₅-ma-lik I-ti-^dGa-mi-iš* maškim-maškim *I-bí-zi-kir* šu-du₈ máš “(for) Dubi-šum, Atar-malik, Iti-Gamiš, representatives of Ibbi-zikir, (who) took an omen”.
- [57] TM.75.2653 obv. XII 1ʹ–12ʹ (I.Z. 7th or 12th year:)] *Îl-ba-ma-lik I-ti-NE ʾĀ-da-ša* lú *Gú-ra-da-mu* šu-du₈ / máš šē ì-ti *mì-nu níg-kas₄ Dur-du^{ki}* lú *Da-ù^{ki}* “(garments)] Ilba-malik, Iti-NE, ʾAdaša of Gura-damu, (who) took an omen concerning the return from the expedition (against) GN₁ of GN₂”.
- [58] TM.75.G.10129 rev. VI 22–VII: (8 garments) *Îl-ma-lik Gú-ba I-nu-ud-Ḥa-lab_x I-da-NE A-bù-^dʾĀ-da Ma-a-bar-zú ʾĀ-da-ša Uš-ra-gal-lu* šu-du₈ máš.
- [59] TM.75.G.10229 obv. IX 15–17: (garment) *Kùn-LUM Ar-ḥa-du^{ki}* šu-du₈ máš “(for) Kun-LUM of GN (who) took an omen”.

ARET 13.18 § 5 concerns an omen taken for a battle: šu-du₈ máš-gú-nu mè. Some other passages in the chancery documents present problematic cases. A passage in the *Treaty of Abarsal* needs the meaning “to change, replace” (Edzard 1992: 207, 214), ARET 13.5 § 55: *an-da* nag i-giš ħul máš šu-du₈ dūg “you will replace bad [53] drink and oil with good ones”. In this document the writing is always: máš / šu-du₈ (6x), as well as in ARET 13.7 § lx, (the same as in [22] and [35], above). In these passages, the meaning “to take an omen” is not clearly requested.

The following passage is also obscure, [60] TM.76.G.92: cattle, asses, mules, 220 še-ú (“220 measures gú-bar of a feedstuff made by barley and hay”?) PN “has ordered” (du₁₁-ga); 60 še-ú šu-du₈ máš “60 (measures) of a feedstuff made by barley and hay (for feeding animals for) taking omens”.

7 Sheep for extispicy and diviners of the last period

MEE 12.9 registers the sheep (udu) delivered over a period of 10 months, in a year that we cannot determine but shortly before the fall of Ebla. The sheep used for extispicy represent 8.43 % of the animals delivered to the palace (Milano 1984a: 222).¹¹

é dingir-dingir-dingir	for the temples of the gods (at Ebla)	2,717
kú en	for consumption at the court	1,382
kú guruš	for consumption by the workers	3,062
ka ₄	as provision for travels	935
šu-du ₈ máš	for taking omens	795
al ₆ -du ₁₁ -ga	requested	512
		9,423

The monthly documents concerning the deliveries of sheep give more details (the complete data will be given by the edition of the 22 documents of this genre; here below, are considered three of those published in Pettinato 1979a).

¹¹ Consider, for comparison, that at Mari of the 2nd millennium, more than 4,143 sheep were consigned over the space of nine months for extispicy, *nēpeštum* (Durand 1988a: 37).

a) Text 1 (TM.75.G.1764)

1st section (sheep for the temples, é-é dingir-dingir: rev. I 18–19)

- 6 udu šu-du₈ máš *Îr-am₆-ma-lik* šu-du₈
- 7 udu šu-du₈ máš *Ar-ḥa-du^{ki}* šu-du₈
- 5 udu šu-du₈ máš en *Gâr-mu^{ki}* šu-du₈ (rev. I 5–17)

2nd section (sheep for consumption at the Palace, SA.ZA_x^{ki}: rev. IV 26–28)

- 1 udu máš šu-du₈ *I-bu₁₆-bu^{ki}* *I-bu₁₆-bu^{ki}*
- 2 udu šu-du₈ máš *Sar-mi-sa-du^{ki}* (rev. IV 23–25)

b) Text 2 (TM.75.G.2075)

2nd section (sheep for consumption at the Palace, SA.ZA_x^{ki}: obv. XII 1–3)

- 19 udu šu-du₈ máš en *Gâr-mu^{ki}* šu-du₈
- 15 udu šu-du₈ máš *Sar-mi-sa-du^{ki}* šu-du₈
- 11 udu šu-du₈ máš *Ar-ḥa-du^{ki}* šu-du₈
- 2 udu šu-du₈ máš *Îr-am₆-ma-lik* šu-du₈ (obv. X 10–26) [54]

3rd section (sheep for travels, kaskal-kaskal: rev. VIII 1–2)

- 6 udu šu-du₈ máš *I-bí-zi-kir* šu-du₈
- 14 udu šu-du₈ máš *Îl-ba-ma-lik* šu-du₈
- 4 udu šu-du₈ máš *Sar-me-sa-du^{ki}* šu-du₈ (rev. II 16–III 2)
- 2 udu šu-du₈ máš *I-bí-zi-kir* šu-du₈
- 8 udu šu-du₈ máš *Îl-ba-ma-lik* šu-du₈
- 3 udu šu-du₈ máš *Îr-am₆-ma-lik* šu-du₈ (rev. IV 9–21)
- 2 udu šu-du₈ máš *Îr-am₆-ma-lik* šu-du₈ in *NI-ab^{ki}*
- 2 udu šu-du₈ máš *Sar-me-sa-du^{ki}* šu-du₈ in SA.ZA_x^{ki} (rev. V 21–26)

c) Text 3 (TM.75.G.2238)

1st section (sheep for the temples, é-é dingir-dingir: rev. IV 1–2)

- 7 udu šu-du₈ máš DU₈:TÚG šu-du₈ é ^d*Ku-ra*
- 2 udu šu-du₈ máš *Îl-ba-ma-lik* é ^d*Ku-ra*
- 2 udu šu-du₈ máš *Du-bí* šu-du₈ *Ar-ḥa-du^{ki}*
- 2 udu šu-du₈ máš DU₈:TÚG in *Ḥáb-rí-ba-du^{ki}*
- 2 udu šu-du₈ *Îl-ba-ma-lik* in ^d*Lu-bù-ḥé^{2ki}*
- 20 udu šu-du₈ máš *Gâr-mu^{ki}* (rev. II 26–III 24)

The number of animals used varies greatly from month to month. Among the diviners we have TÚG-DU₈ (not a profession name!), who usually worked in the temple of Kura at Ebla, but who also appears in the temple of Hadda at Ḥalab and in the temple of Hadabal at Arugadu (see also no. [8] above). Iram-

malik and Dubi are also recorded in certain different administrative documents (see § 6.). Moreover, Ilba-malik was also very active. The minister Ibbi-zikir, who is mentioned in text no. 2, 3rd section, was probably assisted by a professional diviner, as we can see in [61] TM.75.G.2516 rev. VIII 4–9: 13 udu šu-du₈ / máš DU₈:TÚG [áš-]da [I-b]i-zi-kir. Certain oracular questions were performed in small centres like Sarmisadu.

City-states such as Arḥadu, Garmu (together with its king, en), Gudadanum and Ibubu are mentioned for reasons that are not clear. The en of Garmu appears in various other monthly documents of this genre in connection with the taking of an omen (šu-du₈ / máš): TM.75.G.2397 obv. X 28–33; TM.75.G.2403 rev. VII 24–28; TM.75.G.2441 obv. VIII 13–16; TM.75.G.2517(+) rev. I 29–II 1; TM.75.G.10167 obv. V 6–10. The city-state of Gudadanum is attested in similar contexts in [62] TM.75.G.2516 obv. XII 25–XIII 1: 9 udu šu-du₈ máš *Gú-da-da-núm*^{ki} šu-du₈, and [63] TM.75.G.10167 obv. V 11–15: 26 udu šu-du₈ máš *Ma-sa-ma-lik Gú-da-da-núm*^{ki} šu-du₈ “n sheep (for) taking omens (someone) / Masa-malik of GN has received”.

The lists of deliveries of food to the king and the court show that representatives of those cities were present at Ebla (at least) during the last three years: ARET 9.61 rev. II 7–7: en *Gār-mu*^{ki}; 74 rev. I 2 and II 2: *Gú-da-da-núm*^{ki}; 81 obv. I 8, II 1, II 7 [55] and 82 obv. I 12, II 2–4: *Gār-mu*^{ki}, *I-bu₁₆-bu*^{ki}, *Gú-da-da-núm*^{ki}. The diviner from Arḥadu is also purposefully mentioned: ARET 9.77 obv. II 4–5, rev. I 7–8; 81 rev. II 8–9; 82 rev. I 2–3, II 13–14, VII 7–8; 83 obv. II 6–7; 84 rev. I 9–10, III 12–13, IV 16–17, VI 9–10: lú-máš *Ar-ḥa-du*^{ki}.

The diviner of Arḥadu must have enjoyed great authority. He was consulted already at the time of the minister Ibrium ([34]), and very frequently under Ibbi-zikir ([34], [41], [46], [47], [48], [59]). The minister Ibbi-zikir asked him (as well as a certain Iram-damu) to take an omen regarding his diplomatic mission to Mari, [64] TM.75.G.1945 rev. V 24–VI 24: 6 udu ^d*Ku-ra I-bi-zi-kir* nídba in *Ma-rí*^{ki} ... 88 udu kú *Ib-bi-zi-kir* in *Ma-rí*^{ki} 2 udu šu-du₈ máš *Īr-am₆-da-mu* šu-du₈ in *Ma-rí*^{ki} 7 udu šu-du₈ máš *Ar-ḥa-du*^{ki} šu-du₈ *Ma-rí*^{ki} “6 sheep (to) Kura: Ibbi-zir has offered (for propitiating the gods) for (his travel to) Mari. ... 88 sheep (as) consumption of Ibbi-zikir for (his journey to) Mari. 2 sheep for taking an omen concerning Mari: Iram-damu has received. 7 sheep for taking an omen concerning Mari: (the diviner of) the city of Arḥadu has received.”

46 The high Priestess, dam-dingir, at Ebla

The tablet TM.75.G.2022 listing the deliveries of eighteen officials is defined in the colophon as a “document (concerning) the departure of Tinib-Dulum, woman of the deity (i.e. priestess), daughter of the king, to Luban”, dub DU.DU *Di-ni-ib-du-lum* dam-dingir dumu-mi en *si-in Lu-ba-an*^{ki}.¹

Luban (a place which belonged to the kingdom of Alalah, ARES 2: 338) was one of the principal centres of the cult of the god ^dA₅-*da-bal* (later writing: ^dA₅-*da-KUL*). When publishing this text, we already stated that this princess went to Luban as a priestess of Hadabal and his consort, “the Lady of Luban”.² ARET 4.11 § 53 records a piece of clothing as a “gift for the Lady of Luban (which) Tinib-dulum gave on the day she took the habit”, 1 zara₆-TÚG ú-ḥáb níg-ba ^dBE.MÍ lú *Lu-ba-an*^{ki} *Di-ne-ib-du-lum* in-na-sum in ud ^{mu}mu₄-sù.³ The fact that princesses of the royal house became priestesses of one of the major deities worshipped by the dynasty seemed to have a parallelism in Akkad, where Enḫeduanna, the daughter of Sargon, became high priestess (en) of the moon god Nanna of Ur.

Having been able to give the epigraphic material a more satisfactory chronological order, it is now possible to provide precise details on certain aspects concerning the dam-dingir priestess at Ebla.

1 Tirin-damu

The first lady of the royal family to hold this title (as far as can be told from the texts) was *Ti-rí-in-da-mu* / *Ti/Di-rín-da-mu*. Essential information concerning this lady has already been collected⁴ and is here further amplified.

Pp. 43–53 in “Und Mose schrieb dieses Lied auf”. *Studien zum Alten Testament und zum Alten Orient. Festschrift für Oswald Loretz zur Vollendung seines 70. Lebensjahres mit Beiträgen von Freunden, Schülern und Kollegen*, eds. Manfred Dietrich, und Ingo Kottsieper. AOAT 250. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1998.

1 Ib.: the vizier Ibrum; I.Z.: the vizier Ibbi-zikir; RAM: annual account concerning deliveries of metals; RMT: monthly account concerning deliveries of pieces of clothing.

2 Archi 1987a.

3 The interpretation of the lexeme TÚG-mu or mu-TÚG as ^{mu}mu₄ “a piece of clothing”, or mu-mu₄ (mu as verbal prefix) “to dress, to put on a piece of clothing”, has been pointed out to me years ago by J. Krecher for the passage quoted here. The same interpretation is given now by Urciuoli 1993, who has collected a large number of passages where TÚG-mu is attested.

4 Archi 1996d (particularly pp. 107–108).

That Tirin-damu was a princess is shown by the fact that her name is [44] included in the lists of funerary offerings alongside the deceased kings on the occasion of the death of women of the royal family. In TM.75.G.2334, on the death of Tarib-damu, a daughter of the king who was dam-dingir, six deceased ladies of the court receive clothes, the first three of whom are Dusigu (the second wife of king Irkab-damu), Tirin-damu and Kéšdūt (obv. IV 2–4). There then follow offerings to the kings Igrīš-Ḥalab and Irkab-damu, to Irib-damu, the father of the queen, and to the vizier Ibrium, all of whom were deceased. Similar offerings are to be found in TM.75.G.2276 for the death of Tište-damu, another daughter of the king. Here, in the lists of deceased ladies of the court, Tirin-damu precedes Gimi'adu, Išrut and Tarib-damu (obv. III 14–IV 2).⁵

Tirin-damu bears the title of dam-dingir in ARET 4.12 § 44 (the vizier was Ibrium) and in the annual accounts concerning metals (= RAM) dated to the 12th and 14th years of the period of vizier Ibrium (according to a provisional chronological ordering).⁶ Altogether she appears in six RAM.

1. ARET 3.274+41(+) obv. I 1–8 (Ib[rium] 1?): 1 ma-na babbar:kù sag ^dKu-ra 4 ma-na babbar:kù *Di-rin-da-mu Di-ne-éb-du-lum* nin-ni [en].
2. TM.75.G.2465 obv. X 10–12 (Ib. 12): Tirin-damu, dam-dingir, receives various gifts on the occasion of her purification ceremony (i-giš-sag) for the death of I'in-Hadda, son of the king (obv. VII 5–8).
3. TM.75.G.1730(+) rev. XXI 7–8 (Ib. 13): Tirin-damu receives two pendants (*bu-di*); she is followed by her sister: *Ter₅-bù-da-mu* nin-ni-sù, rev. XXI 16–17.
4. TM.75.G.2502 (Ib. 14): Tirin-damu, dam-dingir, purifies herself (i-giš-sag) for the death of the queen of Lumnan.
5. TM.75.G.1860 = MEE 10.20 (I[bbi-]z[ikir] 1): in obv. I 16–II 14 fourteen women purify themselves (i-giš-sag); they are divided into four groups and qualified as “women of Ibrium”, dam-dam *Ib-rí-um* (these include also the daughters of the vizier, amongst whom *Ti-a-bar-zú* was a dam-dingir, obv. I 25–26). Immediately afterwards there is the purification (i-giš-sag) of Tirin-damu, obv. II 17–18. This document dates from the start of vizier Ibbi-zikir's

⁵ Archi 1996d: 104.

It is not easy to conciliate the high rank of Tirin-damu at court with the relationship established in TM.75.G.10159 obv. I 2–7 (I.Z.): *Mi-ga-ì En-na-ì Bu-da-ì I-ti-lum* šeš-šeš *Di-rin-da-mu*. From ARET 3.214 IV 2–9 and 458 obv. VI 9–16 we learn that the four people said to be brothers of Tirin-damu were sons of Ugušum: *Mi-ga-ì En-na-ì Bu-da-ì I-ti-lum* 4 *dumu-nita Û-gu-sum/šu pa₄-šeš* en. The title “appointed to the person of the king” seems to be attributed to Ugušum. The role of a *pa₄-šeš* was sometimes entrusted to people of a certain rank, see Archi 1996a: 56–60. Ugušum was, perhaps, a stepbrother of the king Irkab-damu.

⁶ Archi 1996c (particularly pp. 77–78, 94).

mandate and the purification ceremony of the women of Ibrium's family is carried out on the occasion of the death of Ibrium. The monthly account of distribution of pieces of clothing (RMT) TM.75.G.2358 dates to the same year. Here, in the list [45] of people who are purified (i-giš-sag) for the death of Ibrium, Tirin-damu, obv. IV 5, follows the "sons of the king" Maḥra-damu, Šuru-damu, Ilum-aḫi, Arwa and Zudu.

6. TM.75.G.2462 obv. VIII 2–4 (I.Z. 2): here the death of the priestess is recorded. *Di-rin-da-mu si-in* ÉxPAP. The king makes a notable offering to the god Hadabal of Luban (IX 10–22); Tinib-dulum, who was already dam-dingir, purifies herself, apparently for the death of Tirin-damu, i-giš-sag *Di-ni-ib-du-lum* (obv. X 20–30).

Tirin-damu, therefore, appears in the RAMs of Ibrium and dies at the start of vizier Ibbi-zikir's mandate, roughly sixteen years before the destruction of Ebla. She is, however, already recorded in documents which must date back to the reign of Irkab-damu (the penultimate king of the dynasty), when the vizier was Arrukum. In the great list of women TM.75.G.2168, Tirin-damu is the second lady of the court, preceded by *Kēš-du-ut* (obv. VIII 3–8), [who has been identified as the queen of Irkab-damu]. With the death of Kešdūt, Tirin-damu opens the great list of women in the period of Irkab-damu, TM.75.G.2551.⁷ The writing of the name in these two ancient documents is: *Ti-rí-in-da-mu*, while in the later texts the sign EREN = *rín* is used. In an annual account of the vizier Arrukum, TM.75.G.1872(+) rev. XIV 17–18, she receives two silver pendants, 2 *bu-di Ti-rí-in-da-mu*.

There are very few documents of king Irkab-damu in which the queen also appears. Therefore she must have died shortly after the marriage. Then Dusigu, the second wife of Irkab-damu, became the first lady at court. She never enjoyed, however, the title of queen, *maliktum*, but managed to have her sons, Išar-damu, succeed to the throne. A list of women to be dated to Arrukum, or possibly to the very first years of Ibrium, TM.75.G.1701 obv. VIII 1–IX, opens with Dusigu, followed by five women: Tirin-damu, Enna-Utu, Tinib-damu, Tarmaš-damu and Mau'ut dumu-mí en "daughter(s) of the king" (a qualification which would appear to refer only to the last two women).⁸ TM.75.G.1457, from roughly the same time, in rev. VI 2–8 gives: Dusigu, Enna-Utu, Kirsut and Tirin-damu. Finally, ARET 4.11 (Ib.) gives: § 79 Dusigu, § 80 Tirin-damu, § 81 Ra'utum, § 82 Abatu.

⁷ Archi 1996d: 109, 114.

⁸ Archi 1996d: 103.

Tirin-damu possessed goods of her own. In TM.75.G.2122 obv. 11–2 (*Ti-ri-in-da-mu*) 640 sheep are assigned to her, while other women, *I-ti-gi-da-mu*, *Ti-a-da-mu*, *Ib-ù-ut*, receive a smaller number of sheep.⁹ She possessed 1,000 field units, GÁNA-kešda, at Tuneb, TM.75.G.10217(+) obv. VIII 2–4 (Ib.). In TM.75.G.2646(+), a text to be dated to the final years of Ibrium, Tirin-damu receives from the queen (*maliktu*) large quantities of land, partly olive groves and vineyards, in various rural centres, rev. VII 13–VIII 4: [46] 8,800 GÁNA-kešda-ki 16,320 GIŠ-ì-giš 630 GÁNA-kešda-ki GIŠ-geštin; XII 4–6: 3,700 GÁNA-kešda-ki 1,350 GIŠ-ì-giš 10 GÁNA-kešda-ki GIŠ-geštin.

Tirin-damu is shown as in relation to the town of Luban and, therefore, to Hadabal and his consort, in MEE 2.48 obv. VII 7–VIII 2 (a text which probably dates from the time of Arrukum): 5 gín DILMUN babbar:kù UNKEN-ag 1 an-dùl níg-du₈ *Ti-ri-in-da-mu Lu-ba-an*^{ki} “5 shekels of silver to make a statue, expenditure of Tirin-damu (for) Luban”. At Luban she possessed a residence, TM.75.G.10151 obv. VI 5–11 (Ib.): (1 + 1 + 1 clothes) *Bur-DU-gú-nu* KID-sag é *Di-rin-da-mu lú Lu-ba-an*^{ki} “1 + 1 + 1 clothes for BurDU-gunu, the gatekeeper of the house of Tirin-damu of Luban”. TM.75.G.2647+2650 obv. II 6–14 (I.Z. 2 ?): 1 zar-a₆-TÚG BE é *Di-rin-da-mu Lu-ba-an*^{ki} *si-in* ÉxPAP *ma-lik-tum* [i-na-sum] “1 z.-dress for the master of Tirin-damu’s house in Luban, the queen [has given] for (his) funeral ceremony”. On the death of Tirin-damu the king gave precious objects to the god Hadabal of Luban (TM.75.G.2462, mentioned above).

2 Tinib-dulum

Tinib-dulum was a “sister of the king”, nin-ni en. She is described in this way in the monthly accounts of pieces of clothing of the time of the vizier Ibrium, such as ARET 1.12 § 18, TM.75.G.1326 rev. II 4–6 and also in the RAMs of Ibrium and those of Ibbi-zikir, where she is present until the 5th year. In the lists of the “women of the king”, dam en, she is normally followed by Arzatu; both are said to be “sisters of the king”, nin-ni en, TM.75.G.1263 obv. VI 9–13. In TM.75.G.1298 obv. VI 8–10 and 1348 obv. XIII 11–15 (Ib.) Nurut, she also a “sister of the king”, is joined to Tinib-dulum and Arzatu.

This lady held high rank at court; in the lists where Tirin-damu no longer appears, she appears third, preceded only by Dusigu, the mother of the king Išar-damu, and by Tabur-damu, the queen: ARET 3.140 obv. II 1 ff.; 469 obv. VI 17 ff.; 660 II 1 ff.; TM.75.G.1770 obv. X 2 ff.; 1885 obv. III 16 ff.; 2233 obv. II 9 ff.;

⁹ Archi 1984a: 64–65.

2527(+) rev. I 24 ff.; 10150 obv. IX 10 ff.; 10153 obv. IX 15 ff. In TM.75.G.1793 obv. VII 6 ff., after Dusigu we have Tagmul-damu, Tinib-dulum and Arzatu.¹⁰

The earliest RAM in which she appears is probably ARET 3.274+41(+) where, in obv. I 4–8 (after the offering for Kura) we read: 4 ma-na babbar:kù *Di-rín-da-mu Di-ne-éb-du-lum* nin-ni [en] (Tirin-damu does not appear at the beginning of any other RAM). The passage is ambiguous and does not prove that Tirin-damu was also a sister (or stepsister) of the king. For the 4th year of Ibrium the delivery of silver for Tinib-dulum, “the priestess”, is found in TM.75.G.2359 rev. XIII 7–12: 3;50 ma-na babbar:kù *Di-ne-éb-du-lum* dam-dingir nin-ni en. From TM.75.G.1904 on (Ib. 7), the offering for Tinib-dulum is found at the beginning of the document, immediately after the opening section concerning [47] the delivery of 1 mina of silver for the head of the god Kura. In the 11th year of Ibrium, TM.75.G.2365, Tarib-damu is associated with her.

The passages in the RAMs in which the delivery of silver to Tinib-dulum follows the registering of 1 mina of silver for the head of the god Kura, are as follows: ARET 3.274(+) obv. I 4–8 (Ib. 1 ?): 4 m(a-na) k(ù)-b(abbar) *Di-rín-da-mu Di-ne-éb-du-lum* nin-ni [en]; TM.75.G.11381(+) obv. 14–7 (Ib. x): [x m. kb.] *D(i-ne/ni-éb-du-lum)* nin-ni en; 1904(+) obv. 14–7 (Ib. 7): 1; 20 m. kb. *D. nin-ni* en; 1923 obv. I 4–7 (Ib. 8): 8;30 m. kb. *D. nin-ni* en; 10143 obv. I 4–7 (Ib. 9): 2;25 m. kb. *D. nin-ni* en; 1464 obv. I 4–7 (Ib. 10): 12 m. kb. *D. nin-ni* en; 2365 obv. I 4–11 (Ib. 11): 14 m. kb. *D. nin-ni* en, 1 m. kb. *Da(r-ib-da-mu)* nin-ni-sù; 2465 obv. I 4–10 (Ib. 12): 14 m. kb. *D. nin-ni* en, 1 m. kb. *Da. nin-ni-sù*; 1730(+) obv. I 4–7 (Ib. 13): 8 m. kb. *D. nin-ni* en; 2502 obv. I 4–10 (Ib. 14): 9; 40 m. kb. *D. nin-ni* en, 1 m. kb. *Da. nin-ni-sù*; 1860 obv. I 4–9 (I.Z. 1): 8 m. kb. *D. nin-ni* en, 1 m. kb. *Da. nin-ni-sù*; 2462 obv. I 4–10 (I.Z. 2): 7 m. kb. *D. nin-ni* en, 3 m. kb. <*Da.*> *nin-ni-sù*; 1918(+) obv. I 4–8 (I.Z. 4): 5 m. kb. *D. nin-ni* en, 2 m. kb. *Da. nin-ni-sù*; 10201 obv. I 12–15 (I.Z. 5): 5 m. kb. *D.*, 2; 20 m. kb. *Da.*¹¹

Apart from these deliveries of silver, some of the same RAMs record for Tinib-dulum, “sister of the king”, gifts of pendants and other jewels: TM.75.G.2464 obv. V 16–18 (Ib. 5); 1923 obv. XVI 3–7 (Ib. 8); 2365 rev. II 9–11 (Ib. 11); 2465 obv. III 2–4 (Ib. 12); 2502 obv. XVII 28–29 (Ib. 14); 1860 obv. V 8, VII 28 (I.Z. 1); 2462 obv. X 29–30 (I.Z. 2) (her purification, ì-giš-sag, for the death of Tirin-damu).

ARET 4.11 § 53 records a dress as “gift for the Lady of Luban (which) Tinib-dulum gave on the day she took the habit”, 1 zara₆-TÚG ú-ḫáb ní-g-ba ^dBE.MÍ lú *Lu-ba-an*^{ki} *Di-ne-éb-du-lum* in-na-sum in ud ^{mu}mu₄-sù; the following section

¹⁰ Archi 1988b: 256–59; Tonietti 1989a: 101–103.

¹¹ Also TM.75.G.2487 obv. III 1–6, a monthly account concerning clothes, mentions Tinib-dulum as dam-dingir nin-ni en.

§ 54 has: “a dress s. to be divided in two, for a young man (and) a young woman (of his household): her gift”, 1 sal-TÚG TAR.TAR 1 dumu-nita 1 dumu-mí níg-ba-sù. This document is dated to the time of the vizier Ibrium but there are no indications of the precise year. The expression “on the day she took the habit” would appear to refer to the ceremony consecrating Tinib-dulum to the god Hadabal of Luban.

In two texts we have a generic expression: “when (T.) went to Luban”, in ud DU.DU *si-in Lu-ba-an*^{ki}. The extraordinary nature of this event is, however, demonstrated by the quantity of gifts given to Tinib-dulum. The first 4 columns of TM.76.G.288 register a long list of “gifts for Tinib-dulum consigned when she went to Luban”, níg-ba *Di-ni-ib-du-lum* šu-mu-“tag₄” in ud DU.DU *si-in Lu-ba-an*^{ki} (obv. IV 22–28; IX 11–14:] ^dBE[.MÍ] in DU.DU *Di-ni-ib-du-lum s[i-in Lu-ba-an*^{ki}]). Clothes are given to 4 gatekeepers, those of the god Hadabal, of Tirin-damu (the ancient dam-dingir of Hadabal of Luban), of a person whose name is missing and of the new dam-dingir, (4 + 4 fabrics) KÍD-sag ká [48] ^dA₅-*da-KUL wa KÍD-sag ká Di-rín-da-mu KÍD-sag ká [...]* KÍD-sag ká dam-dingir, V 11–VI 2. Mention is then made of Tarib-damu, the daughter of the king, who will also become dam-dingir, (2 clothes for) *Dar-ib-da-mu* [dumu-]mí en, X 3–5. Five first generation sons of the king would seem to have accompanied Tinib-dulum to Luban: (5 + 5 + 5 clothes) *Maḥ-ra-da-mu Šu-ra-da-mu Ḥa-ba Ar-wa Zú-du dumu-nita en* il *Di-ni-ib-du-lum*, X 15–XI 8.

The other document is TM.75.G.2022.¹² This deals with gifts made by 18 high-ranking persons (some are “lords”, lugal) “(for) the journey of Tinib-dulum, dam-dingir, daughter of the king, to Luban”, dub DU.DU *Di-ni-ib-du-lum dam-dingir dumu-mí en si-in Lu-ba-an*^{ki}, rev. VI 1–8. This tablet has not to be dated to the time of vizier Arrukum but to the same period as the two previous texts, since the people mentioned were only active under the vizier Ibrium (some of them also later, under Ibbi-zikir). This “journey to Luban” could correspond to that recorded in TM.76.G.288 and to the “taking of the habit” in ARET 4.11 § 53. The definition of Tinib-dulum as a “daughter of the king” is, therefore, mistaken as we have seen that, in the texts of the vizier Ibrium, she is always called “sister of the king”. Tinib-dulum, therefore, must have been daughter of Irkab-damu and sister of Išar-damu, the king under whom Ibrium was vizier. This imprecision disappears if the term dumu-mí-en, apart from “daughter of the king” was also used to indicate “princess”.

¹² Archi 1987a: 115–20.

3 Tarib-damu

Tarib-damu appears from the annual accounts (RAM) of the 10th year of Ibrium on, and a Tarib-damu is present in all the accounts of Ibbi-zikir,¹³ a total of more than twenty documents. Only in TM.75.G.2334, the monthly account of pieces of clothing which records her death, is she given the title of dam-dingir. The first three columns relate to goods “consigned by Ibbi-zikir to Tarib-damu, daughter of the king, priestess dam-dingir, for her funeral ceremony”, *I-bi-zikir Dar-ib-da-mu* dumu-mí en dam-dingir *si-in* ÊXPAP šu-mu-“tag₄” (obv. III 12–17). Immediately afterwards, for the same funeral ceremony, *si-in* ÊXPAP *Dar-ib-da-mu*, we find cult offerings to the principal deceased ladies of the court: Dusigu, Tirin-damu, Kešdūt, Tarkab-dulum, Gimini-zadu, Išrut; to the two previous sovereigns Igriš-Ḫalab and Irkab-damu; to Irib-damu, father of queen Tabur-damu, wife of king Išar-damu, to the previous vizier Ibrium, also deceased (obv. IV 2–16). This text should be dated to the last year in the period of Ibbi-zikir, that of the destruction of Ebla.

There is a Tarib-damu, described as “daughter of the king”, dumu-mí en, in RAM TM.75.G.1464 obv. V 23–25, X 20–22 (Ib. 10). Tinib-dulum, “sister of the king” and Tarib-damu “her sister” open the following RAM, TM.75.G.2365 (Ib. 11), while in obv. III 5–7 we find “Tarib-damu and Tište-damu”. [49] That Tarib-damu and Tište-damu were sisters, described as “daughters of the king” is clear from documents both from the time of Ibrium and from the time of Ibbi-zikir, TM.75.G.1785 obv. VI 4–8 (Ib.): *Dar-ib-da-mu wa nin-ni-sù* 2 dumu-mí en; ARET 4 § 40 (I.Z.): *Dar-ib-da-mu Ti-iš-te-da-mu* dumu-mí en. But at the beginning of the following RAMs of Ibrium, with the exception of TM.75.G.1730(+) (Ib. 13), up to the RAM of the 5th year of Ibbi-zikir, Tinib-dulum is always associated with Tarib-damu, “her sister”,¹⁴ while within the documents proper we continue to find a Tarib-damu, “daughter of the king”.¹⁵

When, however, starting from the 6th RAM, Tinib-dulum disappears and her place at the beginning of the RAMs is taken by Amaga, certainly a “daughter of the king”, dumu-mí en, we find Tarib-damu, “her sister”, *nin-ni-sù*, alongside her. In other records of the same RAMs Tarib-damu is cited as a “daughter of the king”.¹⁶

13 This cannot be verified for ARET 8.534(+) (I.Z. 12) from which the first sections are missing.

14 See above, in the section concerning Tinib-dulum.

15 TM.75.G.2465 obv. X 6–8 (Ib. 12); 1730(+) rev. IV 12–14 (Ib. 13); 2502 obv. XVIII 8–12 (Ib. 14): “Tarib-damu and Tište-damu”; 10210 rev. III 15–17 (Ib. 15); 10201 rev. I 27–29 (I.Z. 5).

16 TM.75.G.10074 obv. XXII 16–18 (I.Z. 6); 2428 rev. V 34–35 (I.Z. 8); 2507 obv. X 20 (I.Z. 10).

In the RAMs mentioned here no dynastic changes are recorded.¹⁷ Tarib-damu herself could not, therefore, have been the sister of Tinib-dulum (a sister of the king) and of Amaga (a daughter of the same king). One may think that, with the disappearance of Tinib-dulum and her substitution by Amaga, the position of Tarib-damu, “sister of the king”, was taken by a younger woman of the same name, “daughter of the king”. We do not know, however, of a Tarib-damu who receives the title of “sister of the king”, *nin-ni-sù*, apart from in those passages where she is associated with Tinib-dulum. It seems, therefore, that there was only one Tarib-damu during the reign of Išar-damu, when both Ibrium and Ibbi-zikir were vizier. For this reason we must admit that, in certain cases, the term *nin-ni* “sister”, rather than indicating a blood relationship, is meant to indicate parity of roles between members of the same family, here between Tinib-dulum and her niece, Tarib-damu.

4 Amaga

Amaga takes the place of Tinib-dulum starting from the annual accounts for the sixth year of the vizier Ibbi-zikir, TM.75.G.10074, and for the following eight years.¹⁸ Each of these documents opens with the recording of 1 mina of silver for the god Kura. This is then always followed by 5 minas of silver for [50] Amaga and 2 minas for Tarib-damu.

In these texts, as in others from the time of Ibbi-zikir (TM.75.G.2243 obv. VII 14–16; 2507 rev. XX 22–24), Amaga is described as “daughter of the king”, *dumu-mi en*.

Amongst the “ladies of the king”, *dam en*, in the final period (the second half of Ibbi-zikir’s mandate), Amaga is second only to the queen, *maliktum*, taking the place of Tinib-dulum, as can be seen from her position in the lists, see ARET 3.40 II 2 ff.; 4.22 § 40; 8.527 § 6; 542 § 23; TM.75.G.1876 rev. I 3 ff. (here Kešdut, another daughter of the king, precedes Amaga); 1890 rev. I 1 ff.; 1894 rev. VI 20 ff.; 2328 rev. IV 2 ff.(!); 2443 rev. IX 13 ff.; 10170 rev. II 2 ff.¹⁹ In the lists of distribution of food for the very last years of Ebla, Amaga is preceded by Enna-Utu, another “woman of the king”, *dam en*, probably the priestess *pa*₄-

¹⁷ Archi 1996c: 76–78, 80–81.

¹⁸ It is to be noted that, to the RAMs of Ibbi-zikir listed in Archi 1996c: 80–81, one must add TM.75.G.12373(+). Newly joined fragments enable us to read the name of Amaga also at the beginning of I.Z. 11 = TM.75.G.2622(+) and I.Z. 13 = TM.75.G.10202(+).

¹⁹ See Archi 1988b: 256–259; Tonietti 1989a: 107–111.

šeš-mí of the god Kura:²⁰ ARET 9.37 §§ 1-3; 38 § 1; 39 § 1; 40 obv. I 1 ff.; 50 § 4; in these texts her name presents the peculiar writing: *Am₆-ma-ga*.

In ARET 8.527 XVI 19–20 and in TM.75.G.10201 rev. XIV 33–XV 1, Amaga has the title of dam-dingir. She is connected with Luban and Arigu, two cult centres of Hadabal.²¹

- a) ARET 8.525 § 47: (wool, clothes) ^dA₅-*da-KUL Lu-ba-an^{ki} A-ma-ga* šu-ba₄-ti. TM.75.G.2358 obv. XI 10–15 (1st year of I.Z.): (wool, clothes) ^dA₅-*da-KUL Lu-ba-an^{ki}* (wool) DU.DU *A-ma-ga* (obv. IV 5: ì-giš-sag Tirin-damu d[am-dingir]; V 15–16: *Ti-a-bar-zú* dam-dingir).²² TM.75.G.1764 rev. IV 15–20: 2 udu *A-ma-ga* en ì-na-sum in *Lu-ba-an^{ki}*.²³ In another offering list of sheep, TM.75.G.10222+10245 rev. II 13–14, Amaga receives 100 sheep for a journey, probably to Luban.
- b) 2 *bu-di* babbar:kù *A-ma-ga* in *A-rí-gú^{ki}* šu-ba₄-ti: ARET 1.6 § 61; TM.75.G.1918 rev. XX 4–6; 10074 rev. X 4–6.

That Amaga enjoyed a particular status also derives from the fact that she possessed servants and lands. TM.75.G.10244 (first period of I.Z. ?) lists groups of workers by “houses”, é, grouped into “gates”, ká, that is “quarters” under the surveillance of an overseer, ugula. According to obv. III 6–9, Amaga had 11 houses of smiths, simug, and 38 houses of serfs, ir₁₁; a further 20 and 14 houses of serfs are registered respectively in rev. III 9–10 and VI 2–3. [51]

5 The other dam-dingir priestesses

Not all the dam-dingir priestesses belonged to the royal family.

Ti'abarzu was the daughter of the vizier Ibrum. In the first RAM of Ibbi-zikir, TM.75.G.1860 obv. I 22–26, she is purified together with her sisters on the death of their father: ì-giš-sag *Ti-a-da-mu Kir-su-ut Ti-a-bar-zú* dam-dingir (this title refers only to Ti'abarzu).²⁴ The same event is recorded in a RMT of the

²⁰ Archi 1996a: 39, 41.

²¹ Archi 1979a*: 107, I 1, E 6 [623].

²² Amaga appears as dam-dingir in the first sections of the RAMs only from the 6th year of Ibbi-zikir onwards, while Tirin-damu died in the second year of that vizier. The passage in TM.75.G.2358 seems to show, however, that Amaga was dam-dingir already during the last years of Tirin-damu.

²³ Pettinato 1979a: 139.

²⁴ TM.75.G.1860 mentions a further three dam-dingir, these belonging to the royal family, obv. I 5, 8: Tinib-dulum and Tarib-damu; II 18: purification of Tirin-damu on the death of Ibrum.

same year, TM.75.G.2358 obv. V 9–16: *ì-giš-sag Ti-a-da-mu wa Kir-su-ut ... ì-giš-sag Ti-a-bar-zú dam-dingir*.

Also a daughter of Ibbi-zikir, who succeeded his father Ibrium as vizier, was a priestess, the name of whom, however, we do not know. ARET 8.537 VIII 17–19 and TM.75.G.10201 obv. II 10–12: *dumu-mí I-bí-zi-kir dam-dingir*; ARET 1.3 § 54: (13 + 26 clothes for the following people) 10 *dumu-mí* of Ibrium (the first of them is Ti'abarzu, who here does not have the title of *dam-dingir*); *dam-dingir wa Téš-má-zi-kir dumu-mí I-bí-zi-kir*, (13th lady:) a woman, *dam*, of Zimi-na-malik.

Another two people, whose rank cannot be defined, had daughters who held the position of priestess (perhaps in peripheric temples), ARET 4.11 § 84: *Téš-da-at-mu dumu-mí A-dar₅-ma-lik dam-dingir*; TM.75.G.10248 obv. V 6–8: *dumu-mí En-na-ì dam-dingir*.

Another two priestesses came from foreign royal dynasties.

The daughter of the king of Ĥuzan was *dam-dingir* of the goddess Adamma, the consort of Rašap, at Hadani, TM.75.G.2507 obv. I 18–24: *dumu-mí en Ĥu-za-an^{ki} dam-dingir in 'Ā-da-ni^{ki} lú ^dA-dam-ma*; 2358 obv. VIII 6–9: *dumu-mí en Ĥu-za-an^{ki} dam-dingir* (this text mentions two other *dam-dingir*: Tirin-damu, of the Ebla royal family, and Ti'abarzu, the daughter of Ibrium). The name of this princess is given in ARET 1.1 § 78: *Da-dub-da-mu dam-dingir dumu-mí en Ĥu-za-an^{ki} in 'Ā-ma-du^{ki} šu-ba₄-ti*.

Another *dam-dingir* was the daughter of the king of Ĥazuwan, ARET 3.404 IV 1–5;] *nin-ni-sù dingir:dam 2 du-mu-mí en Ĥa-zu-an:wa^{ki}*.

6 Final considerations

The information given above shows that, during the period covered by the archives (more than 40 years), four princesses of the Ebla royal family held the office of *dam-dingir*, “woman of the god”.

Each annual account of precious metals, RAM (starting from the 4th year of Ibrium), records a quantity of silver for one or two of these princesses immediately after the opening section concerning 1 mina of silver for Kura, the god of Ebla. This fact may be explained only if the women received these [52] offerings in their capacity of *dam-dingir*.

TM.75.G.2094 would appear to be a kind of verbatim report clarifying the reasons why a certain Titinu “received Ti'abarzu, daughter of Ibrium”, *Ti-ti-nu Ti-a-bar-zú dumu-mí Ib-rí-um šu-ba₄-ti*, obv. I 3–7.

The documents never clearly state this, but it is certain that they were priestesses of Hadabal. They were, in fact, connected with Luban, a locality not far from Ebla where one of the major centres of the cult of the god Hadabal and his consort the Lady of Luban was to be found. Tirin-damu had a residence (TM.75.G.10151: é) at Luban and, possibly, spent the last fifteen years of her life there. This would explain why she rarely appears in the lists of the “women of the king”. Tinib-dulum also had a house at Luban (TM.76.G.288 registers a “gatekeeper” of hers). The lists of the “women of the king”, however, include mention of Tinib-dulum and the other two priestesses: Tarib-damu and Amaga. These would usually have lived at court. In the lists of offerings of sheep to the gods, twenty or so monthly documents dated to the final period of Ebla, Amaga never appears amongst those making the offerings. This may be seen as further proof that the responsibilities that these dam-dingir had to the cult were carried out at Luban. According to ARET 2.19 § 7, a dam-dingir whose name we do not know, receives 30 *gú-bar* of barley. This would seem to be an annual accounting, probably for the Luban residence.

No document explains the precise functions of a dam-dingir. A dam-dingir was not necessarily a priestess of Hadabal. The daughter of the king of Ḫuzan was dam-dingir of the goddess Adamma, the consort of Rašap of Hadani but it would not appear that other gods had a dam-dingir. Only a “purifying” priestess, *pa₄-šeš-mí*, was at the service of Kura, the principal god of the Ebla pantheon, and of his consort Barama; she was Enna-Utu, a woman of the king, dam-en, see ARET 3.410 II 1–3; 4.18 § 16; 8.525 § 7; 8.542 § 23; 9.53 v. I 7. Instead, a number of dam-dingir were at the same time at the service of the god Hadabal at Luban, one of his main sanctuaries. Tirin-damu still had the title of dam-dingir at the time of her death, when Tinib-dulum and Tarib-damu were already dam-dingir priestesses, TM.75.G.2462 (I.Z. 2).

The custom of having a lady of royal lineage serving as priestess of a god associated with the dynasty has a close parallel in Babylonia where, starting with Enḫeduanna, the daughter of Sargon of Akkad and up to the time of Ḫammurapi, a princess was chosen as priestess of the moon-god Nanna in the city of Ur. This custom was revived by Nabonidus about 1200 years later.²⁵ [53]

25 See Hallo and van Dijk 1968: 1–2; Reiner 1985: 5–10.

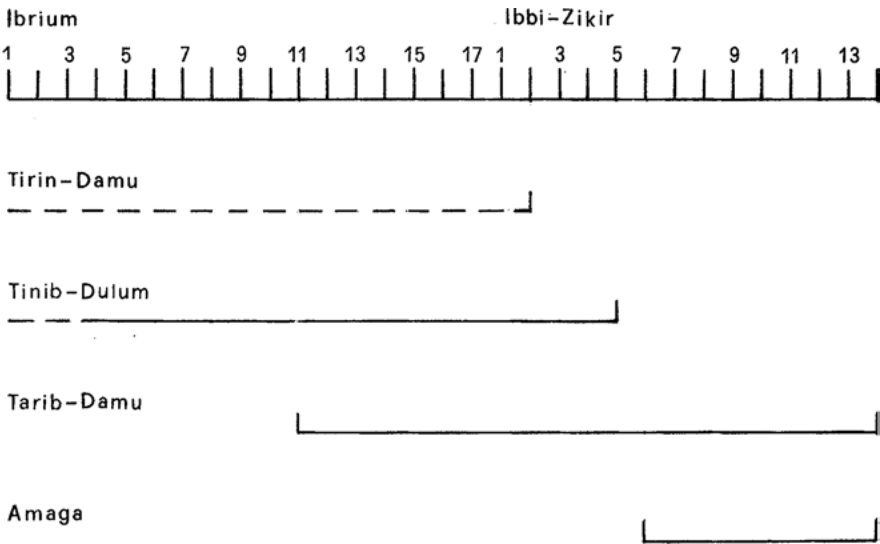


Fig. 1: The dam-dingir priestesses of god Hadabal and the period in which they were in charge.

47 The Stele (na-rú) in the Ebla Documents

1 J.-M. Durand has noted that, in the entry KUR.PAD na-rú = *ma-da-ù zi-ga-na-tim* of the Lexical Lists (manuscript C), the second Eblaite word is *sikkannu* “stele, betyl”¹ (MEE 4: 216: no. 166a, 166b; [B] KUR.PAD na-rú = *ma-da-u₉ na₄-na₄*; [D] KUR.PAD na-rú = *na-ša-du*).²

Mari had already provided an example of betyl for the third millennium from the area of the temple of Ninni-zaza. It has the shape of an elongated regular cone, 1.50 m high and with a base 35 cm in diameter. This betyl may originally have been placed in the centre of the temple courtyard.³

Ebla proves now that the term *sikkannu* was already attested in Syria in the third millennium.

Betyls have also been found in the Ebla temples of the 17th–16th centuries. In temple N, in the lower city, a basalt monolith was found leaning against two basalt slabs in the south-east corner. One side shows a small hole for pouring offerings. During the final phase of use of temple D, situated on the western slope of the acropolis, two betyls were erected near the back wall of the *cella*, behind an offerings table.⁴

Two aniconic stelae (*skn*) come from Ugarit. These were raised (as their inscriptions explain) for a funerary sacrifice (*pgr*) in honour of Dagan.⁵

Recently, the epigraphic documentation for Syria of the 2nd millennium has been increased. Three letters from Mari tell us of orders given to craftsmen for the preparation of three betyls (*sikkannu*), respectively for Ištar, Dagan and [16] Haddu.⁶ Moreover, ARMT XXIII 284 records the sacrifice of a sheep for the betyl of Dagan. The texts of Emar show that a *sikkannu* was dedicated to each of the two principal gods, Ninurta and Ḫebat.⁷ Further, in the *zuku* festival

Pp. 15–24 in *Written on Clay and Stone. Ancient Eastern Studies Presented to Krystyna Szarzyńska on the Occasion of her 80th Birthday*, eds. Jan Braun, Krystyna Łyczkowska, Maciej Popko, Piotr Steineller. Warsaw: AGADE. 1998.

1 Durand, NABU 1988b.

2 For the interpretation of the glosses (**ns*’; **mtH*), “removal of the stelae”, see Conti 1990: 91. In the Pre-Sargonic examples where PAD means “to tear out” its reading is apparently *bur_x*, see PSD B: 165b under 6, ḫé-bur_x(PAD)-re₆-ne = *li-su-ḫa*. Rim C 9:31 (courtesy of P. Steinkeller).

3 Parrot 1967: 25–26.

4 Matthiae 1977: 130–131, 138, and tables 64–65, 68–69; see further note 19,

5 Yon 1991b: 301–303.

6 Durand 1985.

7 Fleming 1992: 75–79. The administrative documents of Emar have been published by Arnaud 1985 and 1986. The documentation from Tall Munbāqa seem to point to an use of the *sikkannu* in the cult of the dead, see Dietrich, Loretz, and Mayer 1989: 133–39; cf. below, section 8.

certain gods were carried out from the temple and received sacrifices of animals and offerings in front of the betyls, which were then anointed with fat and oil, Emar VI.3: 373 ll. 22–32, 43–58 (in ll. 185–189 the chariot of Dagan was made to pass between two betyls).⁸

These new data have provoked renewed interest in exploring meanings and functions of the betyls in the cults of Syria and Palestine.⁹

The epigraphic data of Ebla, however, requires some explanation.

2 The bilingual Lexical Lists present another entry with *na-rú*, that is *na-rú* = *maš-ar-tum* / *maš-ar-du-um* (MEE 4, p. 300: no. 899).¹⁰ While the Sumerian term appears several times (although not frequently) in the administrative documents, at the moment I am able to quote only the following three passages for the Eblaite one.

- [1] TM.75.G.1796 (MEE 10.4) rev. II 6–9:] 6 g[ín DILMUN] kù-gi nu₁₁-za 1 an-dùl *maš-ar-tum* *Ib-rí-um* “] 6 shekels of gold (for) covering 1 statue (of) the stele of Ibrium”. [17]
- [2] TM.75.G.10210 obv. XIV 20–23: (geštu_x-lá, šu-dub, GIŠ-DU) *Ti-bù-da-mu* *maš-ar-tum* en “(jewels to) Tibu-damu (for/on the occasion of) the stele of the king”.
- [3] TM.75.G.10210 obv. XIV 23–XV 8: 3 gín DILMUN an-na [...] 1 GIŠ-ASAR ... 2 gín DILMUN kù-gi 'a₅(NI)-*na-gu* 1 GIŠ-ASAR *maš-ar-tum* en “3 shekels of tin (for) [...] of (?) a plate ... 2 shekels of gold (for) the rim of a plate (for) the stele of the king”.

3 In passage [1] it would appear that the stele was decorated with an image. That the stele may have been provided with a kind of plate or tray is confirmed

⁸ In Hittite Anatolia a widespread renewal cult foresaw that the image of the god be taken, each year, to its own stele outside the city, see Archi 1973: 7–27.

⁹ Hutter 1993; Mettinger 1995; de Moor 1995.

¹⁰ In the Word List TM.75.G.1822+, dupl. 10011+, new fragments allow to read in l. 90: *na-ERIN*. M. Civil (1987b: 144 and 156) had suggested to restore [na-rú-a] basing himself on *na-ari* of the Semitic version of that list, TM.75.G.1316.

In ARET 1: 298, the present writer had interpreted the Eblaite gloss as Akk. *māšartu* “muster, inspection”, an explanation which cannot be accepted. If *māšartu* derives from *š'r, Akk. *ša'āru* “to be victorious, to win”, Ar. *tǧr* “to smash”, we get *māšārtu* “stele for a victory”; this cannot be, however, the primary meaning in the Eblaite documentation.

In Emar a *māšartu* priestess (^{SAL}*maš-ar-tu₄*) of Ištar is known, and Emar VI.3.370 is the ritual for the priestess's installation. According to D. Fleming (1996: 91), the priestess's title may also derive from *ša'āru*; the principal feasting participants of the ritual are the LÚ^{mes} *ta-ḫa-zi* “battle personnel”, see ll. 32, 62, 65, 68, 90.

by the following passage, the only one to my knowledge where a na-rú is connected to a god.

- [4] ARET III 440 rev. IX 1–4: 1 ½ gín DILMUN babbar:kù GIŠ-ASAR na-rú ^dĀ-da “1,5 shekels of silver (for) a plate (for) the stele of Hadda”.

The stele may also have had a table.

- [5] TM.75.2428 rev. XIII 18–24: 1 ½ kù-gi maš-maš 1 GIŠ-banšur Nu-ba-du dumu-mí Û-ti na-rú en “1,5 shekels of gold (for) ... 1 table (to) Nubatu, the daughter of Uti (son of the vizier Ibrium), (for) the stele of the king”.

A small amount of silver, 78 g, is destined for a stele also in the following passage.

- [6] ARET 2.6 § 22: 10 gín DILMUN babbar:kù na-rú.

4 In the administrative documents, with the exception of passage [4] mentioning the stele of the weather-god Hadda, na-rú “erected stone, stele¹¹ is always connected with the king, the viziers Ibrium and Ibbi-zikir or other persons. “On the day/on the occasion of the festivity of their stele”, in ud húl na-rú-sù, these people received gifts or, according to some mu-DU texts, made offerings.

Stele of the king: [2], [3], [5].

Stele of the vizier Ibrium: [1] and the three following passages.

- [7] ARET 3.274+ obv. II 2–8: *Ib-rí-um* en šu-mu-“tag₄” in ud húl na-rú[-sù] “(gifts for) Ibrium the king has brought on the day of [his] festival”.
- [8] TM.75.G.1705 rev. IV 7–10: *Ib-rí-um* in ud húl na-rú[-sù] “(gifts for) Ibrium on the day of the festival of [his] stele”.

Stele of Ibbi-zikir, who succeeded his father Ibrium as vizier. [18]

- [9] TM.75.G.1527 rev. VI 3–10: mu-DU *I-bí-zi-kir* dumu-nita *Ib-rí-um* in ud húl na-rú-sù šu-ba₄-ti “(gifts,) delivery (which) Ibbi-zikir, son of Ibrium, has received on the day of the festival of his stele”.

Stele of other officials:

- [10] MEE 2.25 obv. V 6–12: *A-KA-ma* in ud húl na-rú-sù *Îr-am₆-da-mu* šu-mu-“tag₄” “(clothes for ‘lord’, lugal) AKama on the day of the festival of his stele, Iram-damu has brought”.

11 For na-rú(-a) in inscriptions of the Early Dynastic period, see Behrens, and Steible 1983: 242–43. For *narû* and its possible meaning in Old Babylonian, see Goodnick Westenholz 1993: 205–18.

- [11] ARET 3.468 obv. IX 1–4:] *’À-téš in ud húl na-rú-sù* “[(for ‘lord’, lugal,) Ateš on the day of the festival of his stele”.
- [12] TM.75.G.1459 obv. VIII 5–IX 2: *mu-DU En-na-BAD in ud na-rú-sù* “(objects,) delivery (of ‘lord’, lugal,) Enna-BAD on the day of the festival of his stele”.
- [13] TM.75.G.2031 rev. VII 6–14: *Ḫa-ra-il ì-na-sum níg-ba en in Šè-’à-am^{ki} in ud húl na-rú-sù* “(objects which ‘lord’, lugal,) Ḫarail has given (as) a gift (for) the king in the town of Š. on the day of the festival of his stele”.
- [14] ARET 3.669 I 2–8: *lú mu-DU Ib-rí-um ì-na-sum Puzur₄-ra-ḫa-al₆ in ud húl na-rú-sù* “(objects) which (are) the delivery Ibrium has given (to ‘lord’, lugal,) Puzurra-ḫa’al on the day of the festival of his stele”.
- [15] ARET 3.872 III 2–5: *A-šum in ud húl na-rú-sù* “(clothes for)] Ašum on the day of the festival of his stele”.
- [16] TM.75.G.4578+4584 rev. III 4–7: *Ar-ra-ḫi-iš in ud húl na-rú-sù* “(clothes to) Arraḫiš on the day of the festival of his stele”.
- [17] TM.75.G.4125+4131+4132 I 1–6:] *A-šum in ud húl na-rú-sù Za-ba-rum šu-mu* “tag₄” “clothes (to)] Ašum on the day of the festival of his stele Zaburum has brought”.
- [18] ARET 1.14 § 15: *A-zi-za lú A-lum in ud GIŠ.DUG.DU en si-in húl na-rú-sù* “(clothes to) Aziza of Alum when ... the king for the festival of his stele”.
- [19] TM.75.G.2464 rev. VII 9–15: *Ba-lu-KA ur₄ Ì-mar^{ki} in ud húl na-rú-sù KA-ba-lum šu-mu* “tag₄” “(1 mina of silver for 1 belt 1 scabbard 1 curved dagger for) BaluKA, the official ur₄ of Emar, on the day of the festival of his stele KAbalum has brought”.

5 The second formula in which *na-rú* appears is: *nídba na-rú* “offering (for) the stele”.

- [20] MEE 2.14 (mu-DU text; before the period of vizier Ibrium) rev. IX 4–6: *dub nídba na-rú* “(Total: 108 + 61 clothes delivered by three dozens ‘lords’, lugal.) Tablet (concerning) the offering (for) the stele”. **[19]**
- [21] MEE 2.48 rev. IX 2–VIII 2: *dub-gar lú níg-ba dingir-dingir-dingir-dingir áš-du nídba na-rú 7 mu 6 mu 5 mu 4 mu 3 mu 2 mu* “([Total: 94] minas 58 shekels of silver.) Document of the gifts (for) the gods by (/concerning) the offering (for) the stele, (for the) 7th year, 6th year, 5th year, 4th year, 3rd year, 2nd year”.
- [22] TM.75.G.4512 (mu-DU text; before the period of vizier Ibrium) rev. III 1–4:] *mu-DU nídba na-rú 7 mu* “[delivery (for) the offering (for) the stele; 7th year”.
- [23] ARET 1.31 (mu-DU text registering the deliveries of four foreign kings and three officials) § 8: *dub na-rú* “(Total: 16 + 5 clothes.) Tablet of (the offering of ?) the stele”.

References to the festival of the stele is made in two deliveries of clothes.

[24] ARET 4.16 § 49: *A-da-mu En-ar-li-im* šu-mu-“tag₄” in ud nídba na-rú “(clothes to) Adamu, Enar-lim has brought on the day of the offering (for) the stele”.

[25] ARET 3.31 obv. VI 1-4:] lú *Iš-da-maḥ* in ud nídba na-rú “] which (is for) Išdamaḥ on the day of the offering (for) the stele”.

6 MEE 2.45, dated to the earliest phase of the archives, refers to the decoration of a stele. The first part of the document records small amounts of metals which seem to be left over from other works, for example obv. I 1-3: 10 gín DILMUN kù-gi “tag₄” 1 íb-lá *si-ti-tum* gír-kun 1 ma-na kù-gi “10 shekels of gold: remains (from the working of) 1 belt (with) scabbard (and) curved dagger of 1 mina of gold”. The total quantity of metals is 10 shekels of gold, 10 of silver, 6 of bronze, 4 of copper as well as 1 mina of copper given by Igriš-Ḫalab, the third from last king of Ebla (obv. V 3-rev. I 4). The total, 1 and a half mina, is of 705 grams. The final part of the document would appear to read as follows:

[26] MEE 2.45 obv. V 3-rev. II 5: 1 ma-na a-gar₅-gar₅ *Ig-rí-iš-Ḫa-lab_x* en *Ib-la^{ki}* na-rú in DIŠ mu-DU *Tar₅-kab-du-lum* 'a₅-na *Kak-mi-um^{ki}* simug-simug na-rú “(10 + 10 + 4 + 2 + 4 shekels,) 1 mina of copper (of) Igriš-Ḫalab, king of Ebla, (for) the stele. In the year of the going of Tarkab-dulum to Kakmium. (To) the smiths (for doing) the stele”.

A date according to the “year of the offering (for) the stele of Igriš-Ḫalab [x (?) of Eb]la” is found in a poorly preserved small tablet which contains a very short letter of “Irkab-damu king of Ebla”, ([*en-ma* *Îr*]-*kab-[da-]mu* en *Ib-la^{ki}*), the successor of Igriš-Ḫalab:

[27] TM.75.G.12497 rev. II 2-III 1: DIŠ mu nídba na-^{rú} *Ig-rí-iš-Ḫa-lab_x* [x(?) *Ib-la^{ki}* **[20]**

7 na-rú appears in the plural in only one passage:

[28] ARET 3.99 I 4-9: maškim NE-*zi-ma-lik* níg-AN.AN.AN.AN *Ib-rí-um* na-rú na-rú [x]-DU [“(1 + 1 + 1 clothes for) the agent of NEzi-malik (for) the ... (of) Ibrium (for) the stelae ...”

8 The Lexical List *B* (quoted in [1]) has na₄-na₄, that is “stones”, instead of *sikkannātim*. Passages [6] and [26] show, however, that the na-rú stelae of Ebla were decorated with metal, and metal objects were used for their cult, see [3]–[5].

Most of these stelae were, perhaps aniconic, but that of the vizier Ibrium ([1]) was carved, or at least had an image on it.

According to passage [4], one na-rú was dedicated to a god, Hadda. It is possible that this stele was similar to and had the same function as that of the temple of Ninni-zaza at Mari. This is, however, the only case: all the other passages relate the na-rú to men¹².

It has been attempted to show how, for Ugarit at least, the betyls belonged to the cult of the dead.¹³ The *sikkannu* is certainly a symbol of death in the curse which closes certain contracts from Tall Munbāqa¹⁴ and Emar, see *Emar* VI.3.125 ll. 35–41: “Whoever changes these words (of the contract), may Dagan, Ninurta and Išḫara destroy his descendants and his name! May a stele be erected on his house (^{na4}*sí-kà-na a-na é-šu li-iz-qú-up*)!” (see also 17, ll. 32–40).

At Ebla, as at Emar, besides the stelae of gods there were the stelae of men. However, when a stele was celebrated (*ḥúl*) at Ebla, the person to whom it belonged was without doubt alive. Perhaps the celebration of the stele marked the assumption of a role, of an office.¹⁵ This calls to mind the stelae at Assur of the kings and the officials of the middle Assyrian period, which stood on the south side of the city facing the inner city wall.¹⁶ However, these officials of Ebla, the “lords”, *lugal*, were clearly not eponyms; they formed a group of 14–20 individuals who had administrative responsibilities.¹⁷ [21]

¹² See however *si-du*, below, section 9.

¹³ de Moor 1995.

¹⁴ See Dietrich, Loretz and Mayer 1989: 136–37.

¹⁵ Pettinato (MEE 2: 52 and 308) has already suggested that the festival of the stele was related to “the beginning of an *Amtsperiode* of both the sovereign and a high official”. He maintains that the number or name of year in which the event occurred was carved on the stelae (this latter hypothesis can be excluded).

¹⁶ For these stelae, see Canby 1976: 121–25.

¹⁷ Here we should consider the stelae of Tell Chuera, to be dated to the middle of the 3rd millennium and, therefore, chronologically very close to the epigraphic documentation of Ebla. This is what Orthmann (1990: 24) writes on these stelae: “Östlich der eigentlichen Stadtanlage hatte schon M. v. Oppenheim eine Anzahl großer, teils aufrecht stehender, teils umgestürzter Steinplatten beobachtet, die in zwei Reihen zu beiden Seiten einer ‘Straße’ aufgestellt sind. Diese ‘Straße’ verläuft ungefähr in Nord-Süd-Richtung, sie ist mehrere Meter breit. Über dem gewachsenen Boden findet sich eine dünne Schotterschicht, die vielleicht eine Art Straßenbelag darstellt. Die Steinplatten, von denen heute nur noch zwei aufrecht stehen, waren anscheinend nicht in regelmäßigen Abständen aufgestellt. Viele sind zerbrochen, vielleicht auch zerschlagen worden, um als Baumaterial zu dienen. Die unten dreieckig spitz zugeschlagenen Platten waren in Gruben gesetzt und mit größeren Steinen verkeilt worden. Für die ganze Anlage gibt es im syrisch-mesopotamischen Raum keine Parallelen, so daß eine Deutung bisher nicht möglich ist. Untersuchungen in der Umgebung der Stelenstraße haben bisher keinen Anhaltspunkt dafür erbracht, daß dieser Bereich etwa als Friedhof gedient haben könnten.”

This interpretation, however, raises certain problems. The stele of Igriš-Ḫalab, the third from last king, occurs in [26] and [27]. There is, instead, no explicit mention of the stele of Irkab-damu. The na-rú en of [2]–[3] and [5] was that of the last king, Išar-damu, since the first text is dated to the time of the vizier Ibrium and the second to Ibbi-zikir.¹⁸ We do not know where the stelae of the kings were erected.¹⁹ According to a single text, [21], these received annual offerings (nída). When text [26] was written, Igriš-Ḫalab had already been king for some time. If a stele was really erected in his honour at the start of his reign, then we must accept that, later, the smiths received quantities of metal for its embellishment.

As far as the viziers are concerned, No. [8] is an annual account of silver distributed by the Palace which presents various archaic forms and has, therefore, been dated to the first year of the mandate of Ibrium²⁰. Since this tablet does not begin with the formula normally found in this kind of document (“1 mina of silver for the head in silver of the god Kura”), it must have been preceded by another tablet from the same year which could be text [7]. The celebration of the stele of Ibbi-zikir, son and successor of Ibrium, is mentioned in [22] [9]. This is an annual account of deliveries to the Palace by the vizier and “lords”. This is certainly one of the last annual mu-DU texts of Ibrium, but precedes, however, MEE 2.1, which opens with the deliveries of Ibrium and then records his death. So, if we want to suggest that a stele was erected at the start of a mandate, we must suppose that Ibbi-zikir was made vizier when his father, possibly in failing health, was still alive.

¹⁸ See Archi 1996c: 78 and 80.

¹⁹ In the levels above Hypogeum G4, in the northern area of Palace G (preliminary notes in Matthiae 1995b: 655–59) a basalt monolith (unpublished) was found in a disturbed context erected within a circle of stones. This stood in Ec V8 ii+iii/Ec V7 i+iv, 5 metres to the west of the western wall of the hypogeum; it is aligned with the northern wall. Its base lies on a level about 1 metre above the preserved top of the northern wall of the hypogeum. The monolith is in the shape of an elongated, irregular cone, and its surface is polished. The less than perfect working of the stone suggests a date in the Amorite period.

The hypogeum consisted of two rooms of roughly 4 × 5 metres. The building of the Royal Palace G must have been begun by Igriš-Ḫalab. Irkab-damu may have completed it, probably extending the building and certainly making several changes. The hypogeum is situated 6 metres below the floor of the latest reworking of the sector, in the heart of the Palace. It is plausible that such a monumental structure was planned during the building phase of the Palace. However, the fact that not even one fragment of pottery has been found in the two rooms makes one suspect that the hypogeum was never used. In several accounts concerning distributions of bread, the king, en, is followed by “the kings”, en-en, perhaps “the (dead) kings”, ARET 9.9 obv. I 5–6; 14 obv. I 4–6; 26 rev. II 2–3, III 2–3, etc., see p. 384. This fact seems to prove that the king’s ancestors received regular offerings at the Palace.

²⁰ See Archi 1996c: 76.

Mentions of the festival (ḥúl) of the stele are few with respect to the number of “lords”, lugal, and they ([10]–[14]) concern mainly texts to be dated before Ibrium. Is the fact that, with Ibrium, the power of the “lords” began to decline a sufficient reason to explain this situation? The texts can be dated only approximately, but it is possible that in those cases the celebration of the stele indicates the assuming of their position by the lords. In the mu-DU texts [12] and [13] the two lords deliver goods on the occasion of the celebration of their stelae, as though in exchange for the honour bestowed on them.

Letter [27] is dated to the “year of the offering (for) the stele of Igriš-Ḫalab [of Eb]la”, when the king was already Irkab-damu. Is this possibly an offering for the death of Igriš-Ḫalab? It is likely that also in passages [20]–[25] the offerings (nídba) were for the stele of the king (and not that of Hadda).

Text [21] records the gifts made to various gods on the occasion of offerings to the stele, from the 2nd to the 7th years. We have no indication that a cultic cycle of seven years existed at Ebla. Therefore, numbering of this kind only has sense if referred to the period of a king’s reign. Since in obv. VIII 1 the dam dingir priestess Tirin-damu is mentioned (she died halfway through the reign of Išar-damu, the last king, when two younger dam dingir priestesses were already active²¹, the seven years refer probably to the period of Irkab-damu’s reign. Document [20] contains the list of clothes given as a gift by the principal officials of the reign on the occasion of one of these annual offerings. This document is also to be dated (according to the personal names mentioned therein) to the first years of Irkab-damu, if not to the last of Igriš-Ḫalab. Text [23], a later one, records instead the gifts of four foreign kings and of three officials.

It would appear that only the weather-god Haddu had a stele (No. [14]). The other gods were represented only by statues (an-dùl). It is, therefore, certain that at Ebla the aniconic cult was absolutely secondary, although some cults were probably centred on stelae and betyls, as at Mari and Emar (see 9). [23]

9 The term si-dù has been explained as “the horn-shaped parts of an altar” by J. G. Dercksen.²² This interpretation was accepted by M. G. Biga commenting TM.75.G.1730 rev. IX 22–28: 1 uš:bar lú tuš 2 si-dù en *wa ma-lik-tum* “(silver for) 1 stick, which (has to) stay (for) the 2 si-dù of the king and of the queen”. She noted that si-dù must be an object since the stick belongs to it.²³ The Lexical

²¹ See Archi 1998c*: 43–46 [699–702].

²² Dercksen 1989.

²³ Biga 1992: 8–9.

Lists have the entry *si-dù* = *ti-mu-mu* (MEE 4, p. 320: 1116). At first, G. Pettinato explained *ti-mu-mu* with **dmm* “to lament”, and *si-dù* was “lamentation”.²⁴ Recently, however, he takes this term to mean “stone, stele”, linking it with the Heb. *d^emûth*²⁵.

The documentation should be ordered as follows²⁶:

1. *da-mu/mi*, *da-mi-mu*, *da-a-mu*. The contexts suggest “one who laments”, from **dmm*;
2. *da-ma-ti*. It is linked to *ki-sur*, cfr. Akk. *kisurrû* “boundary (stone, *kudurrû*), territory”. See ARET 1.13 § 7: *in da-ma-ti ki-sur*; TM.75.G.10074 obv. X 23–24: *da-ma-ti-iš ki-sur GN₁ wa GN₂*. Here the meaning “boundary stone” would seem to apply;
3. a parallel passage with *si-dù* is TM.75.G.2238 obv. XII 21–24: 1 *udu ki-sur si-dù-si-dù en-en*. See further TM.75.G.2238 obv. IV 21–23: 20 *udu si-dù-si-dù en-en*; TM.75.G.1765 rev. III 1–2: *si-dù-si-dù en-en*; TM.75.G.1730 rev. IX 25–28: 2 *si-dù en wa ma-lik-tum*. In the ritual for the royal marriage, ARET 11.1–2, *si-dù* is linked to both the king and the queen; 1 § 77, 2 § 81: *si-dù en ... ([si-dù]) ma-lik-tum*; and also to the god Kura; 1 § 13 and 2 § 16: 2 *si-dù ^dKu-ra*.

There are, therefore, elements to enable us to state that *si-dù* / *damâtum* is, in effect, a kind of “erected betyl” in the shape of a cone (*si*) that is ending in a point. This served as a boundary stone.²⁷ These betyls played an important role in the funerary cult: *si-dù-si-dù en-en* were the betyls of the dead kings, before which sheep (*udu*) were sacrificed. In the marriage ritual ARET 11.1–2 (cfr. TM.75.G.1730), however, we find also a betyl of the king and another of the queen, and two for Kura, that is to say for Kura and his consort Barama.

Amongst the offerings to the gods, instead, bull horns (*si*) are frequent, above all in offerings to Hadda of Ḫalab, but also to other gods such as Aštābil [24] and Rašap. These horns were always offered in pairs: 2 *si gud/si-si 2 gud* “two horns of a bull/the horns of 4 bulls”.²⁸

²⁴ Pettinato 1979a: 115. This interpretation has been accepted by Fronzaroli, ARET 11: 167.

²⁵ Pettinato 1992 [but 1993]: 201.

²⁶ See already Archi 1996a: 46–48 n. 19, for a more detailed presentation of the documentation.

²⁷ Notwithstanding the doubts expressed by the present (1996a: 48 n. 19).

²⁸ ARET 3: 382.

Addendum

The stelae of three other “lords”, lugal, of the period preceding the vizier Ibrium are mentioned:

- [29] TM.76.G.882 obv. I 1–II 1: 2 *mi-at* 60 ma-na babbar:kù 41 GIŠ-sú mu-DU *Ti-ir in ud* [hú]l na-rú<-sù> “260 minas of silver, 41 cups: delivery of Tir on the occasion of the festivity of (his) stele.” Tir was, together with Darmia, the most important lugal before Arrukum became vizier²⁹.
- [30] TM.75.G.10276 (the vizier was Arrukum) rev. X 1–4: túg-NI.NI na-rú *Du-bí-šum lú Sá-gu-si*.
- [31] TM.75.G.10276 rev. XI 4–6: (clothes) *Ar-si-a-ḫa in ud* na-rú.

P. Steinkeller has shown the identity between dù and rú (as in na-rú-a = *na-ru-û*); the verb is /dru/ “to build” (*banû*, *epēšu*), “to erect” (*zaqāpu*), “to fasten” (*retû*).³⁰

For na₄ “stone” with the meaning “stele”,³¹ see also TM.75.G.2588 obv. III 7–10: (PN) šeš-II-ib dag_x(LAK 457) 2 na₄ en.

²⁹ Archi 1996b: 19–20.

³⁰ Steinkeller 1983: 249–250.

³¹ See above, section 8.

Part V. **Silver and Gold**

48 Circulation d'objets en métal précieux de poids standardisé à Ébla

A Maurice Birot qui, avec tant de passion et de succès, a étudié les procédures de distribution et d'échange dans le palais de Mari du II^e millénaire av. J.-C., il m'est agréable de dédier cette étude concernant des problèmes analogues pour un autre centre syrien, mais cette fois-ci du III^e millénaire.

Le présent document, TM.75.G.1397 (fig. 1), provenant de l'archive centrale (L. 2769) du Palais Royal d'Ébla, enregistre une liste d'objets, "don (pour) la maison du (ministre) Ibbi-zikir, que la maison du roi a donné, lequel (est un don) pour un mariage" (section 10). Il n'est pas unique dans son genre: ARET 7.117 et 132 sont deux listes de tissus donnés pour le mariage (níg-mu-sá) de *Za-a-še*, fille d'Ibbi-zikir, et TM.75.G.2283 énumère 1,680 brebis et 3,290 boeufs ainsi que d'autres animaux, comme "apport" mu-DU, pour le mariage de la princesse Kešdut, fille du roi Išar-damu.¹

Mais contrairement à ces documents, dans TM.75.1397, le terme níg-mu-sá ne se réfère pas à un nom de personne, et il n'apparaît pas clairement de quel mariage il s'agit. On constate que le principal bénéficiaire est Ibbi-zikir en personne qui reçoit surtout des objets en or (section 1). Après lui (section 2) viennent onze personnages dont chacun reçoit 2 habits, 1 barre (ou lingot) d'or de 235 g (30 sicles).² et un poignard recourbé (ou sabre) avec son ceinturon ou pendentif (sûrement décorés en or, comme il résulte déjà de IV 2 et V 2); il s'agit d'un frère (šeš) d'Ibrium, père d'Ibbi-zikir (*Pu-ma-NI*), de neuf fils d'Ibrium (donc frères d'Ibbi-zikir) et d'un dépendant (lú) d'Ibrium (*Si-NI-LUM*)³ Dans les deux sections suivantes, les mêmes habits et barres d'or (les cases qui enregistrent les sabres et les ceinturons ont été au contraire annulées par le scribe au moyen de deux signes transversaux) sont attribués à quatre fils d'Ibbi-zikir (section 3), ensuite (mais la barre est alors de 158 g = 20 sicles) à trois autres enfants d'Ibbi-zikir: *Ik-na-Da-ar*, *Ib-ar*^d *À-da* et *Îr-ib-I-šar* ainsi

Pp. 25–33 in *Miscellanea Babylonica. Mélanges offerts à Maurice Birot*, eds. Jean-Marie Durand, and Jean-Robert Kupper. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations. 1985.

1 Sur ce texte, voir Archi 1987a. Pour níg-mu-sá, graphie d'Ébla pour níg-munus-ús-sá, cf. ARET 7, Index s.v.

2 La valeur théorique de la mine d'Ébla correspond à 467 g; une telle mine était divisée en 60 sicles de 7,79 g, voir Archi 1987d.

3 Les citations relatives aux rapports de parenté dans le milieu de la famille royale mentionnées dans cet article, sont recueillies in Archi 1988b: 212–41.

qu'à trois "seigneurs", lugal-lugal, de l'époque du ministre Ibbi-zikir (section 4).⁴

Par la suite, l'importance des dons diminue. Section 5: deux habits et une barre de 46,77 g (6 sicles) à *Du-na-ù* frère d'Ibrium, et *Zi-mi-na-NI* (peut-être à identifier avec *Zi-mi-na-da-mu*, [26] fils d'un frère d'Ibrium). Section 6: 2 habits et 1 barre de 77,9 g (10 sicles) à *Bù-da-ma-lik* fils du roi (dumu-nita en), à *Du-bí-AB*, frère d'Ibrium, et à *Puzur₄-ra-ma-lik* (prêtre / fonctionnaire) *pa₄-šeš* d'Ibrium. Section 7: boucles d'oreilles ou pendentifs *bu-DI* (et habits) à des servantes (d'Ibbi-zikir), avec les poids suivants:

Revers

- I 3-4 2 (pièces) de 30 (sicles la paire) = 30 sicles
- 6-7 16 (pièces) de 15 (sicles la paire: $7,5 \cdot 16 = 120$) = 2 mines
- 8-9 4 (pièces de 20 sicles la paire) = 40 sicles
- II 3-4 22 (pièces) de 20 (sicles la pièce: $20 \cdot 12 = 240$)⁵ = 3 mines 40 sicles

Les autres deux sections (8 et 9) enregistrent des barres d'or (10 de 235 g et 2 de 185 g) pour trois autres fonctionnaires. La récapitulation des barres (dib) d'or est la suivante:

4 Sur les "seigneurs", lugal-lugal, une étude est en préparation [Archi 2000d].
5 En général, en ce qui concerne les *bu-DI*, on ne précise pas si la quantité se réfère à un poids unitaire ou double. Quand on veut indiquer une paire on reduplique le poids; par exemple: 4 *bu-DI* 12 12 "4 pendentifs de 12 (sicles) la paire (total: 24 sicles)". Examinons les passages suivants de TM.75.G.2507:

r. XII 12-15	r. XX 2-5
4 ma-na ša-pi 1 gín DILMUN kb.	4 ma-na ša-pi 1 gín DILMUN kb.
12 KIRI ₄ .DÙ-sù <i>bu-DI</i> šú+ša gín DILMUN	24 <i>bu-DI</i> šú+ša
2 <i>bu-DI</i> 17 gín DILMUN	2 <i>bu-DI</i> 17
4 <i>bu-DI</i> 12 12	4 <i>bu-DI</i> 12 12

"4 mines 41 sicles D. d'argent (pour): 12 ... pendentifs de 20 sicles (la paire) // 24 pendentifs de 20 sicles; 2 pendentifs de 17 sicles; 4 pendentifs de 12 (sicles) la "paire". C'est-à-dire:

12 (paires).20 (ou bien)	
24 (pièces).20	240 sicles
2 (pièces) de 17 sicles (la paire)	17 sicles
4 (pièces) de 12 (sicles) la paire	24 sicles
	281 sicles = 4 mines 41 sicles.

		n°	poids
f.	II 8	11	30 sicles
f.	IV 1	4	30 sicles
r.	III 1	10	30 sicles
f.	V 1	5	20 sicles
r.	III 4	2	20 sicles
f.	VI 6	3	10 sicles
f.	VI 1	2	6 sicles

Face

(1)

- I 1 *ṛdu⁷-za-mu* [1 í]b+II-TÚG
 2 [x m]a-na [] x
 1 za_x 1 ma-na bán
 4 1 gír mar-tu kù-gi ^a
 1 GIŠ-BANŠUR 10 kù-gi
 6 2 ma-na kù-gi
 4 kù-SAL
 8 56 kù-gi
- II 2 níg-anše-ak 4 *zi-kir-ra-tum*
 2 “šú+ša” kù-gi
 šir-za 2 GIŠ-GAM.GAM 1 GIŠ-gígir-II
 4 á-MUŠEN kù-gi
 nu-ki-gar
 6 níg-ba
 I-bí-zi-kir

(2)

- 8 11 *du-za-mu* 11 íb-III-TÚG 11 dib bán
 bán kù-gi
- III 1 íb-lá 1 *si-ti-tum* 1 gír-kun
 2 BU-ma-NI
 Û-ti
 4 *Gi-rí*
 Ir-ti
 6 *Ba-du-lum*
 In-ma-lik
 8 *A-ba-ga*
 Ru₁₂-zi-lum
 10 *I-rí-ik-da-mu*

I-ti-d'A₅(NI)-da-kul

12 *Si-NI-LUM tur [27]*

(3)

IV 4 *du-za-mu* 4 íb+II-TÚG 4 dīb bán

2 {4 íb-lá 4 *si-ti-tum* 4 gír-kun bán kù-gi}^b

Du-bù-ḫu-d'A-da

4 *Ru₁₂-zi-ma-lik*

EN-ti

6 *A-mu-ru₁₂*

(4)

5 *du-za-mu* 5 íb+II-TÚG

V 5 dīb “šú+ša”

2 {5 íb-lá 5 *si-ti-tum* 5 gír-kun bán kù-gi}^b

Ik-na-da-ar

4 *I-rí-gu*

Ib-ar-d'A-da

6 *Îr-ib-i-šar*

En-na-NI

(5)

8 2 *du-za-mu* 2 íb+II-TÚG

VI 2 dīb 6

2 *Du-na-ù*

Zi-mi-na-NI

(6)

4 3 *du-za-mu* 3 íb^{!?}-GÙN

bán kù-gi⁷

6 3 dīb 10

Bù-da-ma-lik

8 *Du-bí-AB*

Puzur₄-ra-ma-lik

Revers

I *šeš:pa₄*

2 *Ib-rí-u[m]*

(7)

bán kù-gi

- 4 2 *bu*-DI
ša-pi kù-gi
- 6 4 *bu*-DI
2 ma-na kù-gi
- 8 16 *bu*-DI 15
ša-pi babbar:kù
- II 10 4 *bu*-DI
4 kù-gi
- 2 4 sag-sù
3 ma-na ša-pi babbar:kù
- 4 22 *bu*-DI “šú+ša”
15 babbar:kù
- 6 2 *bu*-DI
25 zara₆-TÚG
- 8 10 lá-1 gíd-TÚG
níg-ba
- 10 dam-dam
- (8)
- 3 *du*-za-^rmu^r 3 íb+IV-TÚG
- III 1 dib bán
- 2 *A-bu* [8]
- (9)
- ša-pi kù-gi
- 4 2 dib “šú+ša”
In-gâr ur₄
- 6 *Sag-du* ur₄
(anépigraphie)
- IV (vide)
- (10)
- V AN.ŠÈ.GÚ 21 ma-na 50 kù-gi
- 2 4 ma-na bán 5 babbar:kù
(anépigraphie)
- VI (anépigraphie)
níg-ba
- 2 é
I-bí-zi-kir
- 4 lú é en

ì-na-sum

6 lú níg-mu-sá

- a) Forme abrégée de GI, sans les têtes de clous finales;
- b) Case oblitérée par le scribe;
- c) 



Fig. 1: TM.75.G.1397.

“šú-ša” = šušana: $\frac{2}{3}$ de mine; bán: $\frac{3}{4}$ de mine; ša-pi = šanabi: $\frac{4}{5}$ de mine.

Le total relatif à l’argent correspond aux quantités indiquées dans le texte:

revers			
I 8		40 s.	
II 3	3 m.	40 s.	
II 5		15 s.	
	3 m.	95 s.	= 4 m. 35 s.

Par ailleurs, voici les quantités relatives à l’or:

Face			
(1)	I 5	10 s.	
	I 6	2 m.	56 s.
	I 8		20 s.
	II 2		
(2)	II 8	5 m.	30 s. (11 dib . 30 s.)
	II 9		30 s.
(3)	IV 1	2 m.	(4 dib . 30 s.)
(4)	V 1	1 m.	40 s. (5 dib . 20 s.)
(5)	VI 1		12 s. (2 dib . 6 s.)
(6)	VI 5		30 s.

Revers

(7)	I 3	30 s.	
	I 5	40 s.	
	I 6	2 m.	
	II 1	4 s.	
(8)	III 1	30 s.	(1 dib . 30 s.)
(9)	III 3	40 s.	
		12 m.	372 s.

Le total (18 mines et 12 sicles) est inférieur de 3 mines 38 sicles à ce qui est indiqué dans le colophon; il faut évidemment ajouter le poids des objets en or qui parfois n'est pas ajouté.

Les biens transmis – mis à part ceux pour Ibbi-zikir, qui présentent une certaine variété – sont donc, en plus des habits, des barres d'or, des sabres incrustés d'or, des pendentifs d'or et [29] d'argent, selon qu'ils étaient destinés à des hommes ou à des femmes. Les barres et pendentifs ont des poids standardisés avec des valeurs calculées à des sous-multiples de la mine ($\frac{3}{6}$; $\frac{2}{6}$; $\frac{1}{6}$ etc.), tandis que la typologie même des sabres pouvait indiquer grosso modo la valeur de chaque pièce.

Les exemples d'attributions d'objets de poids standardisé à Ébla peuvent être facilement multipliés. Considérons TM.75.G.2022, qui enregistre des dons pour la princesse Tinib-dulum, envoyée pour faire fonction de prêtresse (dam-dingir) à Luban, une localité située dans la plaine d'Antioche.⁶ Selon ce document, dix-huit personnes doivent donner à la princesse des pendentifs (*bu-DI*) et des habits, selon les proportions suivantes:

sections	pendentifs	argent	habits
1– 4	2 paires	= 40 sicles	1 gíd-TÚG 1 zara ₆ -TÚG 1 TUR.SAL
5–11	1 paire	= 20 sicles	1 gíd-TÚG 1 zara ₆ -TÚG 1 TUR.SAL
12–18	1 paire	= 10 sicles	1 gíd-TÚG 1 zara ₆ -TÚG 1 TUR.SAL

Puisque donc chaque donateur fournit les mêmes habits et le même bijou en argent, il est clair que ces biens étaient choisis pour leur valeur intrinsèque, et

⁶ Pour ce texte voir l'étude citée dans n. 1. Pour Luban, cf. AIT: 155: ^{uru}*Lu-ba-ni*; PRU VI.36 l. 11: ^{uru}*Lu-ba-na*.

non en fonction de leur utilisation. Les pendentifs ou boucles d'oreilles de poids standardisé de $\frac{2}{3}$ ou de $\frac{1}{3}$ de mine par paire, ne représentent rien d'autre qu'une forme de thésaurisation du métal précieux.

Parmi les donateurs, on reconnaît dix “seigneurs” lugal-lugal – c'est-à-dire les fonctionnaires du rang le plus haut – de l'époque d'Ibrium et d'Ibbi-zikir, auxquels s'ajoutent deux “chefs”, ugula, de villages, et six autres membres de l'administration palatiale. Cela indique que la dot de la princesse qui quitte la cour pour assurer une importante fonction religieuse, n'était pas prélevée sur le “Trésor” (à Ébla: é-siki “maison del la laine”), mais était directement constituée par des personnes qui représentaient certains secteurs de l'administration.

A Ébla la circulation des métaux précieux suivait des procédures que l'on peut déterminer au moins dans leurs grandes lignes. Grâce à un lot important de documents relatifs aux entrées au palais (désignées par le mot clé: mu-DU “apport”) on sait que les villes qui subissaient l'hégémonie d'Ébla versaient de l'or et de l'argent non travaillé et en quantité peu élevée.⁷ À son tour, Ébla transmettait à des villes comme Mari (et plus rarement à d'autres d'importance moindre) des métaux précieux non travaillés, sous forme de don, níg-ba, comme on aimait définir ce type de transaction.⁸ Il y avait en outre un circuit de biens dénommé “sortie”, è, qui avait pour destinataires tant des dépendants du Palais – et dans ce cas il s'agissait d'attributions à titres divers – que des rois ou autres, fonctionnaires de villes étrangères. Dans ce second cas les biens ne représentaient pas un simple échange, mais créaient un lien personnel qui engageait le bénéficiaire vis-à-vis du roi d'Ébla, et l'obligeait à envoyer à son tour un autre don. Les livraisons venant d'Ébla étaient constituées de tissus. Elles étaient parfois complétées par des objets en métal précieux.⁹ Au contraire, les rois étrangers envoyaient en général des métaux non travaillés, dont les quantités étaient enregistrées dans des documents (précédemment [30] mentionnés) définis par le terme mu-DU.¹⁰ Les objets en métaux précieux le

⁷ Pour la typologie de ces documents cf. ARET 1.30; 2.13, où pourtant les “apports” sont surtout constitués de tissus.

⁸ Voir les documents recueillis par l'auteur dans: 1981b: 131–61, et 1985. Pour les quantités de métaux précieux non travaillés cf. ARET 2.1,2,5,6. Les revenus des villages pouvaient être exprimés en sicles d'argent, cf. TM.75.G.1664.

⁹ Des recueils homogènes de ce genre de documentation sont ARET 1 et 4. Pour les objets en métaux précieux qui comprennent des attributions de tissus, cf. ARET 1.1 § 54”, § 55”, § 56”, etc. Des comptes rendus annuels, constitués de grandes tablettes avec une trentaine de colonnes par face enregistrent ensuite toutes les sorties de métaux précieux des caisses du Trésor, é-siki, cf. TM.75.G.1860, 2507, etc.

¹⁰ Il semble que ARET 1.32 soit une exception; cf. le paragraphe 5 relatif au terme: dib.

plus fréquemment distribués, isolément ou en même temps que des tissus sont:¹¹

1 Des poignards recourbés (sabres) *gír-kun*, en général pourvus de ceinturons et fourreaux (*ib-lá si-ti-tum*). Le poids, rarement indiqué, varie de 10 en 10 sicles, de 20 sicles à un maximum de 1 mine; voir ARET 1: 283; ARET 3: 350 s.; ARET 4: 296 s.

2 Des poignards de style *amorite*, *gír mar-tu*. Il est assez rare que leur poids soit indiqué (voir *ll.cc.* pour *gír-kun*), mais dans les documents relatifs aux métaux délivrés, la valeur (*níg-sa₁₀*) est parfois indiquée, et correspond alors à un chiffre rond de sicles. Les données de TM.75.G.2507 par exemple, sont les suivantes:

1 <i>gír mar-tu d'or níg-sa₁₀</i>	1 mine d'argent	f. XIV 9–10, r. XXI 7–8
1 <i>gír mar-tu d'or níg-sa₁₀</i>	40 sicles d'argent	f. XIV 12–13
1 <i>gír mar-tu d'or níg-sa₁₀</i>	30 sicles d'argent	r. XI 30–31
1 <i>gír mar-tu d'or níg-sa₁₀</i>	25 sicles d'argent	r. XI 2–3
1 <i>gír mar-tu d'or níg-sa₁₀</i>	20 sicles d'argent	f. XIII 28–29

3 Des boucles d'oreilles (pour une seule oreille) pour homme, *geštu_x(GIŠ.PI)-lá*, d'or, dont le poids oscille de 4 sicles (ARET 3.185) à seulement deux fractions NI de sicle (ARET 4.18).

4 Des épingles (toggle pins), *bu-DI*, destinés à la parure des femmes, employés presque exclusivement par paire, généralement d'argent mais parfois avec une “tête” (*sag*) d'or, dont le poids est toujours précisé (à moins qu'il ne s'agisse de métaux de moindre valeur comme le bronze), et dans la plupart des cas correspond à 20 sicles la paire (155,8 g).¹²

¹¹ Pour *kù-sal*, voir l'Excursus, *infra*, 733–735.

¹² Transcrit dans ARET 4: BU-sá. H. Waetzold (*apud* Klein 1983: 279) le fait correspondre à l'accadien *t/dudittum*, à identifier selon Klein avec l'épingle. Mais il faut prendre en considération que les documents paléo-accadiens connaissent aussi bien le *bu-tum* (un objet d'or utilisé par paire comme *bu-DI*), que le *t/dudittum*, voir *MAD* 3, pp. 86 et 108. Il faut corriger chez Waetzold l'indication du poids moyen d'un *bu-DI*: non 40–80 g, mais 119–176 g chacun (30–20 sicles la paire = 233–156 g), ce qui est de beaucoup supérieur aux valeurs recueillies, par Klein *op. cit.* p. 267, pour le *t/dudittum* de l'époque néo-sumérienne (30–20 g, avec un maximum de 60 g).

n°	poids	métal	texte
2	58 sicles	argent	ARET 4.5
2	50 sicles	or	TM.75.G.1860 r. IX 11–12
2	40 sicles	argent	ARET 1.3 (2 sag)
2	30 sicles	argent	ARET 3.219; 4.7 (2 sag)
2	30 sicles	or	ARET 1.15
2	20 sicles	argent	ARET 1.1, 3, 45; 3.31, 38, 185, 214, 218, 250, 340, 681; 4.6 (2 sag), 9, 15, 19 (2 sag), 24 (2 sag), 25
2	20 sicles	or	ARET 1.10, 32; 3.326, 341, 463; 4.6, 24
2	17 sicles	argent	ARET 1.3
2	15 sicles	argent	ARET 4.3, 7
2	10 sicles	argent	ARET 1.1, 12, 44; 3.440, 730; 4.7, 11
2	10 sicles	or	ARET 1.45
2	6 sicles	argent	ARET 3.358 (pour une divinité)
1	5 sicles	or	ARET 4.14

5 L'or était thésaurisé principalement sous forme de barres: dib (cf. TM.75.G.2507 f. XIV 20–23: 1 ma-na ša-pi gín DILMUN babbar:kù šu-bal-ak šú+ša 5 gín DILMUN kù-gi 1 dib “1 mine 40 sicles D. d'argent à échanger en 25 sicles D. d'or (pour) 1 barre”). Sous cette forme il était attribué aux rois et aux fonctionnaires. On doit prendre en considération avant tout ARET 1.32, selon lequel des barres d'or sont envoyées (? la terminologie bureaucratique qui qualifie la [31] transaction n'est pas claire) par des rois de cités syriennes (parmi lesquelles on note Emar, Urš'aum et Burman) et des Conseils d'Anciens. Les rois, au nombre de huit, livrent chacun 1 barre du poids de 1 mine, tandis que chaque groupe d'Anciens se limite à 1 barre de 10 sicles.

Les poids de ces barres d'or varient de 1 mine à des sous-multiples de mine, selon la progression décroissante suivante: 50; 40; 35; 30; 25; 20; 15; 10; 6 sicles, voir ARET 1: 278 s.; ARET 3: 343; ARET 4: 290. Les barres d'un poids différent sont assez rares: 36 sicles, ARET 4.16; 22 sicles, ARET 3.947 et 959 (mais il s'agit d'une barre avec peut-être une vigne incisée: GIŠ-geštin); 21 sicles, ARET 3.959; et en particulier de 16 sicles, voir ARET 3.185, 793; 4.3.

6 Des bracelets, *gú-li-lum*, rarement d'or ou d'argent seuls, mais en général en alliage d'or et de cuivre, ou d'or et d'argent. Comme pour les barres dib, les poids de ces bracelets correspondent à 1 mine ou à des sous-multiples de la mine: 50; 40; 35; 30; 20; 15; 10; 6; 3 sicles, voir ARET 1: 285; ARET 3: 356 s.¹³

¹³ Le *gú-li-lum*, s'il est en argent, a souvent une “décoration”, šir-za, d'or, cf. TM.75.G.2507 r. IV 4–9: 20 gín DILMUN babbar:kù 1 *gú-li-lum*-II ... 4 gín DILMUN kù-gi šir-za-sù.

Dans le cadre de l'économie centralisée d'Ébla on a donc mis en évidence une circulation de métaux précieux qui entre dans un contexte de cérémonies, et qui concerne aussi bien le système intérieur de l'administration (destinataires: les dépendants du palais) que l'extérieur (constitué par des cités-états syriennes, et partiellement intégré à celui d'Ébla même), qui utilisait des objets de poids standardisé et qui était parallèle à un système d'envois de divers vêtements standardisés (un manteau, une tunique et une jupe: 'à-da-um-TÚG, ak-tum-TÚG, íb-TÚG.¹⁴

L'or était généralement envoyé sous forme de barres ou lingots, l'argent sous forme de bracelets (pour les hommes) ou pendentifs (pour les femmes). A ces objets pouvaient s'en ajouter d'autres dont le poids n'est pas toujours noté par une valeur standardisée. D'autre part, à côté de ce circuit, parfois parallèlement, il en existait un autre qui utilisait de l'or et de l'argent non travaillés, et concernait tout particulièrement des livraisons entre états d'une puissance politique considérable. Il s'agit d'une procédure qui facilitait les attributions faites au sein d'un système administratif fortement centralisé. Les modalités qu'elle a revêtues à Ébla ne se sont plus rencontrées par la suite, à aucune autre période de l'histoire du Proche Orient, quand la référence à l'argent nécessaire à une transaction était toujours indépendante de la forme sous laquelle un tel métal pouvait se présenter.¹⁵ Ce phénomène ne peut donc pas être considéré comme un antécédent de la monétisation.¹⁶

EXCURSUS

éš-kiri; níg-anše-ak; kù-sal

Parmi les objets en métal précieux qui complètent parfois les attributions de tissus, on peut noter: kù-sal et níg-anše-ak, qui doivent être respectivement identifiés aux bossettes ou pendeloques (ou autres décorations) du mors pour les équidés et aux brides.¹⁷ [32]

¹⁴ Sur ces envois de tissus, voir ARET 1: 219–229.

¹⁵ Les données relatives à ces problèmes pour d'autres périodes historiques sont très ténues; on le perçoit par l'étude de C. Zaccagnini 1979.

¹⁶ Sur le problème de la circulation de lingots de poids et forme standardisés et les débuts de la monétisation, voir les considérations dans Parise 1973.

¹⁷ Voir en particulier l'Index de ARET 4, un volume qui comporte une documentation homogène relative aux attributions de tissus. Pour des exemples de mors de cheval, voir Potratz 1941–44; Id. 1966: 86–124.

Dans ARET 3: 368, on a montré qu'en général 2 kù-sal font référence à 1 níg-anše-ak (lu généralement níg-GÌR/gìr-AK/ak) et 2 n. à 1 KA.ŠÈ (lu: maš), lequel a été interprété comme "pectoral(?)". On avait donc le schéma suivant:

kù-sal				
	—	níg-anše-ak		
kù-sal			—	KA.ŠÈ
kù-sal				
	—	níg-anše-ak		
kù-sal				

2 n. et 1 K. complètent l'équipement d'un char: 1 K. 2 n. GIŠ-gígir-II (voir ARET 3.609 r. V 6–7; 802 r. III 4–5; 907 II 2–3). KA.ŠÈ doit être lu sans aucun doute: kîri:ész, akk. *šerretum*, *AHW* 1,092 "Nasenseil, Leitseil", donc "rênes". Les listes lexicales d'Ébla donnent par contre l'équivalence: KA.ŠÈ = NI-bí-tum, cf. *ebēṭum*, *AHW*, p. 183: "etwa, binden", et *nēbettum* (une ceinture). Ce ész-kîri n'est jamais en cuir, mais en laine. Pour chaque exemplaire était généralement employée une ½ mesure "KIN" de laine, cf. ARET 1.11 r. X 1–3, 13–14 (1 na₄ = ½ "KIN").

En ce qui concerne níg-anše-ak, le signe médian ne présente pas une graphie constante. Dans les passages énumérés dans ARET 4: 316, le signe est toujours LAK.253, mais dans ARET 2.14 r. III 9 (cf. p. 153) il a une forme simplifiée, c'est-à-dire sans *gunû*) (cf. Thureau-Dangin 1899: n° 182–182bis). On a la même alternance dans les listes lexicales bilingues: C présente LAK.235, A l'autre forme (elle se trouve aussi dans la liste de signes, le soi-disant Syllabaire: ANŠE = û-šu-wu-um). Ainsi n. est-il en laine et la quantité de laine nécessaire pour chaque n. est indiquée globalement avec celle pour les ész-kîri. En général pour 1 é. et 2 n. il est besoin de 1 "KIN" (donc 1 n. = ¼ de "KIN"): ARET 1.15 r. IX 9–10, 13–14; ARET 3.609 r. V 4–6; 691 r. VI 9–10; 802 r. III 2–4; ARET 4.20 r. VI 3–4. Mais cf. ARET 1.2 III 2–3: 1 "KIN" 1 é. 4 n.; ARET 4.7 r. VII 1–4: 3 "KIN" siki 6 é. 2 "KIN" siki 4 n. (1 n. = ½ "KIN").

Quand un n. est très décoré, on indique la quantité d'or et d'argent utilisée, et il est associé alors au kù-sal.¹⁸ Le poids n'est pas constant:

¹⁸ La proportion entre 1 n. et 2 k. pour un équidé n'est pas toujours respectée, cf. TM.75.G.1860 f. XIX 7–10: 1 n. 1 k. 2 igi-nita; 1293 f. IV 6–7: 2 k. 2 igi-nita, XIII 25–26: 1 n. 1 k. 1 igi-nita.

2 n. 4 k. =	1 mine 20 sicles d'argent: ARET 3.959 r. V 3-4; ARET 4.4 tr.lat. 2-3; 7 r. VI 6-7; TM. 75.G.2507 f. XIV 5-6
2 n. 4. k. =	1 mine d'argent: ARET 3.435 l 1-2
1 n. 1 k. =	24 sicles d'or: TM.75.G.1923 f. VIII 7-8
1 k. =	49,25 sicles d'argent: ARET 2.42 l 1-2

Très souvent pourtant ces objets n'avaient qu'une décoration, *ni-zi-mu*, en métal: TM.75.G.2429 f. VIII 25-IX 1: 8 gín kù-gi *ni-zi-mu* 2 n. 4 k., IX 11-16: 4 gín kù-gi *ni-zi-mu* 1 n. 1 k.

Les bossettes ou breloques miniaturisées sont souvent en rapport avec des oiseaux (parfois de laine ?): ARET 4.1 r. XI 21 (1 *zi-ri siki* 1 *buru₄*-MUŠEN 1 k. *babbar:kù*); 15 f. VIII 10-11 (4 gín *babbar:kù* k. *buru₄*-MUŠEN); TM.75.G.1860 r. XI 10-13 (2 *ma-na* 20 gín kù-gi ... 2 n. 4 k. *lú* NIN.UŠ-MUŠEN), XIX 9-10 (2 gín kù-gi 2 k. 2 *buru₄*-MUŠEN), etc.

Parfois ils sont attribués à des (statues de) divinités: ARET 4.7 r. IX 5-6 (1 *na₄* *siki* 1 k. *babbar:kù* ^dBARA₇-ra); TM.75.G.2429 f. IX 21-23 (1 gín kù-gi 1 k. ^dUtu); 2507 f. XII 25-30 (1 gín kù-gi 1 k. *níg-ba ma-lik-tum* ^dRa-sa-ap), XV 21-22 (1 gín kg. 1 k. *níg-ba* en ... ^dA₅(NI)-da-kul). [33]

Brides et bossettes étaient pourvues d'un *ba-a-nu* de laine; ARET 1.11 r. X 5-9: 1 GIŠ-"KIN" *siki* UNKEN-ak 2 n. *wa ba-a-nu* "1 mesure K. de laine pour faire 2 brides et 1 *b.*"; 14 r. VII 4-8: 1 GIŠ-"KIN" *siki ba-a-nu* 2 n. *ba-a-nu* 4 k. "1 mine de laine pour faire le *b.* de 2 brides et le *b.* de 4 bossettes. Dans les listes lexicales, *níg-anše-ak* est précédé par *níg-anše-TÚG = ba-a-nu*. G. Pettinato (MEE 2: 144), se fondant sur une liste akkadienne qui donne *ba-a-nu = a-gu-ú*, traduit par "diadème". Il faut cependant comprendre *pānum*, c'est-à-dire "ce qui est devant; frontal", peut-être des franges qui étaient sur les brides et les bossettes.

Un autre élément des brides du cheval est *zi-kir-ra-tum*: TM.75.G.2429 f. IX 13-16: 1 n. 1 k. *lú* 2 *igi-nita wa* 12 z., XII 14-16: 18 gín *a-gar₅-gar₅* *kéš-da z.*; 2507 r. XIV 11-14: 10 gín kù-gi *ni-zi-mu* 2 n. 4 k. 4 z. Si on fait venir ce mot de *zqr*, on peut proposer une traduction par "panache".

49 The Head of Kura – the Head of Hadabal

1 The Silver Head of the God Kura

Every year Kura, the god of the city of Ebla,¹ received a delivery of “one mina of silver (470 g) for (his) silver head,” 1 ma-na babbar:kù sag babbar:kù ^d*Ku-ra*. This listing opens all the annual accounts that record the expenditure of silver and gold for about thirty-five years. Several of these documents also record “a second delivery of three shekels (23.5 g) of silver for the silver head of Kura,” 3 gín D. babbar: ku₆ sag babbar:kù ^d*Ku-ra* mu-ti-II; see, for example, TM.75.G.1860 (MEE 10.20; minister I[bbi]-z[ikir] year 1) obv. XXII 1–4; TM.75.G.2428 (MEE 12.35; I.–Z. 8), obv. VI 13–16; TM.75.G.2508 (MEE 12.37; I.–Z. 9) and obv. XXIV 41–XXV 4; TM.75.G.2429 (MEE 12.36; I.–Z. 10) rev. XXII 21–24. In a few rare cases, the three additional shekels are already included in the first listing: “one mina (and) three shekels of silver (493.5 g) for the silver head of Kura,” 1 ma-na 3 gín D. babbar:kù sag babbar:kù ^d*Ku-ra*; see, for example, TM.75.G.1904 (the minister Ibr[ium] 7) obv. I 1–3 and TM.75.G.2359 (Ibr. 9) obv. I 1–3.²

This replacement of the “head” of Kura can only be explained in terms of an annual ritual of renewal. Thus, the statue kept its properties intact as the personification of the god. The fact that the listing of silver required for restoring the “head” is at the beginning of this important category of administrative documents suggests that this renewal of the statue of the city's god had the importance of a rite marking the beginning of an annual cult cycle.³ We have

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The following special abbreviations have been used throughout: D. = DILMUN (determining gín: “weighed, standard shekel”); Ibr. + no. = year of the minister Ibrum; I.Z. + no. = year of the minister Ibbi-zikir.

¹ See Archi 1996e*: 139 [644].

² See Archi 1996c: 73, 81–93. An up-to-date chronological order of the annual accounts of the distribution of silver and gold is provided now in Archi and Biga 2003: 8–9

³ The same need of renewal, this time in term of generations, is expressed to Kura, and his spouse Barama, in the marriage ritual for the royal couple, ARET 11. The king and queen are placed under the protection of Kura and Barama respectively, being considered as the extension of these two gods on the earth. According to the two parallel versions of the ritual, nos. 1 § 65 and 2 § 68, “the announcement of the Mother goddess is that (there is) a new Kura, a

no points of reference that enable us to date the delivery of the three extra shekels chronologically within the year, and only in TM.75.G.1860 (MEE 10.20; I.Z. 1) obv. XXII 1–4 does this listing follow others probably made in the third month: iti ^dAMA-ra. [82]

This rite was reserved only for Kura. For the other gods, weapons or jewelry were replaced yearly,⁴ and Kura himself received two gold bracelets weighing approximately 48 g once a year: 6 gín D. 2 NI kù-gi 2 *gú-li-lum* níg-ba ^dKu-ra; see TM.75.G.2428 (MEE 12.35; I.–Z. 8) obv. VI 26–29 and TM.75.G.2508 (MEE 12.37; I.–Z. 9) obv. XVI 13–15.

2 A Stone Piece of the Head of Kura?

The face, hands, and feet of the most luxurious statues of the gods were covered with silver or gold leaf and the body with silver: TM.75.G.2429 (MEE 12.36; I.Z. 10) obv. IV 7–12: 8 gín D. babbar:kù nu₁₁-za 3 an-dùl ... 3 gín D. kù-gi nu₁₁-za igi-UM 2 šu 2 DU-sù “62.64 g of silver: sheets (for decorating) three statues: 23.49 g of gold: gold leaf (for decorating) their face, hands, and feet.”⁵ In this case, as in various others, the modest quantities of metal indicate that we are dealing with statuettes.⁶ These were dedicated by the queen to three different hypostases of the goddess Išhara. The Sumerogram igi-dub/igi-UM alternates usually with *ba-na/nu-ù* /panū/ “face.”⁷

new Barama; a new king, a new queen,” *wa(-a)* níg-mul ^dTU ^dKu-ra gibil ^dBa-ra-ma en gibil *ma-lik-tum* gibil, ARET 11.1 § 65 and 2 § 68.

4 See Pomponio 1997–98: 101–105. For the mace, EŠDA = *ha-bù*, of Hadda of Ḫalab, which was replaced twice a year (in the third and eighth month), and that of Hadda of Lub, replaced once a year (in the fourth month), see Archi 2010b* [575–580].

5 A similar technique was in use also in Mesopotamia, as an Early Dynastic female statuette in stone from Nippur with its face covered with gold leaf shows; see Hansen 1975: 164 with fig. II. For the data from the Mesopotamian written sources, see Renger 1980–83.

6 The Pre-Sargonic inscriptions from Mari and the Akkadian inscriptions of the kings of Akkad and Elam have *dul* for “statue”; *alam* is used in the Sumerian versions of the bilingual inscriptions (as noted by Gelb 1977: 13); *an-dùl* is attested at Mari, in the *šakkanakkū* period; see Kienast 1994: 273–75.

The term *alam* is very rarely used at Ebla. TM.75.G.1730(+) (Ibr. 14) rev. XVII 7–9 has: 2 GİŠ-alam *su-da₅-lik* en “two statues of wood (on the occasion of) the king’s becoming sovereign.” On the expression /šutallik malikim/, see Fronzaroli 1992: 184. This section of the document concerns the ceremony of the king’s marriage. Another passage in this administrative document has, instead, the term *an-dùl*; see n. 31 below. There is another writing for *alam*, TM.75.G.2073 obv. I 6–7: *gilim* 1 *alam_x*(KÍD.ALAM) “a crown (for) one statue.”

7 See Archi 1988g. I have provided a list of statue(tte)s decorated with gold and silver in Archi 1990b.

The older version of the marriage ritual (see ARET 11.1) uses the term *panū* for “the face” of both a human being and a god’s statue, while the parallel text (11.2) has, instead, *sag*, not *igi-dub/igi-UM*, as expected.⁸ This shows that the “silver head,” *sag kù-babbar*, of Kura, was, in fact, a “silver face,” a roughly life-size mask, given its weight of 470 g.

When no details are given of the parts covered in metal (“face, hands, feet”), in a few rare cases there is the generic designation “head”: see TM.75.G.1994 obv. I 1–4: 30 lá-1 ma-na babbar:kù nu₁₁-za 26 an-dùl dingir sag wa ti-ba-ra-nu “13.630 kg of silver sheets (for decorating) twenty-six statues of gods: (their) heads and wreaths.”⁹

Numerous parts of statuettes have been found in the royal palace: women’s coiffures and men’s turbans made of lapis lazuli, steatite, and white limestone and limestone eyes [83] with steatite irises. Some of the hairstyles, the backs of which are cut off, must have been fixed to panels together with pieces of garments made of limestone. A miniature statuette of an androcephalus bull, with a wide, steatite beard and made of wood covered with gold leaf, indicates that the inner parts of statues must generally have been made of wood.¹⁰ The textual evidence confirms this. Two silver statuettes (an-dùl babbar:kù) dedicated by the king to the goddess Išhara and to “the Lioness” were made “of boxwood; (their) face in silver, (their) kilt (covered) in silver,” GIŠ-taskarin *ba-na-ù* babbar:kù ... íb-lá babbar:kù; ARET 11.1 §§ 101–102; 2 §§ 111–112.

A piece of a head in a dark greyish-green stone, this time slightly smaller than life-size (h. 12.5 cm; l. 6.2 cm; th. 5.8 cm), was found on the last step of the monumental staircase that led from the Audience Court (L. 2752) to the palace quarters built on the acropolis (see fig. 1). Its inner walls are smooth; two cylindrical holes are on each side and one for the attachment of another stone section of the head. There is a rectangular hollow area at the back meant for fixing it to an inner section that was possibly made of wood. “On the top there is a short not worked appendix.” The carved outer surface represents the hairstyle (“hairedress”) with the “wavy curls ... probably set all around the head ... It is quite probable that a central chignon on the back completed the hairdress in the part of the preserved fragment where the carved surface is purposely cut to leave room for a kind of large inlay ... the depth of the hollow itself would hint at a massive inlay, maybe of stone. It is possible that the chignon was not made with a single material and that it was not much different from that of the statuette of king Lamgi/[Išgi]-Mari of Mari.”¹¹

⁸ ARET 11.1 § 79, § 101, § 102 and 2 § 84, § 111, and § 112; see also p. 46.

⁹ On *tiparānum*, see Archi 2002b*: 197 [796].

¹⁰ Matthiae 1977: 76–81; Matthiae et al. 1995: 300–29, nos. 65–121.

¹¹ Matthiae 1980b: 256 and 264, with n. 16.

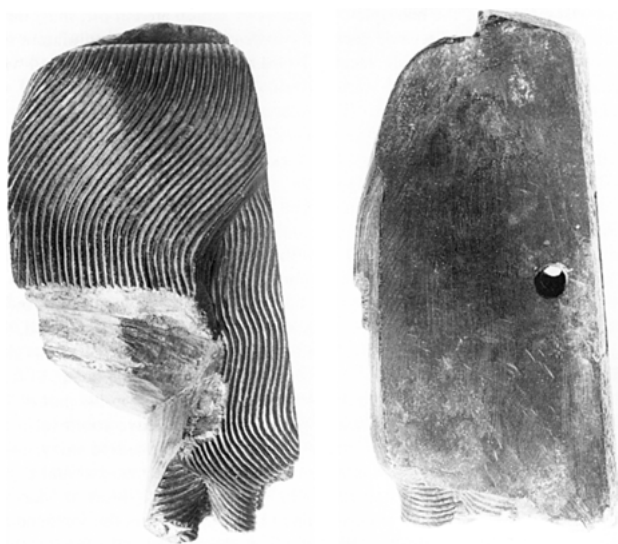


Fig. 1: Section of male head, a: outer face; b: side view.

The stone head does not have the wide-rimmed turban that covers the forehead and encircles the entire head with an appendix dropping from the left side that appears to belong to the king of Ebla's headdress. This turban is worn by a wooden figurine (h. 14.3 cm) representing a frontal, standing male figure wearing a cloak decorated with woollen flounces and with an axe resting on his left shoulder. It quite probably represents the king. Numerous limestone turbans have been found, moreover, from composite statuettes originally made of stone sections and gold- or silver-covered wood, all of which are frontal representations. Some of these figures (those with turbans without backs) must have formed the central part of friezes fixed to wooden panels. A bearded figure wearing a turban and shown frontally in a number of cylinder seals could also represent the king, who stands together with a female figure, undoubtedly a goddess.¹²

The uncarved, small appendix on the top of the stone head suggests that a tiara was attached to it. This head must have thus belonged to a god, not to the king. The find-spot of one of its stone sections makes it likely that the head came from within the palace complex and was dismantled so that its parts made of precious metals could be carried off.

¹² Matthiae 1979.

Only the god Kura received a food offering during the king's meals, while the other gods were honored collectively as "gods of the region"; see ARET 9.4 § 1, § 3, and § 4: "100 *gubar* measures of [84] cereals for the bread (*ninda*) of the king; 10 *gubar* measures of cereal for the bread (*ninda*) of the god Kura; 6 *gubar* measures of cereals for the bread (*ninda-sikil*) of the gods of the region (*dingir-dingir-dingir eri-bar*)."¹³ If Kura was the object of daily worship by the king, it is probable that his temple stood on the acropolis, not far from the royal apartments. This hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that "Išḫara of the king" (the hypostases of this goddess who protected the king) was worshipped in the temple of Kura: see MEE 2.33 rev. IX 16–19; TM.75.G.1418 rev. VIII 7–10: ^dBARA₁₀ en é ^dKu-ra.¹⁴ It was in this temple that the allied cities came to swear loyalty (*nam-kud*) to Ebla: ARET 2.13 § 18; 3.358 V 1–3, 440 rev. VII 1–3, 732 II 7–9; 4.21 § 1; to "pour the oil" of peace (*níd̄ba i-giṣ*): ARET 2.13 § 24; 3.800 I 9–11; MEE 2.40 rev. IV 17–V 4.

It is probable that various gods were represented by life-size statues in the area around the palace. The first candidate for the head in question, however, is Kura. This head was made of rather thick stone segments (unlike the two that will be considered below) that left space for a small support or frame, possibly made of wood, with a wider lower section to which the 470 g silver mask could be attached.¹⁵ The 23.49 g of silver that were usually delivered separately could have been used to decorate the chignon or a lock of hair. [85]

The chignon characterizes the warlike images of kings, for example, the figure of Eanatum in his Stele of Victory, the Meskalamdug helmet, the statue of Išgi-Mari, and the bronze head of an Akkadian ruler from Kuyunjik. A steatite fragment of the hair of a miniature head from Ebla shows this same kind of chignon.¹⁶ The hollow back of the stone head from Ebla, however, could have been used to attach a lock of hair that fell over the shoulders, like that of the war-god Ningirsu on the Eanatum stele or the god on the plaque from the Nintu temple at Khafajah.¹⁷ The size of the hollow supports this latter hypothesis. There is no reason why this last type of hairstyle should characterize a god of war. Kura most certainly was not a god of war, as weapons are never

¹³ For other passages, see ARET 9: 371–72.

¹⁴ For other quotations of "Išḫara of the king," see Archi 1993d: 74.

¹⁵ Matthiae 1980b: 267, has already noted that "the particular 'sliced' shape of fragment C1 [i.e., the piece discussed here] leads us to suggest that the head was made up of a kind of mask that was carved on one side the face ... a mask structurally similar to the famous female head from Warka of the late Protohistorical period."

¹⁶ Matthiae et al.: 314, no. 87.

¹⁷ Frankfort 1943: pl. 64, no. 315.

dedicated to him, whereas two maces were given every year to Hadda of Ḥalab and one to Rašap of Hadani.¹⁸ The sanctuary of Hadda was in Aleppo, where the main statue of the god was located; he was also worshiped at Ebla, in the temple of Kura. A less likely attribution for the head could be this hypostasis of Hadda.

3 Large Statues

The composite statues documented at Ebla by archaeological finds and textual data, that is, those consisting of a wooden support with the visible parts composed of various kinds of stone or covered with sheets of metal, find an exact counterpart at Tell Chuera datable to roughly the same period. During the 1998 excavations, parts of the face of a male statue that had been ritually buried together with bronze weapons were found: two daggers, a spearhead, an axe decorated with the protome of a lion, and a round mace-head. Such circumstances suggest that the statue most probably represented the Storm-god Hadda. Part of the decoration of the face and one ear (still bearing the nail that fixed it to the wooden support) are of bronze; the eyes are made of limestone and steatite, and part of the beard, which covered the chin in two locks, is also steatite. The face is slightly larger than life-size.¹⁹

This find illustrates that the technique of producing statues made of wood, stone, and metal was used throughout Syria during the Early Dynastic III period.

The Ebla texts record numerous quantities of gold and silver for figures of the gods, which, given their modest amounts, must have been used for statues.²⁰ Given the thinness of the metal sheets found in the Royal Palace, the 156 g of silver (20 shekels) designated to cover the statue of Ištar, according to MEE 2.48 r. IV 11–V 3, could have been intended for a medium-size statue. **[86]**

In some cases, however, the descriptions relate to large statues, with gold covering the face, hands, and feet and silver sometimes covering other parts of the statue.

¹⁸ See n. 4 above.

¹⁹ See Krasnik and Meyer 2001.

²⁰ See the list of gold and silver used for statue(tte)s given in Archi 1990b: 104.

3.1 Gods

Aštapi; ARET 8.534(+) (I.Z. 12) rev. III 14–20: 2 ma-na šú+ša 9 kù-gi nu₁₁-za 2 an-dùl níg-ba en *Áš-da-bil* šè nídba “1.170 kg of gold: sheets (for decorating) two statues, gift of the king (for) Aštabil, which is an offering.”

Aštar; TM.75.G.2315 obv. V 3–rev. I 1: 1 ma-na 10 babbar:kù nu₁₁ sag ^dAš-dar “548 g of silver: sheets (for decorating) the head of Aštar.”

Be(lum) Gananaïm (1) MEE 2.48 rev. IV 8–V 4: 10 ma-na babbar:kù kin_x-ag 1 an-dùl babbar:kù níg-ba ^dBE *Ga-na-na-im* “4.700 kg of silver for making one statue of silver: gift (for) the lord of Ganana.” (2) TM.75.G.2365 (Ibr. 13) obv. V 7–18: 7 ma-na tar babbar:kù nu₁₁-za 1 an-dùl ... 2 ma-na 5 gín D. kù-gi nu₁₁-za igi-dub-sù *wa* 2 DU-sù *wa* 2 šu-sù níg-ba ^dBE *Ga-na-na-im* “3.525 kg of silver: sheets (for decorating) one statue; 980 g of gold: sheets (for decorating) its face, hands, and feet: gift (for) the lord of Ganana.”

(Dagan) the Lord of Tuttul (1) TM.75.G.2502 (Ibr. 15) rev. XIV 18–XV 13: 4 ma-na tar babbar:kù nu₁₁-za 1 an-dùl mí ... 1 ma-na 14 gín kù-gi nu₁₁-za igi-dub-sa 2 šu 2 DU-sù 4 ma-na šú+ša babbar:kù nu₁₁-za 1 an-dùl nita ... 2 ma-na 12 kù-gi nu₁₁-za igi-dub-sù *wa* íb-lá *si-ti-tum* íb+III-TÚG 6 an-na šub *si-in* ša-pi a-gar₅-gar₅ 1 banšur 1 gír mar-tu-sù níg-ba ^dBE *Du-du-lu*^{ki} “2.110 kg of silver: sheets (for decorating) one statue of a woman; 580 g of gold: sheets (for decorating) its face, (its) two hands (and) two feet; 2.04 kg of silver: sheets (for decorating) one statue of a man; 1.030 kg of gold: sheets (for decorating) its face and (its) belt (and) sheath, (its) kilt; 47 g of tin to be melted with 313 g of copper (for) one table and his dagger. Gift (for) the Lord of Tuttul (and his spouse).” (2) TM.75.G.10088(+) (I.Z. 3) rev. X 15–XI 21: 3 ma-na ša-pi 3 gín D. babbar:kù nu₁₁-za 1 an-dùl 1 ma-na tar 5 gín D. kù-gi níg-ki-za en nu₁₁-za 1 igi-dub-sù 1 íb+III-TÚG 1 íb-lá 1 *si-ti-tum*-sù 6 gín D. babbar:kù nu₁₁-za 1 GIŠ-banšur-sù 2 ½ gín D. kù-gi níg-ki-za en maš-maš-sù 10 gín D. an-na šub *si-in* 9 gín D. a-gar₅-gar₅ urudu-sù 2 ½ gín D. an-na šub *si-in* 15 gín D. a-gar₅-gar₅ urudu 1 gír mar-tu 3 gín D. kù-gi níg-ki-za en *zi-du*-sù 5 gín D. babbar:kù é-gír-sù an-dùl níg-ba en ^dBE *Du-du-lu*^{ki} “1.747 kg of silver: sheets (for decorating) one statue; 744 g of gold, which the king is due, sheets (for decorating) its face, skirt, belt, sheath; 47 g of silver: sheets (for decorating) one table for it; 20 g of gold, which the king is due, (for) its mas-mas; 78 g of tin to be melted in 70 g of copper: its refined copper, 20 g of tin to be melted in 117 g of copper (for) one mar-tu dagger, 23 g of gold, which the king is due, (for) its *zi-du* 39 g of silver (for) its case. A statue (that is) the gift of the king (for) the Lord of Tuttul.” (3) TM.75.G.2622 (I.Z. 7) obv. XVIII 29–XIX 17: 3 ma-na 2 gín D. babbar:kù [87] nu₁₁-za 1 an-dùl ... 1 ma-na šú+ša 4 kù-gi nu₁₁-za 1 igi-dub 1 íb-lá 1 *si-ti-tum* 1 gír-kun íb+III-TÚG-sù ... 2 kù-gi maš-maš GIŠ-asal 3 an-na šub *si-in*

17 a-gar₅-gar₅ 1 GiŠ-lagab-sù ... 3 gín D. kù-gi nu₁₁-za 1 gír mar-tu 1 é-gír n[ig-ba] BE *Du-du-lu*^{ki} “1.430 kg of silver: sheets (for decorating) one statue; 658 g of gold: sheets (for decorating its) face, (its) belt, frog (loop attached to belt that holds a weapon), sheath (and) its kilt; 16 g of gold ... (for) a tray; 23 g of tin to be melted with 133 g of copper (for) its plinth; 23 g of gold: sheets (for decorating) one mar-tu dagger (and its) case. Gift (for) the Lord of Tuttul.” (4) TM.75.G.2508 (MEE 12.37; I.Z. 9) obv. XXI 21–27: 1 ma-na 16 gín D. kù-gi wa ½ kb. nu₁₁-za 1 an-dùl níg-ba *Îl-à-ag-da-mu* ^dBE *Du-du-lu*^{<ki>} “595 g of gold and 4 g of silver: sheets (for decorating) one statue: gift of (prince) Ir’aq-damu (for) the Lord of Tuttul.” (5) TM.75.G.2062 obv. II 14–III 12: 1 ma-na tar 6 kù-gi nu₁₁-za igi-UM 1 an-dùl wa 1 íb-lá 1 *si-ti-tum* 1 gír-kun-sù wa 2 ½ kù-gi maš-maš 1 GiŠ-banšur-sù 3 kù-gi nu₁₁-za 1 gír mar-tu-sù BE *Du-du-lu*^{ki} wa 1 kù-gi 1 kù-sal 1 buru₄-MUŠEN an<dùl> babbar:kù dam-sù en in-na-sum “752 g of gold: sheets (for decorating) the face of a statue and its belt, frog; 19 g of gold ... (for) its table; 23 g of gold: sheets (for decorating) his mar-tu dagger: (for) the Lord of Tuttul; and one (shekel) of gold (for) one buckle (and) one vulture (for) the statue of his spouse; the king has given.”

Hadabal of Arugadu; see section “The Heads of the King and Queen or of Hadabal and His Lady,” here below.

Hadabal of Hamatu; TM.75.G.10202+ARET 8.539(+) (I.Z. 13) rev. XIII 36–38: 2 ma-na kù-gi nu₁₁-za ^dA₅-da-KUL *’À-ma-du*^{ki} “940 g of gold: sheets (for decorating the statue) of Hadabal of Hamatu.”

Hadabal of Luban; MEE 2.48 obv. I 1–6: 6 ma-na babbar:kù kin_x-ag an-dùl-an-dùl é ^dA₅-da-bal *Lu-ba-an*^{ki} “2.820 kg of silver in order to make the statues (for) the temple of Hadabal of Luban.”

Hadda (1) MEE 2.10: 8 ma-na 16 gín D. babbar:kù 10 (gín) D. 1 ma-na zabar tag nu₁₁-za an-dùl¹ babbar níg-ba ^d’À-da “3.885 kg of silver, 78 g of gold, 470 g of bronze: sheets (for decorating) a silver statue: gift (for) Hadda. (2) MEE 2.49 obv. I 1–II 5: 8 ma-na babbar:kù kin_x-ag an-dùl... 3 ma-na kù-gi kin_x-ag an-dùl níg-du₈ en é ^d’À-da “3.760 kg of silver in order to make a statue (and) 1.410 kg of gold in order to make (that ?) statue (for) the ransom of the king (to) the temple of Hadda.” (3) MEE 2.12 rev. VIII 1–4: 1 ma-na 24 kù-gi nu₁₁-za 2 an-dùl e ^d’À-da “658 gr of gold: sheets (for decorating) two statues (of Hadda and his spouse; see rev. IX 5–6) (for) the temple of Hadda.”

Hadda of Ḫalab (1) TM.75.G.1860 (MEE 10.20; I.Z. 1) rev. XVI 10–19: 3 ma-na babbar:kù šu-bal-ag 9 ma-na gín-gín kin_x-ag 1 sag 1 an-dùl níg-ba en ^d’À-da *Ḫa-lab*_x^{ki} “1.410 kg of silver value of 4.230 kg of lapis lazuli in order to make one head of one statue: gift of the king (to) Hadda of Ḫalab.” (2) TM.75.G.2062 obv. I 1–II 8: “10 lá-1 ma-na tar 6 kù-gi nu₁₁-za 1 an-dùl lú túg-gù 14 kù-gi šub *si-in ne-li-iš* 10 babbar:kù 1 an-zam_x *si-in* 2 šu-sù wa 6 kù-gi šub *si-in ne-li-iš*

4 babbar:kù MEN(GĀxEN.IGI)-sù 4 kù-gi 2 mar-X-sù níg-ba en ^dĀ-da lú Ḥa-lab_x^{ki} “4.511 kg of gold: sheets (for decorating) one statue with a variegated dress; 110 g of gold to be melted in a *ne-li*; 78 g of silver (for) one goblet for its two hands; and 47 g of gold to be melted in a *ne-li*; 31 g of silver (for) its crown; 31 g of gold (for) its 2 *mar-X*, gift of the king (for) Hadda of Ḥalab.”²¹

Ḥašaba (of Ḥalab)²² TM.75.G.2429 (MEE 12.36; I.Z. 10) rev. VI 3–10: 2 ma-na babbar:kù wa ... 3 ma-na kù-gi nu₁₁-za ^dḤa-ša-ba lú é ^dĀ-da “940 g of silver and 1.410 kg of gold: sheets (for decorating the statue of) Ḥašaba of the temple of Hadda (in Ḥalab).”

Rašap of Hadani MEE 2.48 obv. I 7–II 4: 8 ma-na babbar:kù kin_x-ag an-dùl-an-dùl níg-ba *Ra-sa-ap* ^dĀ-da-ni níg-dug₈ en ù níg-du₈ *ma-lik-tum* ù níg-du₈ *Ib-la*^{ki} “3.760 kg of silver in order to make statues, gift (to) Rašap of Hadani (for) the ransom (?) of the king, the queen, and Ebla.”

[88] Rašap of Tunip TM.75.G.1771 (MEE 7.47) rev. XV 9–15: 10 ma-na babbar:kù šú+ša 7 gín D. kù-gi sikil lú *Maš-ga-du*^{ki} wa ì-na-sum nu₁₁-za ^d*Ra-sa-ap Du-ne-ib*^{ki} “4.700 kg of silver (and) 211 g of gold (for) the purification of the town Mašgadu and given (for) sheets (for decorating the statue) of Rašap of Tunip.”

Rašap of [Hadani/Tunip] TM.77.G.730 obv. II 3–11: 2 ma-na tar babbar:kù šu-bal-ag [150 ma-na a-gar₅-gar₅] 15 ma-na babbar:kù šu-bal-ag 12[+3] ma-na [a]n-na šub an-dùl DU ^d*Ra-sa-ap* [...] “1.175 kg of silver value of [70.5 kg of copper;] 7.050 kg of silver value of 7.050 kg of tin in order to cast a standing statue (of 77.550 kg) of Rašap [of Hadani/Tunip].”²³

3.2 Human Beings

[1] TM.75.G.333 (fig. 2) obv. I 1–3: 14 ma-na 25 gín-gín kin_x-ag sag an-dùl en “6.775 kg of lapis lazuli in order to make the head of a statue of the king.”

[2] TM.75.G.2429 (MEE 12.36; I.Z. 10) obv. XXVIII 6–14: 6 gín D. an-na šub *si-in* 54 gín D. a-gar₅-gar₅ nu₁₁-za 1 sag *Îl-ba-i-sar* lú *al*₆ kâ en “47 g of tin to be melted with 423 g of copper: sheets (for decorating) one head of PN which (stays) on the gate of the king.”²⁴

²¹ A parallel passage to part of this section is TM.75.G.2462 rev. XVI 20–37.

²² This deity is mentioned only in this passage.

²³ The ratio of 1 : 10 between silver and copper is attested to in this document of the period of the minister Arrukum, obv. XII 11–rev. I 1; the ratio of 1 : 1 between silver and tin is attested to in other documents of Arrukum; see, for example, TM.75.G.1406 obv. I 4–6.

²⁴ For statues related to sagi “the steward,” see Archi 1999b: 155, nos. 15, 17, 18, and 19 [192–193].



Fig. 2: Tablet TM.75.G.333.

3.3 Animals

- [1] TM.77.G.730 obv. I 9–II 2: 42 ma-na 30 [babbar:kù šu-bal-ag 8 ma-na 30 kù-gi (?)] 1 am ^dRa-sa-ap “19.975 kg [of silver value of 3.995 kg of gold (?)] (for) one bull of Rašap.” [89]
- [2] MEE 2.48 obv. IX 7–rev. I 4: 29(?), 24 ma-na babbar:kù kin_x-ag 2 lu_x ní-g-ba ^dĀ-da “13.818 kg of silver in order to make two human-faced bulls: gift (for) Hadda.”
- [3] TM. 75.G.1402 obv. II 7–III 4: 1 ma-na 50 gín D. babbar:kù kin_x-ag 1 lu_x é ^dGa-mi-iš “862 g of silver in order to make a human-faced bull (for) the temple of Kamiš.”
- [4] TM.75. G.2429 (MEE 12.36; I.Z. 10) rev. XXIV 11–20: 7 ma-na šú+ša gín D. babbar:kù ... 6 ma-na 7 gín D. kù-gi nu₁₁-za NIN.UŠ.MUŠEN lu_x lú al₆ ká é-é-maḥ “3.450 kg of silver (and) 2.875 kg of gold: sheets (for decorating) a ... -bird²⁵ (and two ?) human-faced bull(s), which (are placed) at the gate of the High Houses.”
- [5] TM.75.G.2429 (MEE 12.36; I.Z. 10) rev. XXVII 13–20: 7 ma-na 14 gín D. kù-gi 2 ma-na ša-pi 3 gín D. babbar:kù nu₁₁-za 2 da-rí-ga-tum wa 2 an-dùl 1 lu_x 1 am-GAG lú al₆ 2 ká é-é-maḥ “3.400 kg of gold (and) 1.280 kg of silver: sheets (for decorating) two socles (?) and two statues of one human-faced bull (and) one bull ..., which (are placed) at the gates of the High Houses.”

²⁵ For this bird, whose Sumerian name was gammu or gambi, Akkadian *kumû*, a waterfowl according to CAD, K: 535; see Civil 1987b: 149; Kreberník 1996: 25. The connection of this bird with a human-faced bull reminds one of the Sumerian Imdugud-bird, which is portrayed at Ebla in an inlay probably imported from regions in the east; see Matthiae et al. 1995: 277–78, nos. 29–35.

- [6] TM.75.G.2272 obv. III 7–IV 2: 2 ma-na 12 gín D. kù-gi nu₁₁-za gaba 1 zag-sù an-dùl IGI.NITA “1.340 kg of gold: sheets (for decorating) the front (and) one side of a statue of an ass.”

3.4 Statue Bases

- [1] TM.75.G.1587 (MEE 7.2; Ibr. 14) obv. I 8–II 1 (and rev. XI 5): 10 ma-na 40 gín D. kù-gi [(nu-za₁₁ 1 GIŠ-šudun an-dùl)] Ma-ri^{ki} “5.013 kg of gold: sheets (for decorating) one throne of a statue (from) Mari.”
- [2] TM.75.G.1864 (Ibr. 15) obv. II 2–5: 7 ma-na kù-gi nu₁₁-za 1 dub an-dùl lú 2 DU GIŠ-šudun an-dùl Ma-ri^{ki} “3.29 kg of gold: sheets (for decorating) 1 dub-vase of a statue with two feet (belonging to) the throne of a statue (from) Mari.”²⁶
- [3] TM.75.G.2519(+) (I.Z. 3) obv. II 3–4: 14 ma-na kù-gi nu₁₁-za 1 GIŠ-šudun an-dùl “6.58 kg of gold: sheets (for decorating) one throne of a statue.”
- [4] ARET 8.534(+) (I.Z. 12) rev. XI 7–11: 4 ma-na kù-gi 2 lagab an-dùl en al₆-gál é-siki “1.880 kg of gold: two plinths of (one/two) statue(s) of the king (and the queen ?), (which) are (at) the House of the Wool (i.e., the storehouse).”

The same annual documents that register the use of gold and silver also refer to the use of refined bronze (urudu) and to bronze obtained by fusing tin (anna) with copper (a-gar₅-gar₅). Copper and bronze, however, appear to have been used extremely rarely in the creation of statues.²⁷ Documents mention a large bronze statue of the god Rašap weighing more than 77 kg (TM.77.G.730 obv. II 3–11, see section “Gods,” here above). The statue of a divine couple: Šugu and Šugadu required 533 g of bronze, according to TM.75.G.2424 obv. I 1–9. The head of a certain Ilba-išar (who was perhaps decapitated) was placed

²⁶ According to TM.75.G.2341 obv. V 8–10, dub is a kind of vase with a lid and two feet: 1 dub ... pad-sù; TM.75.G.2073 rev. X 6–7: 1 la-ḥa 4 zi-ru₁₂ 1 dub 2 DU “one jar, four *ziru* vases, one dub-vase with two feet.” It belonged sometimes to a throne; see TM.75.G.2350 obv. I 7–I 2; 1 GIŠ-šudul wa 1 dub lú 2 DU; TM.75.G.2271 obv. I 3, V 7 and rev. III 2: 1 GIŠ-šudul 1 dub-sù.

²⁷ Concerning metal sculptures in Mesopotamia, Frankfort (1958: 26) writes: «Remarkable figures were cast in copper as early as the Second Early Dynastic Period. Of the most ambitious one so far known a mere trace remains: at Tell Agrab we found a well-shaped foot which must have belonged to a nearly life-size copper statue. It may be, of course, that the statue was of some other material with only the face, the hands, and the feet cast of copper, or that the body and limbs consisted of copper sheets hammered over a bitumen core. This method was used for some large figures of lions found at Al ‘Ubaid, belonging, presumably, to the Third Early Dynastic Period.»

“on the gateway of the king” and covered with a sheet of 470 g of bronze [90] (see section “Human Beings,” (2), here above). This person can be identified with the messenger sent at least twice to Ša/etilum, ARET 4.4 §§ 26–27; TM.75.G.1918 (MEE 10.29; I.Z. 5) obv. XVI 20–23; TM.75.G.2622 (I.Z. 7) obv. III 5–10 (he is sent to Šetilum together with Aku-gunu).²⁸

The few remains of statuary in metal from Mesopotamia demonstrate the superiority of this technique over that exclusively in stone.²⁹ It is clearly unexpected that metal statues were so rare at Ebla, where bronze production was so widespread. We must accept the evidence available to us, however. It is highly unlikely that the central archive simply failed to preserve detailed evidence concerning the production of bronze or copper statues destined for the Palace.³⁰

The statues found at Mari, dating approximately to the period of the Ebla archives, are only of stone. These are votive statues representing both sovereigns (Ikun-Šamaš, Ikun-Šamagan, Iplul-Il, Išgi-Mari) and officials of the palace administration. If no stone statues have been found at Ebla, it is because no temples have been excavated yet. The administrative documents contain no record of objects made of stone. We do know, however, that statuary at Ebla was influenced by that of Mari, Ebla thus owing a further debt to Mari after that of writing. A document of the minister Arrukum, dating to roughly thirty-five years before the fall of Ebla (TM.75.G.2249 obv. IV 12–15) registers the presence in the city of nine stonecutters from Mari, who each receive a textile: 1 gu-dùl-TÚG 4 sal-TÚG 4 *gu-zi* mug 9 guruš bur-gul *Ma-ri*^{ki}.³¹ Another document of the same period, TM.75.G.1559,³² registers 1.250 and 0.470 kg of silver for three

28 See ARES 2: 440–441. The annual account TM.75.G.2622 chronologically precedes TM.75.G.2429, which has the passage concerning Ilba-išar quoted above as *b*, 2. See, further, TM.75.G.1911+4232 rev. II 1–11: 1 íb-lá *si-ti-tum* gír-kun babbar:kù *íl-ba-i-šar in ud* 1 ma-na NA₄-GUL-za-gin kù šu-mu-“tag₄” 1 íb-lá *si-ti-tum* gír-kun babbar:kù *íl-ba-i-šar in ud* kas₄-kas₄ ħi-mu-[DU] “one belt (with) sheath (and) frog of silver (for) Ilba-išar on the occasion (in which) he consigned 470 gr of carnelian (and) lapis lazuli. ... 1 belt (with) sheath (and) frog of silver (for) Ilba-isar on the occasion (that) the messengers deliver (it ?).”

29 See Frankfort 1958. 26–28.

30 There is a single large tablet, TM.75.G.1915+3592(= ARET 3.526)+422+4237+4250+4664+4885+11603, concerning large amounts of copper and bronze, to be dated to king Irkab-damu (rev. II 7), that is, to the minister Arrukum, who preceded Ibrum in this office. The total is given as 352 minas of copper (a-gar₅-gar₅) (165.44 kg) and 334,48 minas of bronze (zabar) (156.36 kg). Obv. IX 5–10 runs as follows: 15 ma-na tar zabar kin_x-ag an-dùl-an-dùl 3 ma-na 10 gín D. a-gar₅-gar₅ šú+ša 3 gín DILMUN an-na sag ^rd¹-x-x¹ (?) “7.28 kg bronze in order to make statues, 1.49 kg of copper (with) 180 g of tin (for) the head of the god ... (?)”

31 This passage has already been quoted in Archi 1988e: 28, and 1990b: 102.

32 See Archi 1981b: 155–61.

metalworkers from Mari: rev. I 11–II 5: 2 ma-na ša-pi babbar:kù *ʿPuzur₄ʿ-ʿšaʿ* ù *I-ku-il* simug *Ma-ri^{ki}*, IV 8–11: 1 ma-na babbar:kù *Iš-dub-il* simug *Ma-ri^{ki}*.

The passages quoted above in (1) and (2) above (p. 89), dated respectively to Ibr. 14 and Ibr. 15, moreover, illustrate how twenty or so years before the destruction of the city some statues came directly from Mari. These were placed on thrones possibly made at Ebla and decorated with a few kilograms of gold. It is difficult to say whether these statues were gifts or commissioned works produced by Mari craftsmen. Given the value of these thrones, the statues must have represented gods, possibly Hadda, whose temple at Aleppo was restored when Ibrium was minister.³³ [91]

A document probably dating to the year of the destruction of Ebla (it belongs to the group of tablets found in L. 2875, the room through which both the central archive and the Administrative Quarter were reached; see p. 92 below), TM.75.G.118+152, mentions two gold statues from Mari presumably representing the two gods: standing respectively on a bull and on a human-faced bull and placed “(at) the gate of the house” (rev. III 1–5: [...] 2 [...] 2 an-dùl *Ma-ri^{ki}*) 1 gud-AŠ 1 lu₅ AN.ŠÈ.GÚ 385 ma-na kù-gi.

Of the many Eblaite passages concerning statues, very few appear to refer with certainty to votive statues of human beings. A statue representing the king shown together with the queen was taken to the mausoleum (é *ma-tim* /mawt-im/) in NEnaš on the occasion of the marriage of the last king, Išar-damu, to his *maliktum*, Tabur-damu, TM.75.G.1730(+) (MEE 7.34; Ibr. 14) rev. VI 24–32: ša-pi lá-1 gín D. babbar:kù *a-dè* 1 an-dùl *sa-du en wa ma-lik-tum si-in NE-na-áš^{ki}* “305 g of silver: value of one statue, which is that of the king and the queen, for NEnaš.”³⁴ TM.75.G.10210 (Ibr. 17) rev. III 2–9 mentions a statue

³³ I have commented on text TM.75.G.2269 in Archi 2010b*: 9 [582].

³⁴ This same statue, registered in an administrative text and dedicated to the ancestors on the occasion of the marriage of king Išar-damu with Tabur-damu, is also mentioned in the document of the marriage ritual; see Biga 1992a: 7–8. ARET 11.2 §§ 108–110: [*a-ti-ma en gibil nídba*] é dingir *Sa-gi-su sá-du en* 1 an-dùl *a-la-gú-nu sá-du ma-lik-tum* 1 an-dùl *a-la-gú-nu wa du-uš-da-a-da-mu wa dím* ... “[While the new king (Išar-damu) offers (the sheep)] (in) the temple of the god of Šagišu, (the ancestor, then) they placed that (statue) of the king: one statue to leave (?), that of the queen: one statue to leave (?); [the young carvers (?)] made (them) ...” The parallel document with the ritual for king Irkab-damu, Išar-damu’s father, ARET 11.1 §§ 98–101, runs as follows: [*a-ti-ma*] en gibil nídba *sa-du en* ù *sa-du ma-lik-tum* 1 an-dùl *la-gú-nu uš-da-ti-ma* 2 an-dùl *la-gú-ne-im wa-a dím* 1 an-dùl *guruš wa-a i-da-ga[-a 1]* an-dùl *babbar:kù* ^dSIG₇.AMA en GIŠ-taškarin *ba-na-ù babbar:kù* [1 ib-lá babbar:kù GIŠ-asal *mi-in* 1 šu-sù] ... “[While] the new king (Irkab-damu) offers (the four sheep), that (statue) of the king and that of the queen, one statue each to leave (?), he has made up the two statues to leave (?): a young carver (?) made (them). Then the king offers one statue of silver to the goddess Ishara: in boxwood, (her) face (is) of silver, [(her) skirt (is covered) with silver, a tray in her hand].” The text continues: “The king (offers another statue to) the goddess Lion[ess]: (her) [fa]ce (is)

of the king offered by the minister Ibrium: 4 gín D. kù-gi *ni-zi-mu* 1 pad *ma-da-a-um* kù-gi an-dùl lú en *ša-ti Ib-rí-um* mu-DU “31 g of gold for decorating the lid of a *ma-da-a-um* vase of gold of the statue of the king which Ibrium has delivered.” MEE 2.48 obv. VIII 8–IX 6 mentions several votive statues: 4 ma-na babbar:kù kin_x-ag an-dùl-an-dùl dumu-nita-dumu-nita KA-sa-NE-bir₅ A-bar-sal₄ ní-g-ba ^dĀ-da “1.880 kg of silver (are given) in order to make the statues of the sons of K. (the king ?) of Abarsal: gift (for) Hadda.”

Thus in the vast majority of cases it seems that we are dealing with statues of gods. According to ARET 7.42, Tubuḫu-Hadda (the son of the minister Ibbi-zikir) gives 15 g of gold and 47 g of silver for decorating two statues; further, one of his sons dedicates a dagger, as do four more young men. It is quite doubtful that this record could relate to the votive statue representing Tubuḫu-Hadda and his spouse. The small quantities of gold and silver that the heir to the throne, Ir’ag-damu, provides for the two statues presented to Hadda of Lub would appear to be for the statues of that god and his spouse, TM.75.G.2507 (I.Z. 11) obv. XV 8–17: 6 gín D. babbar:kù nu₁₁-za 2 an-dùl ... 2 gín D. kù-gi nu₁₁-za 2 igi-dub 2 šu-sù 2 DU ní-g-ba Īl-’à-ag-da-mu ^dĀ-da lú Lu-ub^{ki} “47 g of silver, 15 g of gold: sheets [92] (for decorating) the two faces, their hands (and) feet: gift of Ir’ag-damu (for) Hadda of Lub.” The following case, where Dusigu, the king’s mother, dedicates two statues to the god Kura, is clearer. If the image of the king and queen (or some other human couple) were intended, it is most likely that this would have been specified. The statues must have thus represented the god and his spouse; TM.75.G.2359 (Ibr. 9) rev. IX 6–20: tar 3 gín D. babbar:kù nu₁₁-za 2 an-dùl ... 8 gín D. kù-gi nu₁₁-za *ba-na-a-sa wa* 2 šu-sù wa 2 DU-sù ní-g-ba *Du-si-gú* ^dKu-ra in ud sag: ne “258 g of silver: sheets (for decorating) two statues; 63 g of gold: sheets (for decorating) their faces, hands, and feet: gift of Dusigu (for) Kura on the occasion of the early fruit.” The following passages supports this interpretation: the king dedicates four statues, and this time we are definitely dealing with two pairs of gods: TM.75.G.2508 (MEE 12.37; I.Z. 9) rev. VII 2–12: 4 an-dùl ... ní-g-ba en 2 ^dĀ-lu wa ^dĀ-da lú Lu-ub^{ki} “four statues ... gift of the king (for) the two Alu and Hadda of Lub (and his spouse).”

3.5 The Heads of the King and the Queen or of Hadabal and his Lady?

Several plaques of dark greyish-green stone belonging to the hairstyles of two life-size heads, a male (h. 12.5 cm; th. 16.5 cm) and a female (h. 30.3 cm;

of silver, (her) skirt (is covered) with silver, [a tray in her hand].” The administrative document TM.75.G.1730(+) registers not only the statues of the king and the queen, but also the statue

th. 23.8 cm), respectively, were found in room L. 2862 of the so-called Administrative Quarter (fig. 3).³⁵ This part of the Palace was reached through room L. 2875, which was roughly 4 m wide and positioned under the portico on the eastern side of the Audience Court (L. 2752). This was one of the places in which letters and some administrative documents were drawn up and, predominately, outgoing letters were stored temporarily (from the king but also from the minister Ibbi-zikir or at least having him as the addressee).³⁶ A door on the north side gave access to the central archive (L. 2769). A door opening out from the eastern wall of the Audience Court, roughly 3.5 m thick, opened onto the passage or corridor L. 2862. Here two buttresses on the north side framed an opening of almost 13 m in size, the architrave of which was supported by two columns. This opened onto a wide area, L. 2913, most probably a courtyard with a roof running along the walls. Two entrances were found along the north wall leading, respectively, to a narrow staircase (one section of which is preserved) that went up to the first floor and an asymmetrical room, L. 2764, that also included the space behind the stairs and that, given its shape, could have been used only for storing goods (see fig. 3). Various tablets were found here, the contents of which (together with its closeness to the central archive and the group of tablets in L. 2875) justify the name given to this part of the palace. These relate to deliveries of animals and cereals made by villages in the surrounding territory and differ in typology from documents on the same subject from the central archives. Data that needed to be preserved for a long period clearly were summarized in another kind of document.³⁷ [93]

[94] In room L. 2913 (which is presumed to be a courtyard) small, decorative elements carved in stone were found: turbans, parts of hairstyles, a miniature frontal representation of a head, kaunakes skirts, and animal figurines, all of which must have been part of panels attached to the walls. Two Egyptian objects (the value of which must have been well known) were also preserved on the first floor of the wooden portico that runs along the walls. They were a diorite oil lamp incised with the titles of Chefred, fourth pharaoh of the Fourth Dynasty (an object dating to two hundred years earlier), and the lid of a vase

offered to Išhara by Išar-damu, rev. VI 13–23: 10 gín D. babbar:kù nu₁₁-za 1 an-dùl ^dŠARA-iš en 1 gín 3 NI kù-gi nu₁₁-za *ba-na-i-šu wa íb-lâ wa šu-kešda-gùn-sù* “78 g of silver: sheets (for covering) one statue of Išhara of the king, 13 g of gold: sheets (for decorating) her face and her skirt and sash.”

35 A preliminary description of the “Administrative Quarter” and its finds has been given by Matthiae 1978.

36 See Biga 1988b.

37 See Biga 1988d.

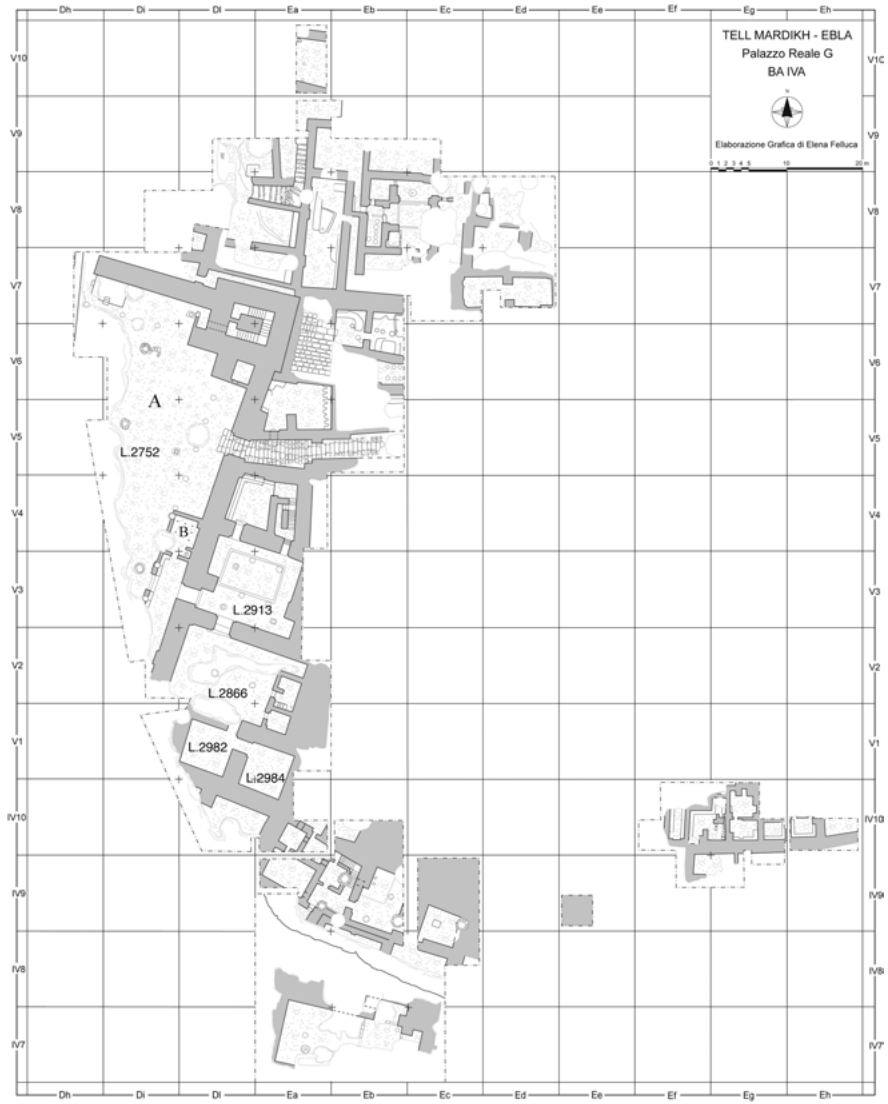


Fig. 3: The Administrative Quarter (state of the excavation in 1985).

in alabaster with the titles of Pepi I, the third pharaoh of the Sixth Dynasty, a contemporary of the last king of Ebla, together with fragments of several other diorite cups and alabaster cups and vases. These vessels probably came from a Syrian coastal center.³⁸ People must have passed through or waited in this richly decorated space before being admitted to the great room L. 2866, access to which was through a door in the south wall of corridor L. 2862.

This room, measuring approximately 15.30 × 9.80 m and with a roof supported by two wooden columns, was the most imposing in the entire administrative complex and must have had official and representative functions. It was quite probably the Throne Room. The flooring close to the southern wall, where a podium is expected, was removed in a later period. Whereas the Audience Court, open to the skies and with a podium for the throne placed under the portico, was suited to the reception of many people, the king would have carried out his normal duties of government in this more sheltered room, assisted by the minister to whom the administration of the state was entrusted. It is possible that the real administrative offices were found in that part of the palace lying immediately to the south, which is badly preserved. In three of these rooms, five administrative documents were found: two concern large totals of cereals, cattle, wood, fields, silver, and gold. Two further documents register deliveries of wine and malt, respectively. These kinds of documents are, again, absent from the central archive. Although the area was partially disturbed by the foundations of the defensive walls of the Middle Bronze Age citadel, it would not seem that an archive was kept here but rather a group of accounts relating to the period immediately preceding the destruction of the city.³⁹

The fragments of the two life-size hairstyles from L. 2862 were found “in front” or “north” of M. 2861, the wall which separates this space from room L. 2866; several of them lay directly “on the floor.” “To judge from technical criteria and head size [the two heads] surely formed a pair and must have been made at the same time to fill one order.”⁴⁰ The male head has the following

38 Scandone Matthiae 1979: 33–43, with figs. 11–14; Ead. 1981. According to this author, there were seven carinated cups, a hemispheric cup, and the oil lamp inscribed with the name of Chefred, all made of diorite. It is, in fact, not possible to determine the original number of alabaster vessels. The great majority of the fragments were found in court L. 2913; others were dispersed when the adjacent rooms, L. 2875 and L. 2866, were pillaged. These vessels find parallels in the production of Dynasties IV–VI. Two fragments of cups made of diorite from Egypt of the same type have also been found at Tell Afis (11 km north of Ebla; Neo-Assyrian *Ḫatarikka*) in a level datable to BA IVB, that is, in the period following the destruction of Ebla; see Ead. 1995.

39 The present writer (1993b) has published these tablets with a plan of the area.

40 The quotation is from Matthiae 1980b: 258; the “catalogue of the fragments” is on pp. 250–256.

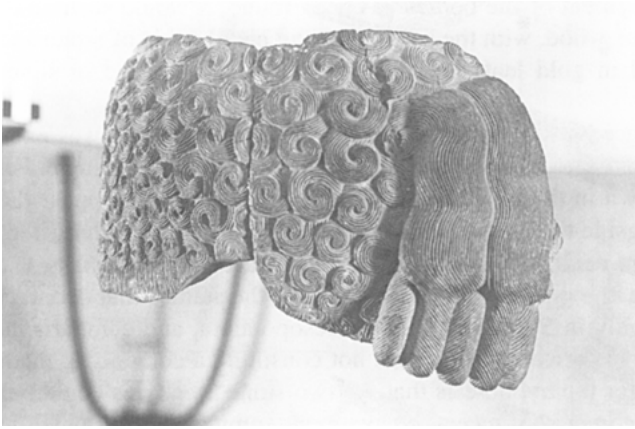


Fig. 4: Male head, side view.

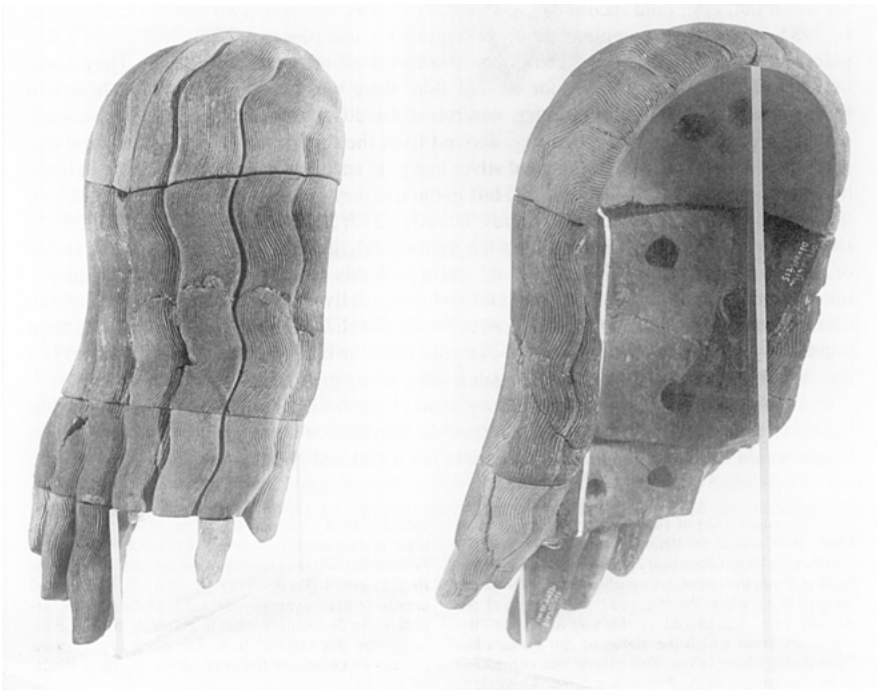


Fig. 5: Female head, a: outer view; b: inner view.

measurements: h. 12.5 cm; l. 16.5 cm (fig. 4). Those of the female head are: h. 30.3 cm; l. 23.8 cm (fig. 5a and b). It is most probable that the two statues to

which the heads belonged were placed against this wall, near the doorway leading into room L. 2866. If we combine these finds with the epigraphic data and the fact that not [95] a single stone fragment of the bodies has been found, it would seem that the statues must have been made of wood, with the hair, eyes, and beard made of stone and the face, hands, and feet covered in gold leaf; the body was possibly covered in silver and hidden by garments.

[96] The statues placed at the entrance to a room in which power was exercised must have represented a divine couple with tutelary functions or the royal couple. Female votive statues are well known in the Early Dynastic period.⁴¹ It does not appear that the queen was represented alongside the king in a room that was not sacred in character and in which affairs of state were dealt with and which was thus accessible to many visitors. It is, however, true that we know practically nothing about the statues that decorated the palaces of this period, not only in Syria, but also in Mesopotamia, and comparison with decorative customs of other historical periods does not constitute a convincing methodology.⁴²

Some support for the hypothesis that the two stone hairstyles could belong to the royal couple seems to come from recent excavations (summer 2004), which have exposed the entire Throne Room (fig. 6). Eleven lenticular tablets were found in one of the two smaller rooms (L. 8496–L. 8778) inside the Throne Room toward the eastern wall. All of the documents concern deliveries of gold, but one also registers silver. Those receiving the deliveries are all unknown people, which indicates that this was one of the places where the usual outgoing (and incoming) gold and silver was checked. Two rooms (L. 2982 and L. 2984, which were completely empty except for some pieces of lapis lazuli and a few pieces of wrought gold) stood behind the southern wall of the Throne Room. They could be reached through a narrow door on that side; there was no other entrance. These two rooms could have been the treasury, controlled directly by the king. The “Wool-house” was the archaic name of the treasury, derived from the time when wool was the most important stored commodity. The annual silver and gold accounts usually indicate the balance be-

41 The inner court of the “Palace of Zimri-lim” of Mari, “the Court of the Palms,” (Room 106) was decorated with a fresco depicting the investiture of the king by Ištar. From this court, one reached the Throne Room Suite (64/65), where the statue of “the Goddess of the flowing vase” was placed. A stairway led to the “tribune” 66, from which the statue of the *šakkanakku* Ištup-Il could have fallen. This tribune was considered to be a sanctuary by A. Parrot. See Al-Khalesi 1978. For another investigation on the functions of this section of the palace, see Margueron 1982: 352–63. The textual data have been evaluated by Durand 1987: 54–71.

42 For the statues of the king together with the queen dedicated at the mausoleum in NEnaš, see n. 34 above.

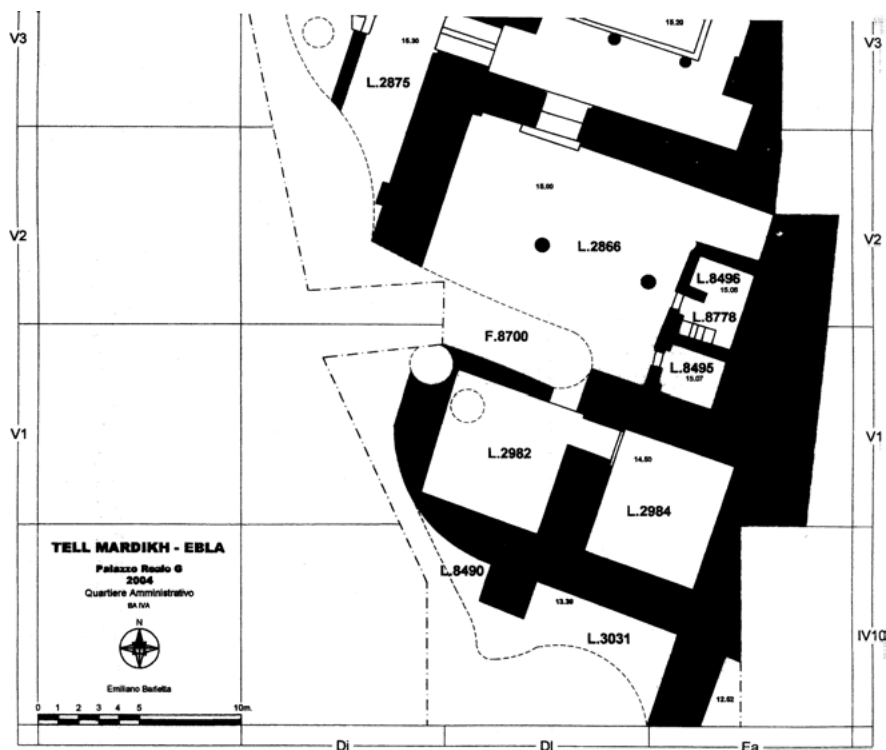


Fig. 6: The Throne Room (state of the excavation in 2004).

tween expended metal and that still left in the treasury, for example, TM.75.G.1860 rev. left edge 4–10 (I.Z. 1); 2462 (I.Z. 2) rev. left edge 2–7; 2622 (I.Z. 7) rev. XXV 23–28: “x silver expended (è); x silver present in the treasury (al₆-gâl é-siki).” Mention of the statue of the king placed in the “Wool-house,” quite probably together with that of the queen, occurs in the annual accounts of the gold and silver delivered for the fifth year before the destruction of Ebla. TM.75.G.534(+) (ARET 8.534; I.Z. 12) rev. XI 7–11 mentions “two plinths of 1.880 kg of gold (of the two ?) statue(s) of the king (and the queen?) that are (at) the “Wool-house,” 4 ma-na kù-gi-2 lagab an-dùl en al₆-gâl é-siki.

It is possible, however, that the treasury would have been placed in a safer area – inside the royal palace itself. If this were the case, the two statues at the entrance of the Throne Room would not have been the royal couple but a god and goddess instead. [97]

Among the gods to whom the heads could be attributed, the primary candidate is again Kura, chief god of the city of Ebla, together with his spouse, Barama. The main statue of this god was located, however (as stated above),

in the temple on the acropolis. It should be noted that in the lists of offerings of sheep covering the last twenty months of Ebla, Barama is mentioned only five times and in the other administrative documents about two dozen times, thus not very often.

Hadda can be excluded, since he was worshiped mainly in the temple dedicated to him in Aleppo. His spouse, Ḫalabatu, appears very rarely and exclusively in connection with the temple in Aleppo.⁴³

Another possibility seems more convincing. The god who appears most frequently in the texts is ^dA₅(NI)-*da-bal* (if we do not consider the marriage rituals for the royal couples, see ARET 11.1 and 2, and the food offerings for Kura connected with the king's meals, [98] registered in ARET 9).⁴⁴ The name of this god is written in the documents of the last thirty years: ^dNI-*da-KUL* (KUL being a simplified form of the sign BAL). In his three main hypostases, *Lu-ba-an*^{ki} *La/A-ru*₁₂-*ga-du*^{ki}, and, less frequently, ^ʾ*À-ma-ad/du*^{ki} (modern-day Hamath), according to the monthly offering lists, Hadabal is the god who receives the greatest number of blood offerings in the city of Ebla.⁴⁵ While Kura was the god of the city of Ebla, and his secondary hypostases are extremely rare,⁴⁶ Hadabal was the main god of the territory around Ebla, especially towards the west, as far as the valley of the Orontes, from Hamath to the Antioch plain. A cultic journey of this god started from Luban and passed through thirty-nine locations, including the palace of Ebla, SA.ZA_x^{ki}.⁴⁷ Hadabal's spouse, called simply "the Lady," ^dBE.MÍ, *ba'ltum*, is mentioned more than forty times, twenty-six of which relate to "the Lady of Hadabal of Luban." It is possible that the rooms from which Ebla's territory was administered were placed under the protection of precisely this god. We must remember that the tablets preserved in L. 2764 relate to the registration of deliveries of agricultural produce and cattle from the surrounding villages. A hypostasis of this male god was Hadabal "of the palace," SA.ZA_x^{ki}, whose spouse is very rarely mentioned but whose statue was decorated with gold.⁴⁸ The monthly offering lists, however, prove

⁴³ See Archi 1994a: 249–252; Id. 2010 b: 9.

⁴⁴ See the indexes in ARET 9 and 11.

⁴⁵ Four of these lists have been published by Pettinato (1979a). These offering lists contain three sections: a) sheep sacrificed in the temples of the city of Ebla, é-é dingir-dingir, b) sheep consumed at the palace, kú SA.ZA_x^{ki}, c) sheep sacrificed or consumed in other centers.

⁴⁶ See Pomponio and Xella 1997: 244.

⁴⁷ See Archi 1979a* [615–624]. A group made up of five to fourteen people took part in this journey, Archi 2002d.

⁴⁸ TM.75.G.2062 obv. II 9–13 shows that a statue of this goddess was decorated in gold: tar 5 kù-gi kin_x-ag ^dBE.SAL ^dA₅-*da-KUL* SA.ZA_x^{ki} "274 g of gold for making the Lady of Hadabal of the Palace."

that Hadabal was venerated at Ebla, particularly in the forms Hadabal of Luban and of Arugadu.

It is true that the administrative documents make no mention of any statues of Hadabal that required large amounts of precious metals (although we must not forget that the annual accounts of the last three years concerning the expenditures of silver and gold are largely fragmentary). There is also no doubt that this was the main god of the Eblaite region, who, in his three principal hypostases, received the greatest number of sacrifices in the city of Ebla.⁴⁹

4 The Festival of Hadabal for the Opening of the níg-SAR at Arugadu

An “opening (festival),” which must have been related to an agrarian cult, was dedicated to Hadabal of Arugadu. This would confirm that Hadabal was a tutelary god of the region [99] surrounding Ebla and its environment. Hadabal could not, in any case, have been merely a “protective spirit of the gate.”

- [1] TM.75.G.10088(+) (I.Z. 3) rev. IV 17–32: 15 gín D. babbar:kù 1 *du-rúm* ... 10 gín D. kù-gi nu₁₁-za-sù níg-ba BE.MÍ ^dA₅-*da*-KUL *A-ru*₁₂-*ga-du*^{ki} *ma-lik-tum* ì-na-sum šè DU.DU *si-in* giš-gál-“tag₄” // TM.75.G.10160, a monthly account concerned with the distribution of clothing, has the following parallel passage: rev. VII 9–VIII 5: 1 zara₆-TÚG 1 *du-ru*₁₂ 1 pad-TÚG (unwritten) 15 babbar:kù 10 kù-gi 1 *du-rúm* níg-ba ^dBE.MÍ ^dA₅-*da*-KUL *ma-lik-tum* ì-na-sum šè DU.DU *si-in* giš-gál-“tag₄” *A-ru*₁₂-*ga-du*^{ki} “one mantle, one ribbon, one veil, 117 g of silver for a ribbon, 78 g of gold (for) a sheet (for decorating) it: gift (for) the Lady of Hadabal of Arugadu, the queen has given, which (is for her) going to the opening(-festival) (in) Arugadu.”
- [2] TM.75.G.2428 (MEE 12.35) (I.Z. 8) obv. XX 30–XXI 1: 2 gín D. kù-gi nu₁₁-za 1 gír mar-tu níg-ba en wa 6 gín D. babbar:kù ^dA₅-*na-gu* si 2 gud nídba *íl-’à-ak-da-mu* ^dA₅-*da*-KUL *A-ru*₁₂-*ga-du*^{ki} in giš-gál-“tag₄” “16 g of gold: sheets

⁴⁹ The Ugaritic religious document RS 24.244 (*Ugaritica* 5: 586–572) = KTU 1.100 mentions “Yarihu in Larugatu,” as Lambert (1984a) and Fales (1984b) have remarked. This shows that the name of that sanctuary still survived in the second millennium. The text, however, offers a late Amorite interpretation of the invoked pantheon. Besides the Moon-god Su’en, the Eblaites also worshipped Šanugaru, who represented a phase of the moon; see Archi 1994a: 252–56; Krebernik 1993–97: 361–64. If Hadabal was also a Moon-god, it thus had to belong to the substrate.

(for decorating) one mar-tu dagger: gift of the king, and 47 g of silver for setting the horns of two bulls: offering of (prince) Ir'aq-damu (for) Hadabal of Arugadu for the opening(-festival)."

- [3] TM.75.G.2429 (MEE 12.36) (I.Z. 10) obv. XX 13–28: 2 ma-na 4 gín D. bab-bar:kù nu₁₁-za 2 an-dùl... 50 gín D. kù-gi nu₁₁-za igi-UM 2 šu 2 DU-sù níg-ba en wa *ma-lik-tum* ^dA₅-*da-KUL* A-ru₁₂-*ga-du* in giš-gál-"tag₄" "971 gr of silver: sheets (for decorating) two statutes ... 392 g of gold: sheets (for decorating) their faces, their two hands (and) feet: gift of the king and the queen (for) Hadabal of Arugadu for the opening (-festival)."

The Lexical Lists have: gál-"tag₄" = *ba-da-um* /patā'um/; cf. Akk. *petûm* "to open."⁵⁰ The first meaning of giš-gál-"tag₄" should be "aperture." At Ebla this term is used for the act of "making open"; see also peš-áb nu-giš-gál-"tag₄" "not yet opened (i.e., not yet impregnated) young cow" (ARET 11: 149).

An "opening (-festival)" is known of only in relation to one other deity, Ganana. In this case, the festival referred to the opening of the doorway to the temple of this goddess and foresaw the offering of a certain amount of wool and, occasionally, a piece of jewelry. TM.75.G.1884 rev. VIII 4–7: 1 zi-rí siki giš-gál-"tag₄" é ^d*Ga-na-na* "one (double) skein of wool (for) the opening of the temple of Ganana." TM.75.G.1942 rev. IX 1–4: 1 GIŠ-"KIN" 1 kù-sal giš-gál-"tag₄" ká ^d*Ga-na-na* "one skein of wool, one buckle (for) the opening of the gate (of the temple) of Ganana." TM.75.G.2369 rev. IX 1–5: 1 na₄ siki 1 kù-sal 1 buru₄-MUŠEN giš-gál-"tag₄" ká ^d*Ga-na-na* "one stone-weight of wool, one buckle, one vulture (in metal for) the opening of the gate (of the temple) of Ganana."

The "opening (-festival)" for Hadabal of Arugadu was of a different nature. It took place in month IX, as shown by the offering list TM.75.G.2403, dated to the ninth month of the "local calendar," iti *ir-me*. As for other annual rituals for the major gods, this festival was celebrated simultaneously in his place of origin (in this case, the sanctuary of the god at Arugadu) and at the palace, this latter with the participation of the king. The occasion [100] of the festival was "the opening of the níg-SAR," a term that could refer to something "greenish," perhaps "greenery."⁵¹

The offering list TM.75.G.2403 opens (as always in this kind of document) with the offering of sheep for the god Šamagan (obv. I 1–2). There then follows

50 Krecher 1984: 142. See, further, the letter TM.76.G.233 obv. III 8–9: a gál-"tag₄" "... shall open the waters," quoted by Fronzaroli 1998b: 109.

51 On SAR "greenish," see Landsberger 1967: 141–42, with n. 14. The Ebla documents mention *wa-rí-gu* "vegetable," for which cf. Akk. *warqum*; see Milano, ARET 9: 409; Bonechi 1999: 27–29. nu-^{giš}kiri₆ "garden" is also well attested in the Ebla documents; see ARET 1: 300.

that for Kura (I 3–7). Then “the king offers two sheep to Hadabal of Arugadu on the occasion of the opening of the níg-SAR” 2 udu ^dA₅-da-KUL A-ru₁₁-ga-du^{ki} en nídba in ud gál-“tag₄” níg-SAR (I 8–15). The same offering is also made by Ir’aq-damu, heir to the throne, II 15–22: 2 udu ^dA₅-da-KUL A-ru₁₂-ga-du^{ki} Ìr-’à-ag-da-mu nídba in ud gál-“tag₄” níg-SAR. These, then, were the offerings made at Ebla itself, at the palace, SA.ZA_x^{ki}. The third section of the document, which concerns animals delivered for sacrifices or for food outside the city, registers ten sheep offered to Hadabal at Arugadu by Iti-Hadabal (perhaps a brother of the minister Ibbi-zikir), rev. III 11–18: 10 udu ^dA₅-da-KUL A-ru₁₂-ga-du^{ki} I-ti-^dA₅-da-KUL nídba in ud gál-“tag₄” níg-SAR.

The offering-list TM.75.G.2516(+) is dated to the “month of the opening (-festival),” iti giš-gál-“tag₄” (rev. XII 1), apparently because this festival of Hadabal of Arugadu was the most important cultic event of the month.⁵² This should correspond to “the month of *irme*” of the offering-list mentioned above. TM.75.G.2516(+) does not mention the opening of the níg-SAR, but it is clear that it deals with the same festival in the same month of the preceding or following year to which TM.75.G.2403 refers. Here again, first the king and then the heir to the throne, Ir’aq-damu, preside over the sacrifices at Ebla, obv. I 10–16: 16 udu ^dA₅-da-KUL A-ru₁₂-ga-du^{ki} en nídba in ud gál-“tag₄”; IV 2–8: 2 udu ^dA₅-da-KUL A-ru₁₂-ga-du^{ki} Ìr-’à-ag-da-mu nídba in ud gál-“tag₄”. This time the queen also participates, offering six and two sheep on the same occasion, not only to Hadabal of Arugadu but also to Hadabal of Luban, to whom, exceptionally, a similar festival is attributed, VI 2–15: 6 udu ^dA₅-da-KUL A-ru₁₂-ga-du^{ki} ma-lik-tum nídba in ud giš-gál-“tag₄” 2 udu ^dA₅-da-KUL Lu-ban-an^{ki} ma-lik-tum nídba in ud giš-gál-“tag₄”. The offering to be made at Arugadu is again delegated to Iti-Hadabal, rev. VI 21–VI 4: 19 udu ^dA₅-da-KUL A-ru₁₂-ga-du^{ki} I-ti-^dA₅-da-KUL nídba in ud gál-“tag₄”. In addition, a son of the minister Ibbi-zikir, Ruzi-malik, “offers two sheep (for) the offering (for) his ancestor (?) on the occasion of the opening (-festival)” at Arugadu, VII 3–11: 2 udu ^dA₅-da-KUL A-ru₁₂-ga-du^{ki} Ru₁₂-zi-ma-lik nídba nídba a-mu-sù in giš-gál-“tag₄”.

⁵² This is a very rare month name; it is attested also in ARET 2.5 § 6: 1 ma-na babbar:kù iti giš-gál-“tag₄” “470 g of silver: month of the opening(-ceremony).”

50 Jewels for the Ladies of Ebla¹

A Dietz Otto Edzard
Maestro e Amico

For the men who formed the political-administrative structure of an archaic state, the occasions on when gifts were received were established by events which marked life in their society such as the participation in certain rites, diplomatic activity and wars. For women, instead, who played a far lesser role in public life, there were usually at Ebla only two such events: marriage (or, for a priestess, ordination) and death. Childbirth was marked by less important gifts,² except in exceptional cases, such as when the queen Tabur-damu had her first male child, on which occasion also members of the court and of the elites of other cities received gifts, ARET 4.7 §§ 1–32.³

Marriage and death were not distinguished by different types of gifts: their purpose was to testify to the rank of the receiver. [122]

1 The Documents

1. marriage of Iti-mut to Ruzi-malik (ARET 2.31)
2. marriage of Ti'a-išar to IrNE (TM.75.G.2507)
3. marriage of Re'itu to Ruzi-malik (TM.75.G.2507)
4. marriage of Arzatu to Zudu (TM.75.G.1464)
5. funeral of GimiNizatu, dam dingir (ARET 4.19 // TM.75.G.1860)

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1 Particular abbreviations: D.: DILMUN (after gín); kb.: kù-babbar; kg: kù-gi; sh.: shekel; AAM: annual account of deliveries of precious metals; MAT: monthly account of deliveries of textile; Ib.: the minister Ibrium; I.Z.: the minister Ibbi-zikir. The transliterations and abbreviations follow the conventions of the ARET series. Note LL = Vocabolario di Ebla, edited in MEE 4.

2 Some passages concerning childbirth are quoted by Pettinato 1988: 300–302.

3 ARET 1.15 §§ 12–20, a document dated to the same month of ARET 4.7, could concern the same birth, according to Biga 1996a: 31–32. Precious objects used in the marriage rite of Tabur-damu with king Išar-damu, registered in ARET 11.2, are listed in the AAM TM.75.G.1730 = MEE 7.34(+) (Ib. 13), see Biga 1992: 6–11.

6. marriage of Zugalum to the king of Ḫarran (TM.75.G.1330 // 1860)
7. ordination as dam dingir of Tinib-dulum (TM.76.G.288 // TM.75.G.1860)
8. marriage of Tagriš-damu to ULTUMḫuḫu, prince of Nagar (TM.75.G.1250+)
9. funeral of Tarib-damu (TM.75.G.2334)
10. funeral of Tište-damu (TM.75.G.2276)
11. funeral of Dusigu, mother of the king (TM.75.G.1962 // 10088)

1. A document published by the scholar to whom this study is dedicated, and dated to the minister Arrukum, ARET 2.31 § 1, lists “the gifts for Iti-mut (a daughter of king Irkab-damu) when (she entered) the house of Ruzi-malik”, who was perhaps a son of Arrukum. These gifts were “delivered from the king’s house to Ruzi-malik’s house” (section [6]), probably when that lady married.⁴ There are 2 buckles (kù-sal); 1 frontlet (*ša-mu*); 1 necklace (*ma-ḫa-na-gúm*); 1 jewel case encrusted with stones (*si-da-tum*); 1 torque (*ti-ki-na*); 1 clip (*ma-da-ḫu*); 1 pendant (GIŠ-šu-dub); a wreath or hair ribbon (*ti-ba-ra-núm*); 1 hairpin (*ù-nu-bù-bí-tum*); 2 clasps (*gú-zu-ra-tum*); one pair of bangles (2 GIŠ-DU); 2 toggle-pins (*bu-di*); 4 cloaks, another kind of cloak (*zara₆-TÚG*, *túg-NI.NI*), and 16 tunics (*aktum-TÚG*).

- (1) ARET 2.31 I 1–IV 7: (I) 10 geštu_x-lá kù-gi 2 kù-sal 1 *ša-mu* 1 *ma-ḫa-na-gúm* 4 za_x gu sag 5 *si-da-tum* X gul-za-gìn / (II) si₄-si₄ kù-gi / 2 *ti-ki-na* / 1 *ma-da-ḫu* / 1 GIŠ-šu-dub / 1 *ti-ba-ra-núm* / 1 *ù-nu-bù-bí-tum* / (III) 2 *gú-zu-ra-tum* kù-gi gul-za-gìn / GÁxLÁ 1 ma-na ša-pi 6 kù-gi(?) / 2 GIŠ-DU / 2 *bu-di* / sag / kù-gi / GÁxLÁ 1 ma-na babbar:kù / 4 *zara₆-TÚG* / (IV) 1 *túg-NI.NI* / 16 *aktum-TÚG* ti-TÚG / níg-ba *I-ti-mu-ut in ud é Ru₁₂-zi-ma-lik*. [163]

2.–4. The following three sets of gifts, all for marriages, are listed in two annual accounts of deliveries of precious metals (AAM). This explains why no clothes are included. Nos 2 and 3 are from the same documents, TM.75.G.2507, dated to the twelfth year of the minister Ibbi-zikir (I.Z. XII), five or six years

⁴ For texts quoting Iti-mut among “the daughters of the king (Irkab-damu)”, dumu-munus en, see Archi 1996d: 103. TM.75.G.1380 obv. VII 10–11 quotes a *Ru₁₂-zi-ma-lik* lú *Ar-ru₁₂-gúm*. References to the marriage of Iti-mut are also in the two following documents, both to be dated to the minister Arrukum, TM.75.G.1567 obv. X 6–8: *in ud níg-mu-sá I-ti-mu-ut*; 1872+ obv. IX 5–8: *in ud nídba bur-kak I-ti-mu-ut*.

before the destruction of Ebla.⁵ Ti'a-išar, daughter of one of the women whom the king kept in his secondary residence at 'Azan (dumu-munus en 'Ā-za-an^{ki}), received the set of wedding gifts no. 2 when she married (*in* ud níg-mu-sá, TM.75.G.2507 rev. XI 21–22) IrNE,⁶ who was a son of I'ib-malik: the brother of Dusigu, the king's mother. The other set of gifts, the same as the preceding one, was for the princess Re'itu, who married Ruzi-malik, son of Ibdu-Aštar.⁷ No. 4, from TM.75.G.1464, dated to the thirteenth year of the minister Ibrium (Ib. XIII), was the wedding gifts for Arzatu, daughter of Enna-dUtu, probably a “woman of the king”, dam en.⁸

(2) TM.75.G.2507 rev. X 8–26

- | | | |
|---|----|---|
| X | 10 | 1 ma-na ša-pi gín D. kù-gi |
| | 11 | 10 lá-2 geštu _x -lá 18 gín D. |
| | | 2 GIŠ-DU “šú+ša” gín D. |
| | 13 | 2 ti-gi-na “šú+ša” gín D. |
| | | 1 mi-at gur-gú-ru ₁₂ 14 ½ |
| | 15 | 1 mi-at du-ru ₁₂ -gú 16 gín D. |
| | | 1 šu-dub 3 gín D. |
| | 17 | 1 ma-ḥa-na-gúm 2 gín D. |
| | | 1 gú-zu-ra-tum 2 gín D. |
| | 19 | 2 kù-sal 3 ½ |
| | | 1 ša-mu 1 ti-ba-ra-nu 1 gín D. |
| | 21 | 1 gín D. babbar:kù |
| | | 1 ša-mu |
| | 23 | Ti-a-i-šar |
| | | dumu-munus |
| | 25 | en |
| | | 'Ā-za-an ^{ki} |

5 The dating of these AAM documents, based on prosopographic data, is still provisional, see Archi 1996c: 73–99 [for the see now Archi and Biga 2003: 8–9].

6 IrNE received a dagger with belt of thirty shekels of gold, rev. X 29–XI 1; also a son of him (*I-ti*^d 'Ā-da dumu-nita Ir-NE), however, and his house (é Ir-NE) received some gifts. According to the following passages in TM.75.G.2241 obv. 8–14 and 2247 rev. III 13–16: *Ti-a-i-šar* dumu-munus en é-gi₄ Ir-NE *si-in* 'Ā-za-an^{ki}, Ti'a-išar seems to have been daughter-in-law of IrNE.

7 TM.75.G.1896 obv. VI 30–VII 5 lists several clothes and 6 “pins”, *bu-di*, for Re'itu from the house of Nagaum, é Na-ga-um.

8 Another Enna-dUtu was an “attendant”, *pa₄-šeš(-munus)*, of the god of Ebla, Kura, see Archi 1996a: 41. In general Arzatu appears after Dusigu; there is an Arzatu also among the dam en. According to TM.75.G.2332 obv. V 5–14, Arzatu's husband was Zudu, he also son of the king: *Zú-du* dumu-nita en níg-a-dé i-giš a-li-iš sag *Ar-za-du* dumu-munus en.

(3) TM.75.G.2507 rev. XXI 24–XXII 11

- XXI 24 11 *ma-na ša-pi gín D. kù-gi*
 25 10 *lá-2 geštu_x-lá 18 gín D. kù-gi*
 2 *GIŠ-DU “šú+ša” gín D.*
 27 2 *ti-gi-na “šú+ša” gín D.*
 1 *mi-at gur-gú-ru₁₂ 14 ½*
 29 1 *mi-at du-ru₁₂-gú 16*
 1 *šu-dub 3 gín D.*
 31 1 *ma-ḥa-na-gúm 2*
 1 *gú-zu-ra-tum 2*
- XXII 1 2 *kù-sal ʾ3ʾ ½ gín D.*
 1 *ša-mu 1 ti-ba-ra-nu 1 [164]*
 3 1 *babbar:kù*
 1 *ša-mu*
 5 *Rí-ì-du*
 dumu-munus
 7 *en*
 dam
 9 *Ru₁₂-zì-ma-lik*
 dumu-nita
 11 *Ib-du-^dAš-dar*

(4) TM.75.G.1464 obv. XI 6–23

- XI 6 1 *ma-na 14 gín D. kù-gi*
 7 *UNKEN-ak*
 10 *geštu_x-lá*
 9 2 *ti-gi-na*
 62 *du-ru₁₂-gú*
 11 1 *mi-at kur-gú-ru₁₂*
 2 *kù-sal*
 13 1 *ma-ḥa-na-gúm*
 ḥa-za-nu
 15 1 *šu-dub*
 1 *ša-mu*
 17 2 *ti-ba-ra-núm*
 wa
 19 *nu₁₁-za 2 sag 2 bu-di*
 tar babbar:kù 2 bu-di
 21 *Ar-za-du*
 dumu-munus
 23 *En-na-^dUtu*

The 100 shekels of gold (783 g; 1 shekel = 7.83 g; 60 shekels = 1 mina of 470 g) of the first two sets of gifts may be broken down as follows: 18 shekels (140 g) for eight earrings (*geštu_x-lá*); 20 shekels (156 g) for two bangles (*GIŠ-DU*); 20 shekels (156 g) for a torque (*ti-gi-na*); 14 ½ shekels (114 g) for one hundred spherical beads (*kur-gú-ru₁₂*); 16 shekels (125 g) for one hundred double conoid beads (*du-ru₁₂-gú*); 3 shekels (24 g) for one pendant (*su-dub*); 2 shekels (17 g) for one necklace (*ma-ḥa-na-gúm*) and 2 shekels (17 g) for its clasp (*gú-zu-ra-tum*); 3 ½ shekels (27 g) for two buckles (*kù-sal*); 1 shekel (8 g) for a wreath or hair ribbon (*ti-ba-ra-núm*) with its frontlet (*ša-mu*).

The gold jewels for Arzadu weigh 26 shekels less in terms of gold (580 g), but to these we must add two silver toggle-pins (*bu-di*) with gold-plated heads (*sag*).

5. The funerary gifts⁹ for GimiNI(z)atu, “a sister of the queen” [165] Taburdamu, in the monthly account of textile (MAT) ARET 4.19, section § 17, differs to some extent from those mentioned above: a clasp of a string of beads is in the shape of two acorns (*al₆-la-nu*), there is a bracelet (*gú-li-lum*), and a gold hairpin (*a-na-bù-bí-tum*). The AAM TM.75.G.1860 (I.Z. 1) contains a passage parallel to this section, which omits clothes as not pertinent to this kind of text. At the start it is stated that 52 shekels of gold (407 g) are employed for these gifts (23 + 7 + 16 + 2 + 2 + 2 = 52). As in no. 4, there are also two silver toggle-pins with gold-plated heads.

(5) A: ARET 4.19 § 17 // B: TM.75.G.1860 (MEE 10.20) rev. V 10–VI 7.¹⁰

VII 9 1 túg-NI.NI ú-ḥáb

1 gíd-TÚG 1 *du-ru₁₂-ru₁₂*

11 “šú+ša” 3 kù-gi

10 *geštu_x-lá*

13 7 kù-gi

du-ru₁₂-gú

15 16 kù-gi

1 *mi-at*

V 10 52 gín D. kù-gi

11 “šú+ša” 3 10 *geštu_x-lá*

7 *du-ru₁₂-gú*

⁹ The LL give ÉxPAP = ‘*à-ra-tum*, *àr-ra-tum*, “funerary pipe”, see Civil 1987: 33. The administrative documents request a translation as “interment, burial; funerary ceremony”, see Archi 1996b: 17 note 28. In the Sumerian Temple Hymn no. 11 (Sjöberg and Bergmann: 25–26) the town Enegi is described as “big pipe (a-pap-gal), pipe of Ereškigal’s underworld”; see Lambert: 61, who comments as follows: “the ‘pipe’ is the clay tube down which offerings to the dead of a liquid kind were poured”.

¹⁰ Waetzoldt (1986: 434a) had already noted that these two passages are parallel.

VIII	1	20 <i>kur-gur-ru</i> ₁₂ <i>wa</i>	13	16 1 <i>mi-at</i> 20 <i>kur-gú-ru</i> ₁₂ <i>wa</i>
	3	2 <i>al</i> ₆ - <i>la-nu</i> 1 ½ <i>kù-gi</i>	15	2 <i>al</i> ₆ - <i>la-nu</i> 2 1 <i>kù-sal</i>
	5	1 <i>kù-sal</i> 2 <i>kù-gi</i>	17	2 1 <i>ša-mu</i> <i>wa</i>
	7	1 <i>ša-mu</i> 1 <i>a-na-bù-bù-tum</i>	19	1 <i>a-na-bù-bì-tum</i> 2 <i>gín D. kù-gi</i>
	9	2 <i>kù-gi</i> <i>nu</i> ₁₁ - <i>za</i> 1 <i>gú-li-lum a-gar</i> ₅	21	<i>nu</i> ₁₁ - <i>za</i> 1 <i>gú-li-lum</i>
	11	“šú+ša” <i>babbar:kù</i> 2 <i>bu-di</i>	23	“šú+ša” <i>gín D. babbar:kù</i> 2 <i>bu-di</i>
	13	10 <i>babbar:kù</i> <i>šu-bal</i> ¹ - <i>ag</i>	25	10 <i>gín D. babbar:kù</i> <i>šu-bal</i> ¹ - <i>ag</i> [166]
	15	2 <i>kù-gi</i> <i>nu</i> ₁₁ - <i>za</i> 2 <i>sag-sù</i>	27	2 <i>gín D. kù-gi</i>
	17	<i>Gi-mi-NI-a-du</i> <i>si-in</i>	VI	1 <i>nu</i> ₁₁ - <i>za</i> 2 <i>sag-sù</i> <i>Gi-mi-NI-za-du</i>
			3	<i>nin-ni</i> <i>ma-lik-tum</i>
	19	ÉxPAP <i>šu-mu</i> -“tag ₄ ”	5	<i>si-in</i> ÉxPAP
			7	<i>šu-mu</i> -“tag ₄ ”

ARET 4.19 §§ 18–19 follows in this way: 2 *zara*₆-TÚG 2 *gu-dùl*-TÚG *Kéš-du-ud wa NE-ti-bù-du* 3 'à-*da-um*-TÚG-II 3 íb+III-TÚG-*sa*₆-*gùn Ig-rí-iš-Ḥa-lab_x wa Ír-ib-da-mu Ír-kab-da-mu* ÉxPAP *šu-mu*-“tag₄”. These gifts of clothing (cloaks for women and a kind of shawl, *zara*₆-TÚG *gu-dùl*-TÚG) are for two deceased women: Kéšdut, who was perhaps the *maliktum* of king Igriš-Ḥalab, and NETibutu, “bride of Irib-damu, father of the *maliktum* (Tabur-damu)”, TM.75.G.1918 rev. IX 5–9.¹¹ GimiNizatu, the sister of the queen, whose funeral is being celebrated, was probably the daughter of NETibatu. Two lists of ladies of the court contain NETibutu, who could have been the daughter of king Igriš-Ḥalab. Clothing (cloaks and kilts, 'à-*da-um*-TÚG-II íb+III-TÚG) is also given to the two previous sovereigns: Igriš-Ḥalab and his son and successor, Irkab-damu, as well as to Irib-damu, the father of GimiNizatu, who is connected (*wa*) with Igriš-Ḥalab, perhaps because of some family relationship.¹²

11 Cf. ARET 1.15 § 8.

12 See Archi 1996d: 105 (Kéšdut) and 108 (Irib-damu and Netibutu).

6. Almost half of the MAT TM.75.G.1330 is dedicated to the list of gifts for princess Zugalum who married a king of Ḫarran, whose name we do not know. Zugalum, probably the daughter (dumu-munus en tur) of the penultimate king of Ebla, Irkab-damu, appears among the “women of the king”, dam en, in lists dated to Išar-damu, son of and successor to Irkab-damu.¹³ Political relations with Ḫarran were apparently never important enough to merit particularly these rich gifts, although it is clear that Ebla viewed its alliance with Ḫarran as important, this city dominating the northern plain watered by the river Baliḫ. Zugalum may have been the daughter of Dusigu, like king Išar-damu. The gold and silver gifts are recorded also in the first AAM dated to the minister Ibbi-zikir, TM.75.G.1860. If we consider the synchronism of kings and ministers, Zugalum could have been at least eighteen years old at the time. [167]

- a) The first section of the MAT (A I 1–II 2) concerns textiles: 12 shawls (gu-dùl-TÚG), 4 long shawls (gíd-TÚG), 3 ribbons (*du-ru₁₂-ru₁₂*), 10 white and 1 reddish-brown cloaks for women (zara₆-TÚG), 11 white and 1 reddish-brown tunics (aktum-TÚG), 6 clothes of linen (gada-TÚG) of which 2 for the hands, a ribbed drape (pad-ti-TÚG), 10 cloaks for men (*’à-da-um*-TÚG) with 10 tunics (aktum-TÚG) and 4 kilts (ib-TÚG).
- b) The section relating to gold jewels is A II 3–IV 3; B X 17–XI 11. A gives the amount of gold as 2,28 minas, that is 148 shekels (1159 g); B breaks down the same amount of gold into 1,10 minas (equivalent to 5,50 minas of silver) for “leaves” for plating, *nezimu*, and 1,18 minas for “making”, “UN-KEN”-ag, the objects. However, if we add up the individual quantities in A we have only 136.2 shekels (10 + 30 + 17.3NI + 36 + 4 + 12 ½ + 3 + 3 + 11.2NI + 4 + 5); and 139 shekels in B (10 + 30 + 17.3NI + 36 + 4 + 13 + 3 + 3 + 11.2NI + 6 + 5). There is only one bracelet (*gú-li-lum*; 78 g), but two pairs of pectorals wi Ḫth a pendant in the shape of a falcon each (*’à-ra-ma-tum* and *buru₄*-MUŠEN).
- c) Third section: A IV 4–V 6; B XI 12–XII 8. “Which is in the hands of Zugalum queen of Ḫarran” (A V 3–6) / “(that which) Zugalum, queen of Ḫarran, has brought (with her)” (B XII 5–8) is here completed by silver objects for a total of 3,15 minas (1527 g), among which there are two toggle-pins (*bu-di*) with gold-plated heads, a jug, a cup and a goblet (*an-zam_x*, *GIŠ-šú*, *níg-bànda*).
- d) (A V 7–VIII 10; B XII 9–XIII 20) There then follow: 1) clothes and two toggle-pins for an elder (*ábba*) and five girls (dumu-munus) who accompanied Zugalum to Ḫarran; 2) clothes and toggle-pins in silver given from the king,

¹³ For Zugalum, see Archi 1989a: 3–4; Id. 1996d: 105–106; other documents, all dated to the minister Ibrium, are quoted in ARES 1: 240 and 255.

the queen, the mother of the king and the wife of the minister Ibbi-zikir to the ladies (dam-dam) of the court of Ḫarran; 3) clothes, bracelets and daggers (gír-mar-tu) given by the king, the minister Ibbi-zikir and the elders to the elders of Ḫarran. Lastly, three sets of clothing are given to Abir and one of his men who came from Ḫarran to Ebla so as to then accompany Zugalum to her new home.

(6) A: TM.75.G.1330 obv. I 1–VIII 10 // B: 1860 (MEE 10.20) obv. X 17–XII 8:

I	1	12 gu-dùl-TÚG			
		4 gíd-TÚG			
	3	3 du-ru ₁₂ -ru ₁₂			
		10 zara ₆ -TÚG babbar			
	5	2 zara ₆ -TÚG ú-ḫáb [168]			
		11 aktum-TÚG babbar			
	7	1 aktum-TÚG ú-ḫáb			
		2 gada-TÚG mu ₄ ^{mu}			
	9	2 gada-TÚG 2 šu			
		2 gada-TÚG ḫul			
	11	pad-ti-TÚG			
		wa			
	13	IGI.NITA	X	17	5 ma-na 50 gín D. babbar:kù
II		10 'à-da-um-TÚG-II			šu-bal-ak
	1	10 aktum-TÚG 3 íb+III-TÚG-sa ₆ -gùn		19	1 ma-na 10 gín D. kù-gi
		íb+III-TÚG ú-ḫáb			nì-zi-mu
	3	AN.ŠÈ.GÚ 2 ma-na "šú+ša"		21	1 ma-na 18 gín D. kù-gi
		8 kù-gi			
		10 kù-gi			"UNKEN"-ag
	5	1 gú-li-lum 10-I		23	10 1 gú-li-lum
		tar kù-gi			tar kù-gi(!) (babbar:kù)
	7	2 ti-gi-na		25	2 ti-gi-na
		17 3 NI kù-gi	XI	1	17 3 NI 10 lá-2 geštu _x -lá
III	9	10 ¹ geštu _x -lá			
		tar 6 kù-gi			tar 6 4 'à-ra-ma-tum
	11	4 'à-ra-ma-tum			
	1	wa		3	wa
		2 buru ₄ -MUŠEN			2 buru ₄ -MUŠEN
	3	4 kù-gi			
		2 kù-sal		5	4 2 kù-sal

	5	12 ½ kù-gi 93 <i>kur-gú-ru</i> ₁₂		13	93 <i>kur-ga-ru</i> ₁₂
	7	3 kù-gi <i>ḥa-za-nu</i>		7	ʿ3ʿ <i>ḥa-za-nu</i>
	9	3 kù-gi <i>ma-ḥa-na-gúm</i>			3 1 <i>ma</i> ¹ - <i>ḥa-na-gúm</i>
	11	11 2 NI kù-gi 86 <i>du-ru</i> ₁₂ - <i>gú</i>		9	11 2 NI 86 <i>du-ru</i> ₁₂ - <i>gú</i>
	13	4 kù-gi			6 1 šu-dub
IV	1	1 šu-dub 5 kù-gi		11	1 zi-bar
	3	1 zi-bar AN.ŠÈ.GÚ 3 ma-na 15 gín D. babbar:kù			tar babbar:kù
	5	tar babbar:kù 2 <i>bu-di</i> 15 babbar:kù		13	2 <i>bu-du</i> 15 gín D. babbar:kù
	7	šu-bal-ag 3 kù-gi		15	šu-bal-ag 3 gín D. kù-gi
	9	<i>nu</i> ₁₁ -za 2 sag-sù tar babbar:kù		17	<i>nu</i> ₁₁ -za sag-sù
	11	2 GIŠ-DU 15 babbar:kù		20	tar babbar:kù
	13	1 an-zam _x		21	2 GIŠ-DU
				18	15 gín D. babbar:kù
				19	1 an-zam _x
V	1	2 ma-na babbar:kù 1 níg-bànda 1 GIŠ-šú		22	2 ma-na babbar:kù
	3	lú 2 šu [169] <i>Zú-ga-lum</i>		23	1 níg-bànda 1 GIŠ-šú (etc.)
	5	<i>ma-lik-tum</i> <i>Ḥa-ra-an</i> ^{ki}	XII	5	<i>Zú-ga-lum</i> <i>ma-lik-tum</i>
	7	1 zara ₆ -TÚG 1 [g]u-d[ùl]- TÚG [10] babbar:kù		7	<i>Ḥa-ra-an</i> ^{ki} šu-mu-“tag ₄ ”
	9	2 <i>bu-di</i> <i>Ì-lum-ma-gi-im</i>		9	10 gín D. babbar:kù 2 <i>bu-di</i>
	11	7 túg-NI.NI 5 gu-mug-TÚG 2 <i>bu-di</i> zabar 2 <i>al</i> ₆ -sù 5 dumu-munus		11	<i>Mi-kum</i> -NI-a ábba
					...
VI	1	DU.DU <i>áš-ti</i>			
	3	<i>Zú-ga-lum</i>			

		3 zara ₆ -TÚG 3 gíd-TÚG			
	5	1 ma-na 14 babbar:kù		27	1 ma-na
		4 bu-di maḥ			
		“šú+ša” babbar:kù 2 bu-di	XIII	1	14 gín D. babbar:kù
	7	šu-du ₈			4 bu-di
		níg-ba		3	šu-du ₈
	9	ama-gal en			níg-ba
		wa		5	ama-gal
					en
				7	wa
	11	ma-lik-tum			ma-lik-tum
		wa		9	“šú+ša” gín D. babbar:kù
					2 bu-di
				11	šu-du ₈
					níg-ba
	13	Těš-má- ^d Utu		13	Těš-má- ^d Utu
		dam			dam
	15	I-bí-zi-kir		15	I-bí-zi-kir
		12 'à-da-um-TÚG-II			wa
VII	1	12 aktum-TÚG 12 íb+III-		17	šu-du ₈
		TÚG gùn sa ₆			níg-ba
		1 gír-mar-tu kù-gi		19	dam-dam
	3	1 gír-mar-tu ti kù-gi			Ḥa-ra-an ^{ki}
		1 gú-li-lum 10-I			
	5	šu-du ₈	XII	13	50 gín D. babbar:kù
		níg-ba		14	5 gú-li-lum 10-I 10-I ...
	7	en		17	10 gín D.kù-gi
		wa			nu ₁₁ -za-sù
	9	I-bí-zi-kir		19	ša-pi gín D. babbar:kù
		wa			níg-sa ₁₀ 1 gír mar-tu kù-gi
	11	ábba-ábba		21	“šú+ša” gín D. babbar:kù
		níg-ba-níg-ba			1 gír-mar-tu ti kù-gi
	13	ábba-ábba		23	šu-du ₈
					níg-ba
		Ḥa-ra-an ^{ki}		25	Ḥa-ra-an ^{ki}
	15	Zú-ga-lum	XIII	21	Zú-ga-lum
		šu-mu-“tag ₄ ”			šu-mu-“tag ₄ ”
	17	si-in			
VIII	1	Ḥa-ra-an ^{ki} [170]			
		3 'à-da-um-TÚG-II 3 ak-			
		tum-TÚG			

- 3 níg-ba
*A-bir*₅
 5 wa
 maškim-sù
 7 *Ḥa-ra-an*^{ki}
 in
 9 SA.ZA_x^{ki}
 šu-ba₄-ti

7. In the same year as Zugalum's marriage, another daughter of king Irkab-damu, Tinib-dulum, went as a priestess to Luban (A IV 11–14: *in ud DU.DU si in Lu-ba-an*^{kl}), the principal sanctuary of the god Hadabal.¹⁴ Her gifts are recorded in the MAT TM.76.G.288, and, as regards the objects in gold and silver, also in the first AAM of the minister Ibbi-zikir.

B gives 3.14 minas (194 shekels = 1,519 g) as the remarkable total amount of gold used in the first section (III 18–IV 13), which corresponds to the sum of the individual quantities (20 + 20 + 6 + 4 + 10 + 1 + 4 + 32 + 50 + 8 + 8 + 3 + 20 + 4 + 2 + 1 + 1 = 194). A, instead, erroneously adds to the 191 shekels of gold 40 + 52(!) + 20 shekels of silver; the total is 303 shekels = 5,03 minas, as given in II 5.

There are beads in the shape of grapes and cloves (*geštin še*; *ḥa-za-nu*; 157 and 47g) besides spherical beads (*kur-gú-ru*₁₂; 157 g); 1 necklace (*ma-ḥa-na-gúm*; 31 g); ...; 1 pair of small tassels (*bù-ga-na tur*) and 4 buckles (*kù-sal*) for (2 pairs of) shoes (*esir*_x; 8 and 32 g);

...; 2 pairs of pectorals with 1 pendant in the shape of a falcon for each pair (392 and 63 g); 2 buckles (*kù-sal*; 63 g); 2 (?) toggle-pins from Mari (23 g).

(7) A: TM.76.G.288 obv. II 6–IV 14 // B: TM.75.G.1860 (MEE 10.20) obv. III 18–V 9.

II	6	5 ma-na 3 kù-gi	III	18	3 ma-na 14 gín D. kù-gi
	7	UNKEN-ag		19	UNKEN-ag
		“šú+ša” gín D. kù-gi			
	9	geštin še			“šú+ša” geštin še
		“šú+ša” <i>kur-gú-ru</i> ₁₂		21	“šú+ša” <i>kur-gú-ru</i> ₁₂
11	6	<i>ḥa-z[a-nu]</i>		6	<i>ḥa-za-nu</i>
		4 <i>ma-ḥa-na-gúm</i>		23	4 <i>ma-ḥa-na-gúm</i> [171]
13	10	MÜŠ.KISAL(LAK-724)		10	MÜŠ.KISAL(LAK-724)
		1 <i>bù-ga-na tur</i>		25	1 <i>bù-ga-na tur</i>
15	4	kù-sal <i>esir</i> _x (LAK-173)		4	kù-sal <i>esir</i> _x (LAK-173)

14 For the priestess (dam dingir) Tinib-dulum, see Archi 1998c: 46–48 [702–704].

		<i>wa</i>		27	<i>wa</i>
	17	e.gul.ḥúb-du			e-EZEN-ḥúb-du
		tar 2 za _x sag		29	tar 2 za _x sag
III	1	[50 4 'à-ra-ma-tum]	IV	1	50 4 'à-ra-ma-tum
		<i>Lu-ba-an</i> ^{ki}			8 2 buru ₄ -MUŠEN
	3	[8 2 buru ₄]-MUŠEN		3	8 2 kù-sal
		8 2 kù-sal			3 <i>bu-di</i> <i>Ma-rí</i> ^{ki}
	5	[3 <i>bu-di</i>] <i>Ma-rí</i> ^{ki}		5	"šú+ša" 1 an-zam _x
		"šú+ša" 1 an-zam _x			4 1 zi-bar
	7	[4] 1 zi-bar		7	2 1 ša-mu
		2 1 ša-mu			<i>wa</i>
	9	<i>wa</i>		9	1 1 ti-ba-ra-núm
		1 ti-ba-ra-núm			<i>wa</i>
	11	1 a-na-bù-bí-tum		11	1 a-na-bù-bí-tum
					ZA _x
				13	gibil
					tar babbar:kù
				15	šu-bal-ag
					6 gín D. kù-gi
				17	nì-zi-mu
		ša-pi 2 ti-gi-na GIŠ-zú			2 ti-gi-na GIŠ-zú
				19	<i>wa</i>
	13	50 2 ti-gi-na			50 2 ti-gi-na
		dàra'(KAK.LAK-244)			dàra'(KAK.LAK-244)
		"šú+ša" 1 gú-li-lum		21	1 gú-li-lum libir
	15	3 ma-na babbar:kù			3 ma-na babbar:kù
		1 GIŠ-šú 1 níg-bànda		23	1 níg-bànda 1 GIŠ-šú
	17	1 ma-na "šú+ša" gín D.			1 ma-na "šú+ša" gín D.
		babbar:kù			babbar:kù
		[2 níg-anše-ak]		25	2 níg-anše-ak 4 kù-sal
IV	1	[4 kù-sal]			7 gín D. babbar:kù
		[7 gín D. babbar:kù]		27	1 ma-rí-tum
	3	1 ma-rí-tum	V	1	<i>wa</i>
		<i>wa</i>			1 šu-dub
	5	1 šu-dub		3	8 ½ gín D. babbar:kù
					šu-bal-ag
		[1 ½ gín D. kù-gi]		5	1 ½ gín D. kù-gi
	7	[2 k]ù-sal [1 bu]ru ₄ -MUŠEN			2 kù-sal 1 buru ₄ -MUŠEN

	níg-ba	7	níg-ba
9	<i>Ti-ni-íb-du-lum</i>		<i>Di-ni-íb-du-lum</i>
	šu-mu-“tag ₄ ”	9	šu-mu-“tag ₄ ”
11	<i>in ud</i>		
	DU.DU		
13	<i>si-in</i>		
	<i>Lu-ba-an</i> ^{ki} [172]		

8. The gifts for Tagriš-damu, daughter of the king Išar-damu, who married *U*-TUM-*ḫu-ḫu*, son and heir of the king of Nagar,¹⁵ are recorded only in the following MAT. We cannot exclude the possibility that the AAM for that year is incomplete. It is possible, however, that this event took place only a few months before the destruction of Ebla.

The document starts (obv. I 1–III 2) with the gifts received by the prince of Nagar who travelled to Ebla to celebrate the wedding by anointing the bride's head with oil (níg-a-dè ì-giš *al*₆ sag *Dag-rí-iš-da-mu* *dumu-munus en*). Clothes were also given to Ni₂zi, a high-ranking personage of Nagar, who accompanied the prince, and their retinue which consisted often elders (*ábba-ábba*) and forty other people, as well as six singers (*nar*). Other clothes were given for the king and queen of Nagar (níg-ba *en/ma-lik-tum Na-gàr*^{ki}). However, we may see that in V 18–22 the title of *maliktum* of Nagar is already attributed to Tagriš-damu, even though she had not yet acquired any right of succession.

The remarkable amount of 6.18 minas of gold (378 shekels; 2,960 g) with which this passage opens relates to the objects listed in III 4–IV 8. The total of the individual amounts, however, is 3V2 shekels less ($20 \frac{1}{2} + 16 + 25 \frac{1}{2} + 19 \frac{1}{2} + 20 \frac{1}{2} + 23 \frac{1}{2} + 3 \frac{1}{2} + 16 + 16 + 3 + 3 \frac{1}{2} + 4 + 6 + 90 + 25 + 30 + 30 + 22 = 374 \frac{1}{2}$). There follow some silver objects totalling 127 shekels (994 g) (IV 9–14). The minister Ib₂bi-zikir, for his part, provided for the decoration of the reins and wheels of the carriage, a total of 90 shekels of gold (705 g) (IV 15–V 3). We then have a series of pieces of clothing, mainly from the é-siki, but also from another storehouse, the é-ti-TÚG (V 4–17).

(8) TM.75.G.1250+5317 obv. III 3–V 22.

III	3	6 ma-na 18 kù-gi
		2 <i>bu-du</i> “šú+ša” $\frac{1}{2}$
	5	2 GIŠ-DU 16
		2 <i>ti-gi-na</i> lu-li “šú+ša” $5 \frac{1}{2}$
	7	2 <i>ti-gi-na</i> GIŠ-KA “šú+ša” lá- $\frac{1}{2}$

15 Biga 1996: 71–72; Ead. 1998a: 17–22.

- 10 lá-2 geštu_x-lá “šú+ša” 1/2
 9 4 ’ā-ra-ma-tum 2 zag “šú+ša” 3 1/3
 2 kù-sal 3 1/2
 11 1 mi-at 20 gur-gú-ru₁₂ 16
 1 mi-at 23 du-ru₁₂-gú 16
 13 1 ma-ḥa-na-gúm 3
 1 šu-dub 3 1/2 [173]
 15 1 gú-zu-ra-tum 4
 IV 1 2 bu-dī tur 6
 4 NI-ša-bù-II
 3 1 ša-mu 1 a-nu-bù-bī-tum
 1 GIŠ-šú 1 níg-bànda 1 ma-na tar
 5 1 an-zam_x 1 pad 1 zi-bar “šú+ša” 5
 1 dib GIŠ-geštin tar
 7 1 du-rúm tar
 4 bur-kak nu₁₁-za “šú+ša” 2
 9 2 ma-na babbar:kù
 1 GIŠ-šú 1 níg-bànda
 11 6 babbar:kù
 2 bu-dī tur
 13 1 babbar:kù
 1 ša-mu
 15 ap
 1 ma-na kù-gi
 17 2 níg-anše-ag 4 kù-sal
 tar kù-gi nu₁₁-za
 V 1 2 GIŠ-ašud 1 GIŠ-gígir-II
 mu-DU
 3 I-bí-zi-kir
 2 zara₆-TÚG ú-ḥáb
 5 2 zara₆-TÚG babbar
 2 gu-dùl-TÚG ú-ḥáb
 7 2 gu-dùl-TÚG babbar
 10 aktum-TÚG 10 zara₆-TÚG
 9 2 gada-TÚG mu₄^{mu}
 4 gada-TÚG 2 šu
 11 1 gada-TÚG 1 GIŠ-ÉxGÍGIR-IV
 lú é-siki
 13 1 zara₆-TÚG ú-ḥáb
 1 zara₆-TÚG babbar

- 15 1 *du-ru*₁₂-*ru*₁₂ gûn
 1 *du-ru*₁₂-*ru*₁₂ gûn gi₆
 17 lú é-ti-TÚG
 Dag-rí-iš-da-mu
 19 dumu-munus
 en
 21 *ma-lik-tum*
 Na-gâr^{ki}

9. The princess (dumu-munus en) Tarib-damu was, like her sister Tinib-dulum (no. 7, above), a priestess (dam-dingir) of the god Hadabal of Luban. Her death (III 4–11) probably occurred in the year before Ebla's destruction.¹⁶ Her funerary gifts are recorded in the following [174] MAT which, in rev. I 7–11, mentions the presence at Luban of two people who had gone to visit the ailing priestess (igi-du₈ *Dar-ib-da-mu mi-nu Lu-ba-an*^{ki} lú tu-ra-sù).

The clothing is from the é-siki and é-ti-TÚG stores, as are 6 silver toggle-pins (two gold-plated) (I 1–8). The gold jewels are from the é-siki (I 9–III 3). The total of 3.10 minas (190 shekels; 2,819 g) is exactly 20 shekels more than the sum of the individual amounts, if we ignore the submultiples (28 + 19 ½ + 3 2NI + 20 + 39 + 22 + 14 + 6 + 4 2NI + 3 + 3 + 2 + 4 + 2 + 1 = 172). The scribe most probably omitted the minus sign in I 9, which should read: 3 ma-na <lá->10. As in the preceding document, the gold decoration of the carriage (90 shekels; 705 g) is provided by the minister Ibbi-zikir (III 4–11).

There follow lesser gifts for some famous, deceased individuals. In line with Tarib-damu's sex, six women open this list to each of whom a shawl and a band are destined, as well as silver toggle-pins. Dusigu was the mother of the king; Kéšdūt may have been the *maliktum* of Igrīš-Ḫalab or Irkab-damu; Tarkab-dulum was a contemporary of Kéšdūt; Tirin-damu was a dam dingir like Tarib-damu; document no. 5 records the funerary gifts for GimiNizatu; Iš-rut was the sister of the deceased (III 18–IV 7). The four deceased males, each receiving a set of clothes, are the two previous kings, Igrīš-Ḫalab and Irkab-damu, Irib-damu, the father of the queen, and, finally, Ibrium, the previous minister (IV 8–12).

(9) TM.75.G.2334 obv. I 1–IV 16

- I 1 15 aktum-TÚG ti-TÚG
 2 zara₆-TÚG ú-ḫáb
 3 2 gíd-TÚG ú-ḫáb

16 For Tarib-Damu, see Archi 1998c: 48–49 [705–706].

- lú é-siki
 5 6 zara₆-TÚG 6 gu-dùl-TÚG
 2 *bu-di* “šú+ša” babbar:kù 2 sag kù-gi
 7 4 *bu-di* 10 babbar:kù
 lú é-ti TÚG
 9 AN.ŠÈ.GÚ 3 ma-na <lá->10 kù-gi
 4 ’à-ra-ma-tum 2 buru₄-MUŠEN “šú+ša”
 11 1 an-zam_x 1 pad-sù “šú+ša” lá ½
 1 zi-bar 3 2 NI
 13 2 *bu-di* “šú+ša”
 II 1 2 *tì-gi-na* lu-li ša-pi lá-1
 1 *mì-at* 60 lá-1 *gur-gú-ru*₁₂ 22
 3 1 *mì-at* 20 *du-ru*₁₂-gú 14
 2 kù-sal 6
 5 1 šu-kešda 4 2 NI
 1 *ma-ḥa-na-gúm* 3 [175]
 7 1 *gú-zu-ra-tum* 3
 2 *bù-ga-na* 2
 9 lú esir_x(LAK-173)^e
 maš-maš 1 kun 4
 11 1 *gú-li-lum-I* 10 babbar:kù 2 kù-gi
 1 *ša-mu* 1 *a-na-bù-bí-tum* 1
 13 3 ma-na tar babbar:kù
 1 GIŠ-šú 1 níg-bànda
 III 1 10 babbar:kù
 2 *bu-di*
 3 lú <é->siki
 1 ma-na kù-gi
 5 2 níg-anše-ag 4 kù-sal
 tar kù-gi
 7 šir-za 2 GIŠ-ašud 1 GIŠ-gígir-II
ša-du
 9 mu-DU
I-bí-zi-kir
 11 *Dar-ib-da-mu*
 dumu-munus
 13 en
 dam-dingir
 15 *si-in*
 ÉxPAP

- 17 šu-mu-“tag₄”
6 gíd-TÚG 6 níg-lá-ZI.ZI
- 19 lú é-ti-TÚG
10 babbar:kù
- 21 2 *bu-di*
15 babbar:kù
- 23 6 *bu-di* 5
- IV 1 lú é-siki
Du-si-gú
- 3 *Di-rin_x-da-mu*
Kéš-du-ud
- 5 *Dar-kab-du-lum*
Gi-mi-NI-za-du
- 7 *Iš-ru₁₂-ud*
4 'à-da-um-TÚG-II 4 aktum-TÚG 4 íb+III-TÚG-sa₆-gùn
- 9 *Ig-rí-iš-Ḫa-lab_x*
Ìr-kab-da-mu
- 11 *Ìr-ib-da-mu*
Ib-rí-um
- 13 *si-in*
ÉxPAP
- 15 *Dar-ib-da-mu*
šu-mu-“tag₄” [176]

10. The following MAT lists the funerary gifts for Tište-damu (III 1–4), sister of Tarib-damu, the priestess whose funeral is the subject of the preceding passage. Some documents from the time of the minister Ibrium mention them together. TM.75.G.10074 obv. VII 20–VIII 7 (AAM I.Z. VI) records gifts for Tište-damu, possibly for her betrothal. A few years later she had a son. Her death (like that of her sister) would appear to have occurred shortly before the destruction of Ebla.¹⁷

Only one cloak is included (I 1). 2,35 minas of gold (155 shekels; 1,214 g) are used for the jewels, a total which corresponds to the sum of weights of each object (25 + 15 ½ + 4 + 4 4NI + 20 + 17 ½ + 12 + 13 ½ + 5 3NI + 20 + 3 + 4 + 1 + 10 = 155) (I 1–II 8). In this passage also, as in the preceding two, the gold decorations of the funeral carriage (90 shekels; 705 g) are provided by the minister Ibbi-zikir (II 9–III 13).

¹⁷ Biga 1996: 69–71.

As according to other similar documents, clothing is given to important individuals who are already deceased (III 5–IV 8). Three sets of clothes are for the two previous kings, Igriš-Ḫalab and Irkab-damu, and the minister Ibrium (the father of Ibbi-zikir). Three cloaks and eight silver toggle-pins are given to Kēšdūt, perhaps the *maliktum* of Igriš-Ḫalab, Tarkab-dulum, a contemporary of Kēšdūt, and to Dusigu, the mother of the king. Four cloaks are given to two priestesses, dam dingir: Tirin-damu and Tarib-damu (see the preceding document), to Gimi(NI)zatu, sister of the queen (document no. 5), and to Išrut, sister of the deceased. Lastly, we have a piece of clothing and a belt for Irib-damu, the father of the queen.

(10) TM.75.G.2276 obv. I 1–IV 8

- | | | |
|-----|----|---|
| I | 1 | 1 zara ₆ -TÚG |
| | | 2 ma-na tar 5 kù-gi |
| | 3 | 4 'à-ra-ma-tum 2 zag "šú+ša" 5 |
| | | 1 an-zam _x 15 ½ |
| | 5 | 1 zi-bar 4 |
| | | 2 kù-sal 4 4 NI |
| | 7 | 10 lá-2 geštu _x -lá "šú+ša" |
| | | 2 ti-gi-na lu-li 17 ½ |
| | 9 | 98 du-ru ₁₂ -gú 12 |
| | | 1 mi-at 25 gur-gú-ru ₁₂ 13 ½ |
| | 11 | 1 šu-dub 5 3 NI |
| II | 1 | 2 bu-di "šú+ša" |
| | | 1 ma-ḫa-na-gúm 3 [177] |
| | 3 | 1 gú-zu-ra-tum 4 |
| | | 1 ša-mu 1 a-na-bù-bí-tum 1 |
| | 5 | 1 gú-li-lum-I 10 |
| | | 1 ša-mu 1 babbar:kù |
| | 7 | 4 ma-na babbar:kù |
| | | 1 GIŠ-šú 1 níg-bànda |
| | 9 | 1 ma-na kù-gi |
| | | 2 níg-anše-ag 4 kù-sal |
| | 11 | tar kù-gi nu ₁₁ -za 2 GIŠ-ašud |
| | | lú mu-DU |
| | 13 | I-bí-zi-kir |
| III | 1 | Ti-iš-te-da-mu |
| | | dumu-munus en |
| | 3 | si-in |
| | | ÉxPAP |

- 5 3 'à-da-um-TÚG 3 aktum-TÚG 3 íb+III-TÚG-gùn-sa₆
Ig-rí-iš-Ḥa-lab_x
7 *Îr-kab-da-mu*
Ib-rí-um
9 3 zara₆-TÚG 8 bu-di 15 babbar:kù
Kéš-du-ud
11 *Du-si-gú*
Dar-kab-du-lum
13 4 zara₆-TÚG
Ti-rin_x-da-mu
15 *Gi-mi-za-du*
IV 1 *Iš-ru₁₂-ud*
Dar-ib-da-mu
3 1 aktum-TÚG 1 íb+III-TÚG-gùn-sa₆
Îr-ib-da-mu
5 *si-in*
ÉxPAP
7 *Ti-iš-te-da-mu*
šu-mu-“tag₄”

11. The AAM of the third year of Ibbi-zikir's mandate, TM.75.G.10088+, records the funerary gifts for Dusigu, mother of the last king of Ebla, Išar-damu. The corresponding, fragmentary, MAT, TM.75.G.1962, records, in obv. xi, gold decorations possibly for the funeral carriage, which have no certain correspondence in the AAM and are, therefore, not considered here. Dusigu, whose influence was a determining factor in the choice of Išar-damu as heir to the throne, did not receive gifts reflecting the decisive role she had played for more than twenty years at the court of Ebla. The gold used amounts to 1,08 ½ minas (68 ½ shekels; 530g) (17 + 6 + 3 + 13 + 19 + 1 + 1 + 5 ½ + 3 = 68 ½) (XVII 24–XVIII 11). There was 1 pectoral (*à-ra-ma-tum*) of 133g; 2 buckles (*kù-sal*) of 47 g; 1 necklace (*ma-ḥa-na-gúm*) [178] of 23 g; a string of 113 spherical beads (*gur-gú-ru*₁₂) of 102 g (some of these beads were in lapis lazuli and agate, according to A); a string of 100 double conoid beads (*du-ru*₁₂-*gú*) of 149 g; a fastener (*ša-mu*) for one of these strings of 8 g; a brooch in the shape of two acorns (*al₆-la-na*) of 8 g; a pendant (*šu-dub*) of 43 g. The queen herself gave two large silver toggle-pins (*bu-di*) with gold heads (XVIII 12–23).

- (11) A: TM.75.G.1962 obv. X 1-11 // B TM.75.G.10088+ rev. XVII 24-XVIII 23
 XVII 24 1 ma-na 8 ½ gín D. kù-gi
 ...] 25 2 'à-ra-ma-tum 17

X	1	[x gur]-gú-ru ₁₂ 13 (!)	2	kù-sal
		1 mi-at gur-gú-ru ₁₂ si ₄	27	1 ma-ḥa-na-gúm
	3	1 mi-at gur-gú-ru ₁₂ ġin:za		1 mi-at 13 gur-gú-ru ₁₂ 13
		gi-za		
		1 mi-at du-ru ₁₂ -gú 19	29	1 mi-at du-ru ₁₂ -gú
			XVIII	19
	5	1 ša-mu 1		1 ša-mu 1
		1 babbar:kù	3	2 al ₆ -la-na 1
	7	1 ma-da-ḥu		šu-dub 5 ½
		2 al ₆ -la-nu 1	5	nu ₁₁ -za 1 kun 3
	9	šu-dub 5 ½		1 ġin D. babbar:kù
		nu ₁₁ -za 1 kun 6 kù-gi	7	1 ma-da-ḥu
	11	1 ʿxʿ [		ama-gal en
			9	si-in
				ÉxPAP
			11	[...]
				“šú+ša” ġin D. babbar:kù
			13	2 bu-di
				10 ġin D. babbar:kù
			15	šu-bal-ag
				2 ġin D. kù-gi
			17	nu ₁₁ -za 2 sag-sù
				níg-ba
			19	ama-gal en
				si-in
			21	ÉxPAP
				ma-lik-tum
			23	in-na-sum

2 Typology of the gifts

The clothes and jewels which these ladies received on their marriage or their ordination as priestesses were exactly the same as those destined to adorn them on their burial. They were not, however, the objects that they had used when alive. The storerooms provided new [179] clothing. The gold and silver used for the jewels were recorded by the central administration in the document relating to expenditures for that particular year. Although these women belonged to the royal family, it is unlikely that the administration would have

had the jewels given for a marriage or ordination recorded again among the outgoing amounts in occasion of the burial of the same person. Those that these ladies owned when alive would have continued to be the property of the family, as was the usage, and the temple would have received those of the priestesses.

We are dealing here exclusively with personal belongings. None of these objects were destined for those participating in the funeral rites or as offerings of thanks to the Netherworld divinities.¹⁸ The gifts had the sole purpose of maintaining the social status which the deceased, consigned to the tomb, had enjoyed in life.¹⁹ “The grave signified more than just an entryway into the underworld. It was also the place in ‘this world’ in which the bones of the deceased remained present and immediate and it was the house of the deceased to which the death spirit could be called back from the underworld.”²⁰ Documents such as those of Ebla, relating exclusively to the delivery of metal objects (AAMs), and of clothing (MATs), could not record the deliveries of foodstuffs, with their containers, used in the funeral rites or deposited as supplies [180] for the stay in the Netherworld.²¹ The only reference to the funeral rite is the mention of mule harnesses and of wheels, recorded as they were decorated with gold, which were donated by the minister (documents 9 III 7–10 and 10 II 11–13), clearly for the carriage in which the body of the deceased would make her final journey.²² Marriage and death are here again in parallel: the same

18 There is no silver or gold, or a single object, which could have been used as “fare” to reach the Netherworld. On addir “ferry toll” in the Sumerian practice, see Selz 1995b.

19 For the study of the artifactual assemblages in order to ascertain the social role of the buried person, see Moorey 1977; Id. 1984; Rathje 1977.

20 Potts 1997: 221. This work offers at pp. 220–235 a good synthesis on the “mortuary practices” in Ancient Mesopotamia. In general, see Bottéro 1980 (at p. 36: *kimāhu*: the grave as “lieu supreme”; *bit šalāli* “residence de paix”, *šubat dārāti* “demeure éternelle”). Cassin (1987) stresses the importance that the *ešemtu* “bone, frame of the body” would be kept in a grave in the earth. See Assurbanipal, Prism A VI 70–76, which Borger (1996 55) translates in the following way: “Die Grabstätten ihrer früheren und späteren Könige ... zerstörte ich ... Ihre Gebeine nahm ich mit nach Assyrien. Ihren Geistern legte ich Ruhelosigkeit auf. Totenopfer und Wasserspenden versagte ich ihnen.”

21 Winter (1999) has devoted a recent study to the deposition of vessels as grave goods in the Royal Cemetery of Ur, with a wide bibliography. See, in general, the papers collected in: Campbell and Green 1995.

22 Note that also the “sandals”, *esir_x*, are not mentioned in all the sets of gifts. The dead reached the netherworld as a “spirit”, *gidim*, *ešemma*. Inanna, in her “Descent to the Netherworld”, is stripped of her best clothes and jewellery as she passes through the seven gates of Ereškigal’s realm. This is a metaphor that the dead arrived naked and powerless in the Netherworld. Katz (1995: 222–223) thinks, however, “implausible that (the deads) were expected to arrive naked in the Netherworld”. According to her, “the assemblies of objects scattered in

minister offered small decorations for the carriage also of Tagriš-damu, who had to accompany her husband to Nagar (no. 8 IV 16–V 3). That which had been used in the funeral ceremony belonged to the deceased and could not be used again and at least the precious goods were buried with him. We do not know if the animals were killed, but they were certainly not buried alongside the tomb of the deceased.²³ [181]

The funerary gifts foreseen for men seem to be limited to a few objects, the value of which, however, could equal those of the women. TM.75.G.2165 obv. IX 12–X 3 records the objects given by the palace administration for the funeral of the minister Arrukum: 5 clothes, 2 kilts, 1 ingot of gold weighing 60 shekels, a dagger with belt decorated with a further 60 shekels of gold (940 g in total): 1 túg-gùn 1 gu-zi-TÚG 2 zara₆-TÚG 2 íb+III-TÚG-sa₆-gùn 1 dib GÁxLÁ 1 ma-na kù-gi 1 íb-lá GÁxLÁ 1 ma-na kù-gi 1 gír mar-tu [si-in] *Ar-ru₁₂-gúm* ÊxPAP.

The absence of the list of the funeral gifts for king Igrīš-Ḫalab could easily be explained by the fact that the documents relating to this king are somewhat incomplete. It is not possible, however, to explain why those for the king Irkab-damu and the powerful minister Ibrium, whose death is registered in MEE 2.1 rev. X 8–9, are also lacking.²⁴ Nor, rather strangely, the lists of the funeral gifts destined for the Presargonic kings of Mesopotamia are preserved.²⁵

graves ... point to a belief that the deads retained their social status in the Netherworld". I would write here "grave" instead of "Netherworld". On such matters, however, there were probably no strictly defined belief systems. See, in general, Groneberg 1990; Bauer 1989. According to Sigrist (1989) the way in which the spirit of Šu-Sin approached the realm of Ereškigal can be followed through the several offerings he received; but cf. Sallaberger 1999: 171.

23 A hypogaeum was built under the north-eastern wing of the royal palace, the floor of which lies 6 m below that of the palace. It was found completely empty, see Matthiae 1997. For the cult of the ancestors at Ebla, see Archi 2001. The interment of draught-animals is excluded also for the royal graves of Tuttul, see Strommenger and Kohlmeyer 1998: 47–77; Ead. and Id. 2000: 8–15. These royal tombs were above ground; on this topic, see Peltenburg 1999. See also the study of the graves of Djebelet el-Beda by Meyer 1997. For the tombs of Tell Umm el-Marra, see Schwartz et al. 2006. The hypogaea of Ugarit, 18th–13th century BC, have been reconsidered recently by Salle (1995).

24 MEE 2.1 mentions also the purification rites for Ibrium's death (i-giš-sag), see Archi 1996b: 25–26. The objects used in the marriage ritual of the king Išar-damu are listed in TM.75.G.1730 (MEE 7.34)+; see Biga 1992a.

25 See in general Bauer 1998: 558–564. The most important documents are TSA 9 and Fö 137 = AWL 66, concerning the funeral of Baragnamtara, Lugalanda's spouse, and DP 159, a list of deliveries of bread by Sasag, Uruinimgina's spouse. These documents list a very large number of people involved in the cultic action, but not the gifts for the grave. On the document concerning Bīl-lāl-la of Adab, published by Foxvog 1980; the bibliography is commented in Sallaberger 1995: 17–18 n. 16.

Four kinds of vessels in precious metals were given to these ladies: a “jug”, an-zam_x, provided with a “lid”, pad, with a capacity of about 160 cm³; a “cup” GIŠ-šú, and two kinds of “goblets”, níg-bànda, often connected with the GIŠ-šú, and zi-bar, mentioned with an-zam_x. These last two vessels were usually in gold, the other two in silver.

No personal implements in gold or silver, such as mirrors, combs, tweezers or drinking-tubes, could be identified. A jewel case, *si-da-tum*, is mentioned in text no. 1.

A light “wreath/hair ribbon”, *ti-ba-ra-núm*, often together with a “frontlet”, *ša-mu*, in gold (both weighed usually 8 g) was used as head ornament. The head was usually covered with a “linen garment”, *gada-TÚG*. The “frontlet”, *ša-mu*, was fixed with a “straw”, *a-na-bù-bù/bí-tum(/ù-nu-bù-bí-tum)*, that is a kind of “hairpin” (both weighed usually 8 g). The “earrings”, *geštu_x-lá*, were in gold, weighing about 40 g the pair (each princess received from 4 to 5 pairs of such earrings).

A “torque”, *ti-gi-na*, in gold (about 157–392 g) was worn around the neck. Its two ends (“heads”, *sag*) were sometimes decorated with animals’ heads. These torques were also worn by the men. A light gold strip (weighing from 16 to 24 g) must have been used as a kind of “necklace”, *ma-ḥa-na-gúm*. Necklaces of this kind, in bronze or plated with silver and much heavier, were worn by men. The women also had necklaces made with several dozen spherical (*gur-gú-ru₁₂*) and double conoid (*du-ru₁₂-gu*) beads in gold, each weighing a little over 1 g. A clasp for those necklaces was *gú-zu-ra-tum*. According to text no. 5, one of these strings of beads ended with two beads in the shape of “acorns”, *al₆-la-nu* (one pair of these, listed in text no. 11, weighed 8 g). Other beads were in the shape of “cloves”, *ḥa-za-nu*, or “grapes”, *geštin še*.

The rounding of the breast was fitted with a “pectoral”, *à-ra-ma-tum*, in gold (117–157 g). The two parts of this object were connected by a “border”, *zag*. A “pendant in the shape of a falcon”, *buru₄-MUŠEN* (about 40 g) was attached to the pectoral. Another kind of pendant was the *šu-dub* (23–55 g). Each princess received two of these pectorals. The garments of the women were secured by one pair of toggle-pins in silver (80–234 g the pair), with their heads plated in gold.

“Bracelets”, *gú-li-lum* (78–157 g), and one pair of “bangles”, *GIŠ-DU* (125–235 g) were worn on the arms. “Buckles”, *kù-sal*, and “clips”, *ma-da-ḥu*, in gold, were used to fix several objects. Other ornaments were “ribbons”, *du-rúm*, and “small ingots with a vine leaf, *dib* *GIŠ-geštin* (these gold ingots were given usually to men of rank). No rings worn on the fingers could be identified (*su-dub* being explained as a pendant).

The main garment for a woman was the *zara₆-TÚG*, a cloak reaching to the ground. An alternative to this was the *túg-NI.NI*, probably a different kind of

cloak of lesser value.²⁶ The head was covered by a long shawl, *gu-dùl-TÚG*. A statuette from Ebla and some from Mari show women in their ceremonial clothes with the cloak and shawl.²⁷ [183]

3 Clothes for the ancestors

On the occasion of important funerals, it was the habit to give some clothes for some famous deceased persons, together with silver toggle-pins for the women.

1. Funeral of GimiNizatu, sister of Tabur-damu, the *maliktum* of Išar-damu (text no. 5). Two pieces of clothing and two cloaks for Kéšdūt, possibly the *maliktum* of Igriš-Ḫalab, and NEtibutu, probably the mother of GimiNizatu. Three pieces of clothing with belts for the two previous kings: Igriš-Ḫalab and Irkab-damu, and for Irib-damu, the father of the deceased.
2. Funeral of the princess Tarib-damu, daughter of Irkab-damu and priestess, *dam dingir*, of the god Hadabal of Luban (text no. 9). Six shawls and six bands for Dusigu (the mother of king Išar-damu). Tirin-damu (formerly *dam dingir* of Hadabal of Luban), Kéšdūt, Tarkab-dulum (an important lady of the time of Kéšdūt), GimiNizatu (text no. 5 records her death), and Išrut (sister of the deceased). Four cloaks, tunics and belts for Igriš-Ḫalab, Irkab-damu, Irib-damu, and for the minister Ibrium (father of Ibbi-Zikir, the minister at that time).
3. Funeral of the princess Tište-damu, daughter of Irkab-damu (text no. 10). Three cloaks, tunics and belts for Igriš-Ḫalab, Irkab-damu and Ibrium. Three pieces of clothing and eight silver toggle-pins for Kéšdūt, Dusigu and Tarkab-dulum. Four cloaks for Tirin-damu, GimiNizatu, Išrut and Tarib-damu. One tunic and one belt for Irib-damu.

To these passages we may add numerous others. ARET 3.240 III (the name of the deceased is missing): Kéšdūt, Tarkab-dulum, [...]; TM.75.G.1335 obv. IX 14–20, funeral of *A-a-gi-du* *dumu-munus en*: Igriš-Ḫalab, Irkab-damu, Ibrium – Kéšdūt, NEtibutu; 1781 (MEE 750) obv. V 13–14, funeral of *Bu'(MUNU₄)-ma-NI* *lú geštin*: Irkab-damu, Igriš-Ḫalab; 1937 rev. I 1'–3', funeral of the *ugula* (variant: *lugal*) *Sá-gú-šum*: Igriš-Ḫalab, Irkab-damu; 2337 obv. VII 24–VIII 4, funeral

26 In TM.75.G.2551, 26 ladies of first rank received 1 *zara₆-TÚG* each, while 73 ladies of second rank received 1 *túg-NI.NI*, see Archi 1996d: 109–112. For the value of these garments, see Archi 1999a: 53 [320].

27 See Matthiae, Pinnock and Scandone Matthiae 1995: 336 no. 95; Parrot 1967: XLVIII–L.

of *Má-ga-ra-du* dam en: Igriš-Ḫalab, Irkab-damu – Dusigu; 2357 rev. VI 14–VII 4, funeral of *Kir-su-ut* dam en: [Irkab-damu], Igriš-Ḫalab – Kéšdūt; 2374 obv. XII 10–rev. I 1, funeral of *I-in^d-Ā-da* dumu-nita en: Igriš-Ḫalab, Irkab-damu; 2506 obv. IV' 17–V' 3, funeral of *Maš-ga-sa-du* dam en: Kéšdūt – Igriš-Ḫalab, Irkab-damu; 2529 obv. VI 2–9, funeral of *Īr-ba_x-ze*: Igriš-Ḫalab, Irkab-damu, Išar – Kéšdūt; 2644+10000 obv. XIII 9–10 (the name of the deceased is not preserved): Igriš-Ḫalab, Irkab-damu, [...]. **[184]**

The persons for whom the funeral was celebrated were women belonging to the royal family, a prince and three officials. The deceased personages who on these occasions were honoured with gifts were always the two previous kings, Igriš-Ḫalab and Irkab-damu, together with the queen (*maliktum*) of the former and Dusigu, the concubine who gave birth to the latter's son and successor, Išar-damu. These, therefore, were the most important members of the dynasty (if the funeral was for a woman, also other female personages were included), but not necessarily direct ancestors of the deceased. Together with the need to place the deceased under the protection of such figures, a funeral also represented the opportunity to stress once more the primacy of the dynasty and of the state organisation of which it was the guarantor. This explains why the minister Ibrium numbers among such personages.

Texts no. 9 and 10 clearly state how gifts for these people “have been con-signed for the funeral ceremony of PN”, *si-in* ÉxPAP PN šu-mu-“tag₄”.²⁸ In other documents the word order obliges us to translate: “PN (i.e. the deceased) has given (to those people) for (his/her own) funeral”, TM.75.G.2506 obv. IV' 4–7: *Maš-ga-sa-du si-in* ÉxPAP šu-mu-“tag₄”. The variants are, TM.75.G.2337 obv. VIII 5–6: *Má-ga-ra-du* šu-mu-“tag₄”; 2357 rev. VII 5–6: *Kir-su-ut* šu-mu-“tag₄”; 2529 obv. VI 8–9: *Īr-ba_x-zé* šu-mu-“tag₄”; 1781 obv. V 9–VI 1: *si-in* ÉxPAP *Bu^l-ma-NI* [šu-mu-“tag₄”]; 2374 obv. 13–rev. I 1: šu-mu-“tag₄” *si-in* ÉxPAP.

It is probable that such clothing was used to dress the figures representing the most illustrious ancestors, and others who stood out for their high rank, which were exhibited during the funeral ceremony. In Rome and Cuczo figures of the ancestors (or their effigies worn by actors) took part in the procession.

4 The wailing rite

Of all those who took part in the ceremony, only a number of wailing women are recorded in the MATs as they received quantities of wool or clothes for their

²⁸ For ÉxPAP “funeral ceremony”, see above, n. 9.

performances. The most detailed passage is TM.75.G.2334 obv. IV 17–VI 3, which concerns the funeral ceremony for the princess Tarib-damu (text no. 9).

IV	17	1 túg-NI.NI
V	1	2 “KIN” siki [185]
		1 dam
	3	<i>mu-na-bí-tum</i>
		12 “KIN” siki
	5	6 dam
		eme-bal-sù
	7	1 túg-NI.NI 3 na ₄ siki
		1 dam
	9	<i>mu-na-bí-tum</i>
		15 na ₄ siki
	11	5 dam
		eme-bal-sù
	13	igi:a
		1 gâr-su ge ₆
	15	ì-giš-sag
		en
	17	1 níg-lá-ZI.ZI 2 bu-di 10 babbar:kù
		ì-giš-sag ma-lik-tum
	19	’Ā-ru ₁₂ -gú ^{ki}
		1 túg-NI.NI 1 íb-TÚG-gùn
	21	níg-nu-sù
VI	1	šu-mu-“tag ₄ ”
		lú ug ₇
	3	<i>Dar-ib-da-mu</i>

“1 shawl (and) 2 skeins of wool (for) a woman (who was) the wailing woman, 12 skeins of wool (for) 6 women (who acted as) the chorus (for) her. 1 shawl (and) 3 skeins of wool for a woman (who was) the wailing woman, 15 skeins of wool (for) 5 women (who acted as) the chorus (for) her, (for) the lamentation. 1 black bag (for) the purification rite of the king.²⁹ 1 shawl, 1 kilt, 2 toggle-pins of 10 (shekels) of silver (for) the purification rite of the queen (in) ’Arugu. 1 shawl, 1 kilt (for) her ... Delivered for Tarib-damu’s death.”

mu-na-bí-tum /*munabbītum*/ is “the wailing woman”; from *nubbû* “to wail, lament”, *AHw*: 700a; *CAD*, N, 1: 39. For *eme-bal*, the Lexical Lists give several

²⁹ For *gâr-su*, see Archi 2003c: 34. For the *ì-giš-sag* ceremony, see Id. 1996b: 17–18.

forms from the root **pl*, one of which is *da-da-bi-lu* /*ta'tap(p)ilu(m)*/, which has been translated as “interpreter”, on the basis of the meaning of the Sumerian word in later periods.³⁰ Among the meanings of *apālu* in Akkadian, there are also “to answer a question, [186] to echo, to respond”, CAD, A,2: 155–156. We have here, therefore, a kind of liturgical responsory, with a soloist, the *munabbītum*, and a chorus of five/six women.³¹

a-igi (ér) (written always: igi:a) means “lamentation”.³² Other passages where this term occurs are: TM.75.G.1356 obv. II 17–III 11: (1 cloth) *I-bi-zi-kir igi:a-sù lú ug₇ Īr-am₆-ma-lik Zi-ig^{ki}* “(death of Iram-malik ... 1 cloth to) Ibbi-zikir (for) his lamentation which is that (for) the death of Iram-malik (from) Zigu”; TM.75.G.2287 rev. III 8–17: (1 cloth) *igi:a I-bi-zi-kir in Maš-ga-du^{ki} šu-ba₄-ti lú ug₇ dumu-munus* “(1 cloth for) the lamentation: Ibbi-zikir has received (it) in Mašgadu; which is (for) the death of the daughter ...”; TM.75.G.1708 obv. II 1–4 and lower edge: (2 clothes) 2 dam *igi:a en* “(2 clothes for) 2 women (for) the lamentation of the king”. The minister or the king were, therefore, in charge of these lamentations. According to ARET 1.11 § 51, a cloth was given to a girl for the lamentation in honour of Adada, the mother of Dusigu (the king’s mother), whose death is mentioned in section § 26: 1 *gu-mug-TÚG dumu-munus ’Ā-gi igi:a ama-gal Du-si-gú*. Another wailing woman took part in this ceremony, section § 56: 1 GIŠ-“KIN” *siki ra-zi-tum A-da-da ama-gal Du-si-gú* “1 skein of wool (for) the weeping woman of Adada, the mother of Dusigu”. There were four weeping women for the funeral ceremony of the king Irkab-damu, TM.75.G.1938 rev. XIII 15–17: 4 dam *ra-zi-ma-tum al₆ ÊxPAP Īr-kab-da-mu*. Since sg. /*rāZintum*/, pl. /*rāZimatum*/, must be derived from the root **rzm* “to cry; to murmur”, known also in Arabic,³³ this name of function could be equivalent to the Sumerian a-igi (ér).

Gudea, Stat. B V 3–4, mentions in the following order: “cult musician” gala, “lamentation” ér, “wailing woman” ama-ér.³⁴ [187]

³⁰ See Conti 1990: 94, no. 179; for previous bibliography, Id. 1988: 36–37. On the circumstances of later periods which needed an “interpreter”, see, in general, Ulshöfer 2000.

³¹ The LL, no. 571, have *balag-di = na-ti-lu(-um)*. These two terms do not mean “lamentation singer” in the sense of “mourner”. They appear in the ritual for the king’s marriage, ARET 11.1 A § 63: *na-ti-lu ti-na-da-ú* / B § 66: *balag-di-balag-di balag-di* “the lyre players sing”; see the commentary by Fronzaroli ARET 11: 42; Id. 1988d: 1, 12.

³² For the Ebla documents, see Archi 1996b 18 n. 33; in general, see PSD, A, 1: 96.

³³ See Pasquali and Mangiarotti 1999, who mention Ug. *bkyt* “weeping women” in the ’Aqhatu poem; parallel to them are the *mšspd* “wailing women”.

³⁴ Cfr. Edzard 1997: 32.

5 The jewels³⁵

- *al₆-la-nu* “(a bead in the shape of an) acorn” 5) A VIII 3 = B V 15: 120 *kur-gú-ru₁₂ wa 2 a.* kg. (16 sh.); 11) A X 8 = B XVIII 3: 2 a. kg. (1 sh.). In both the passages, the two acorns must have been placed at the end of a string of beads. On this term, see Waetzoldt, apud MEE 10: 90 ad rev. V 15; Archi 2003c: 31.
- *a-na-bù-bù/bí-tum* (*ù-nu-bù-bí-tum* in 1 II 6, dated to the minister Arrukum) “straw; hairpin” 5) A VIII 8 = B V 19: 1 *ša-mu wa 1 a.* kg. (2 sh.); 7) A III 10 = B IV 11:1 *ša-mu wa 1 ti-ba-ra-núm wa 1 a.*; 8) IV 3: 1 *ša-mu + 1 a.* 1 GĪŠ-šú 1 *nig-bànda* kg. (90 sh.); 9) II 12: 1 *ša-mu 1 a.* kg. (1 sh.); 10) II 4: 1 *ša-mu 1 a.* kg. (1 sh.). Edzard, ARET 2: 143, sub *ù-nu-bù-NE-tum*, explained this term as */unbubtum/*, cf. Akk. *embūbu* “flute”. For *nabūbu* “to pipe” equivalent of KA.GI.DI in the LL, see Conti 1990: 99. It would be tempting to see in this object a drinking-tube in gold. In the administrative documents quoted above, however, *a.* was a kind of hairpin used to fix a wreath or hair ribbon, see *ti-ba-ra-núm*.
- *an-zam_x* “jug” (usually with a “lid”, pad) 6) A IV 13 = B XI 19: 1 a. kb. (15 sh.); 7) A III 6 = B IV 5: 1 a. kg. (20 sh.); 8) IV 5 : 1 a. 1 pad 1 *zi-bar* kg. (25sh.); 9) i 11: 1 a. 1 pad-sù kg. (19 ½ sh.); 10) I 4: 1 a. kg. (15 ½ sh.).
- An *an-zam_x* was ⅓ of a *sīla*; its capacity was, therefore, about 160 cm³; see Archi 1986b: 199; Milano ARET 9: 379.
- *’à-ra-ma-tum* “pectoral” 6) A II 11 = B XI 2: 4 *’à. wa 2 buru₄-MUŠEN* kg. (36 sh.); 7) A III 1 = B IV 1: 4 *’à.* kg. (50 sh.); 8) III 9: 4 *’à. 2 zag* kg. (23½ sh.); 9) I 10: 4 *’à. 2 buru₄-MUŠEN* kg. (28 sh.); 10) I 3: 4 *’à. 2 zag* kg. (25 sh.); 11) B XVII 25: 2 *’à.* kg. (17 sh.).

This object is usually mentioned in pairs. One pair of these *’à.* weighed from about 15 to 20 sh. (117–157 g); in TM.75.G.1227 obv. I 1–2, one pair even weighs 74 sh. (579 g); 2,28 *ma-na* kg. 4 *’à-ra-ma-tum*. One pair could be connected with a *zag* “brim, border”, see texts nos. 8 and 10, and TM.75.G.2428 rev. XVII 12–13: 4 *’à-ra-ma-tum* 14 ½ sh. (114 g) 2 *zag* 7 sh. (55 g). It was given only to women or goddesses. Taking into account its weight and that it was [188] used in pairs, its identification with a pectoral, shaped in some way like the female

³⁵ This index concerns only the objects given to ladies according to the texts transliterated above. I am grateful to G. Schwartz for having put at my disposal the list of the objects found in the tombs of Umm el-Marra. The volume by Waetzoldt (2001) came into my hands only after I had already finished this study. This volume was of assistance in my reconsiderations of certain meanings put forward, even when I found myself in disagreement.

breast, seems probable. It is sometimes listed together with *buru₄*-MUŠEN “a pendant in the shape of a falcon”. The translation given by Mander, MEE 10: 87: “a figure in the shape of a mountain goat”, on the basis of Akk. *armu* (see also TIE A, 1/1, 147–148), seems less convincing.

- *bu-di* “toggle-pin” 1) III 4: 2 GIŠ-DU 2 *b. kb.* sag kg. (60 sh.); 4) XI 19–20: 2 *b. kb.* (30 sh.) 2 sag *nu₁₁-za kg.*; 5) A VIII 12 = B V 24: 2 *b. kb.* (20 sh.) 2 sag *nu₁₁-za kg.* (2 sh.); 6) A IV 5 = B XI 13: 2 *b. kb.* (30 sh.) 2 sag *nu₁₁-za kg.* (3 sh.); 7) A III 5 = B IV 4: *b. Ma-rī^{ki}* kg. (3 sh.); 8) IV 1: 2 *b. tur kg.* (6 sh.), IV 12: 2 *b. tur kb.* (6 sh.); 9) I 6–7: 2 *b. kb.* (20 sh.) 2 sag kg., 4 *b. kb.* (10 sh.), 13: 2 *b. kg.* (20 sh.), III 2: 2 *b. kb.* (10 sh.), 21: 2 *b. kb.* (10 sh.), 23: 6 *b. kb.* (5 sh.); 10) II 1: 2 *b. kg.* (20 sh.), III 9: 8 *b. kb.* (15 sh.); 11) B XVIII 13: 2 *b. kb.* (20 sh.) 2 sag-*sù nu₁₁-za kg.* (2 sh.).

OAkk. *bu-tum*, MAD 3: 86, cf. CAD, B: 303: *bu'du*, is in favour of the reading *bu-di*. The present writer had previously adopted the meaning “drop earring” because this object appears mostly in pairs. Its usual weight precludes, however, this interpretation. Several pairs of *b.* weight 20 shekels, that is 78 g each; in texts nos. 4 and 6, their weight is 30 sh. (117 ½ g each); other samples weight 15 or 10 sh. (59/39 g each); several pairs of “small” *b.* weight 5 or 6 sh. (19,5/23,5 g each). Because this object is given exclusively to women, often in connection with clothes (see ARET 1: 277–278; ARET 4: 288–289 sub *bu-sá*), the meaning “toggle-pin” suggested by Waetzoldt apud Klein 1983: 279, is to be preferred. They were usually in silver with the two heads plated in gold; more rarely they were in gold or in bronze, see ARET 7.207. These heads could be in the shape of animals, ARET 10.55 obv. I 4: 4 *bu-di lu_x kù-gi* “4 *b.* of gold (whose head was in the shape) of human-faced bull”. The women of Ebla used these pins in pairs for securing their garments, like the ladies portrayed in the shell inlays from Mari. One inlay has, however, a single pin, with the upper part bent at a right angle, holding a shawl together, see Parrot 1962: 164–166, figs. 11, 13; Dolce 1978: tavv. XXXIX M 300–305, xli M 299 and 307, xlii M 298 and 309. For a similar pin from Ur, see Maxwell-Hyslop 1971: 13, fig. 12. For bibliography on pins found in graves, see Waetzoldt MEE 12: 348.

- *bù-ga-na* “tassel” 7) A II 14 = B III 25: (3) *b. tur kg.* (1 sh.) *kù-sal* [189] *esir_x* *e-gul-hùb-du* (4sh.); 9) II 8: 2 *b. kg.* *lú esir_x* (LAK-173)^e (2 sh.).

b. is quoted in pairs, *-ā(n)* being the ending of the Dual. It occurs also in TM.75.G.2462 rev. V 13–15: 1 (gín) *kù-gi* 2 *bù-ga-na ma-lik-tum*, MEE 2.16 = Archi 1981b: 137–138 rev. I 1: 1 (gín) *kù-gi bù-ga-na-a*, where one pair weighs also 8 g. In these two passages *b.* is not connected with other terms; in texts nos. 7 and 9, *b.* refers instead to something belonging to sandals or shoes. If this term is

related to Akk. *bukānu* “pestle”, *b.* could be a tassel in the shape of a pestle. Cf. *ba-ga-ne-su/sa(-a)*, TIE, B: 10.

- *bur-kak* “(a small vessel)” 8) IV 8: 4 b. nu₁₁-za kg. (22 sh.).

The *b.* played an important role in the marriage ritual. See Archi 1986b: 200; Waetzoldt MEE 12: 404–406.

- *buru₄-MUŠEN* “(a pendant in the shape of a) falcon” 6) A III 2 = B XI 4: 4 *’à-ra-ma-tum wa* 2 b. kg. (36 sh.); 7) A III 3 = B IV 2: 2 b. kg. (8 sh.), A IV 7 = B V 6: 2 kù-sal 1 b. kg. (1 ½ sh.); 9) I 10: 4 *’à-ra-ma-tum* 2 b. kg. (28 sh.).

See Fronzaroli ARET 11: 141.

- *dib* “plate; small ingot” 8) IV 6: 1 d. GIŠ-geštin kg. (30 sh.).

This *d.* was decorated with a vine leaf. See, further, ARET 3: 343; 7: 208.

- *du-ru₁₂-gú* “date-shaped, double conoid bead” (see below, apud *gur/kur-gú-ru₁₂*) 2) X 15: 100 *d.* kg (16 sh.); 3) XXI 29: 100 *d.* kg (16 sh.); 4) XI 10: 62 *d.* kg; 5) A VII 14 = B V 12: *d.* kg. (7 sh.); 6) A III 12 = B XI 9: 86 *d.* kg. (11 2NI sh.); 8) III 12: 123 *d.* kg. (16 sh.); 9) II 3: 120 *d.* kg. (14 sh.); 10) I 9: 98 *d.* kg. (12 sh.); 11) A X 4 = B XVII 29: 100 *d.* kg. (19 sh.).

The weight of each of these beads of gold is of 1.25 g, according to texts nos. 1 and 3.

- *du-rúm* “ribbon” 8) IV 7:1 *d.* kg. (30 sh.).

Cfr. Akk. *ṭurru* “ribbon, knot”. Other writings are: *du-ru₁₂-ru₁₂/rúm*. Usually of cloth, in text no. 8 this ribbon is made of 235 g of gold. This excludes the meaning “stole”, suggested by Pasquali 1997: 225–230. The fact that this object is given to people of different age, and even to a dead individual (text no. 5 A VII 10), goes against the interpretation given by this author, that *d.* could be the symbol of a kind of investiture.

- *e-gul-ḥúb-du* “...” 7) A II 17 = B III 26: 4 kù-sal esir_x(LAK-173) *wa e.* (4 sh.). esir_x(LAK-173)^e “sandal, shoe” This writing is in text no. 9 II 9, while no. 7, A II 15 and B III 26, has GIxGI. [190] The LL A₂ no. 1323 has: ^eesir_x(LAK-173) = *sa-na*, Akk. *šēnu*, see Civil 1984a: 78. On the reading of LAK-173, see Steinkeller 1981–82; cf. Steinkeller and Postgate, 1992) 75. These sandals are decorated with “tassels”, *bù-ga-na*, and “buckles”, kù-sal. geštin še “(bead in the shape of a) grape” 7) A II 9 = B III 20: 2g. kg. (20 sh.). It is rarely attested, see TM.75.G.2071 obv. V 5: 6 geštin še (between *al₆-la-nu* and *gur-gú-ru₁₂*), rev. I 3: 4 geštin še.
- *geštu_x(GIŠ.PI)-lá* “earring” (used by women and men) 1) 1: 10 g. kg.; 2) X 11: 8 g. kg. (18 sh.); 3) XXI 25: 8 g. kg. (18 sh.); 4) XI 8: 10 g. kg.; 5) A VII 12 = B V 11: 10 g. kg. (23 sh.); 6) A II 9 = B XI 1:10/8 g. kg. (17 3NI sh.); 8) III 8: 8 g. kg. (20 ½ sh.); 10) I 7: 8 g. kg. (20 sh.).

- GIŠ-ašud(GAM.GAM) “wheel (of a carriage)” 8) V 1: 2 G. 1 GIŠ-gígir-II nu₁₁-za kg. (30 sh.); 9) III 7: 2 G. 1 1 GIŠ-gígir-II nu₁₁-za kg. (30 sh.); 10) II 11: 2 G. nu₁₁-za kg. (30 sh.).
Gold was used for decoration, see Conti 1997: 35–36.
- GIŠ-DU “bangle, bracelet” 1) III 3: 2 G.; 2) X 12: 2 G. kg. (20 sh.); 3) XXI 26: 2 G. kg. (20 sh.); 6) A IV 11 = B XI 21: 2 G. kb. (30 sh.); 8) III 5: 2 G. kg. (16 sh.).

The manuscript D of the LL has GIŠ-DU = *ši-a-du* cfr. ARET 2: 125 (the translation “foot” in MEE 7: 64 XI 21 is based on the erroneous reading *ba-a-du*, given in MEE 4: 240 no. 362).

According to the texts quoted above, one pair of G. in gold weighed from 125 to 235 g; the weight could reach, however, 470 g; TM.75.G.10074 obv. XVII 21–23: 1 ma-na kg. 2 GIŠ-DU (for the queen), rev. XXVII 15–16: 2 GIŠ-DU 1 ma-na (kg.) 2 *ti-gi-na* 40 (gín) (for the spouse of the minister Ibbi-zikir). The last passage shows that 2 G. could be heavier in comparison with *ti-gi-na*, perhaps a torque (the dual form should be due to the fact that the *t*. had 2 heads). One pair of G. and a *t*. (registered sometimes in the same line) could be a set of jewels, given also to children; a “bracelet”, *gú-li-lum*, or one pair of “earrings”, *geštu_x-lá*, could be added. TM.75.G.2502 obv. II 5–7: 1 *gú-li-lum* 2 *ti-gi-na* 2 GIŠ-DU; 2462 rev. XI 4: 2 *ti-gi-na* 2 GIŠ-DU 2 *geštu_x-la*, obv. XIX 21–22, 31–32: 8 *ti-gi-na* 8 GIŠ-DU 2 *dumu-nita* 2 *dumu-munus* ... 4 *ti-gi-na* 4 GIŠ-DU 2 *dumu-nita* en. The G. could be a bangle in solid gold worn on the arms.

- GIŠ-šú “cup” 6) A V 2 = B XI 23: 1 níg-bànda + 1 G lú 2 šu kb. [191] (2 ma-na); 7) A III 16 = B IV 23: 1 níg-bànda + 1 G. kb. (3 ma-na); 8) IV 4: 1 *ša-mu* + 1 *a-nu-bù-bí-tum* + 1 G. + 1 níg-bànda kg. (90 sh.), IV 10: 1 G. + níg-bànda kb. (120 sh.); 9) II 14: 1 G. + 1 níg-bànda kb. (210 sh.); 10) II 8: 1 G. 1 níg-bànda kb. (240 sh.).
- GIŠ-šu-dub see šu-dub.
- *gú-li-lum* “bracelet, armlet” 5) A VIII 10 = B V 22: 1 g. a-gar₅ nu₁₁-za kg. (2 sh.); 6) A II 5 = B X 23: 1 g.-I kg. (10 sh.); 7) A III 13 = B IV 21: 1 g. kg. (20 sh.); 9) II 11: 1 g.-I kb. kg. (10 + 2 sh.); 10) II 5: 1 g.-I kg. (10 sh.).
The g. could have a single or a double ring (-I, -II), see ARET 3.355–357; ARET 7.214–215.
- *gur/kur-gú-ru₁₂* “spherical bead” 2) X 14: 100 g. kg (14 ½ sh.); 3) XXI 28: 100 g. kg (14 ½ sh.); 4) XI 11: 100 k. kg; 5) A VIII 1 = B V 13: 120 k. *wa* 2 *al₆-la-na/nu* kg. (16 sh.); 6) A III 6 = B XI 6: 93 k. kg. (12 ½/13 sh.); 7) A II 10 = B III 21: k. kg. (20 sh.); 8) III 11: 120 g. kg. (16 sh.); 9) II 2: 159 g. kg. (22 sh.); 10) I 10: 125 g. kg. (13 ½ sh.); 11) A X 1 = B XVII 28: 113 g. kg. (13 sh.), A X 2–3: 100 g. si₄ 100 g. za-gìn gi-za.

This jewel in gold is clearly a kind of bead, attested together with *du-ru₁₂-gu*, both always cited in several dozen units. The weight of one of these beads of gold is of 1.13 g, according to texts nos. 2 and 3. Baldacci (1994: 63) compares this term with Ug. *krkr*, “to roll, twist”; cf. Heb. *krr*, Ar. *karra*, *karkara*. This is in favour of the meaning “spherical bead”. OAkk. *kurkurratu* (later, *kurkuru*) is a container; cf. *gurguru/qurquru* “craftsman working in wood and metals”.

In the third millennium BC, beads of gold were usually either spherical or date-shaped/double conoid/elliptical. For the beads from the Ur Early Dynastic cemetery, see Maxwell-Hyslop: pls. 6d, 8 and, in general, fig. 6 at p. 8. Spherical and double conoid beads from Ebla of the period of the tablets are known only in stone; see Pinnock 1993. For spherical beads decorated with granulation, tubular beads and parallelepiped beads with tapered bases, all in gold, of the Middle Bronze Period, see Matthiae et al. 1995: 332, nos. 127–132; 471–482, nos. 395, 397, 399, 401–402.

- *gú-zu/(zú)-ra-tum* “necklace clasp” 1) III 1: 1 g.(-zú-) kg. gul-za-gin si₄; 2) X 18; 1 g. kg. (2 sh.); 3) XXI 32: 1 g. kg. (2 sh.); 8) III 15: 1 g. kg. (4 sh.); 9) II 7:1 g. kg. (3 sh.); 10) II 3: 1 g. kg. (4 sh.).

Other writings are: *gú-zu-ra-du* (TM.75.G.10074 obv. VIII 4); *gú-za-ra-tum* [192] (ARET 2.8 IX 3, X 1); *gú-za-ru₁₂-tum* (TM.75.G.1904 rev. V 15); *gú-su-ra-na-tum* (MEE 10.29 obv. XIII 3); *gú-zu-la-na-tum* (ARET 10.55 obv. I 3). Usually, the g. is mentioned as a single object of 2, 3 or 4 sh. (16–31 g); read in ARET 8.534 IX 25: 1 g. 5 (sh.). Consequently, MEE 10.29 obv. XIII 3 has to be corrected in: 60 *gur-gu-ru₁₂* 10 (sh.) 1' *gú-su-ra-na-tum* 2 ½ (sh.) 30 *du-ru₁₂-gú* 6 (sh.). In this passage, g. is mentioned between two groups of beads. It could be a kind of necklace clasp; cf. **k/qšr* “to tie, bind together”.

- *ḥa-za-nu* “(bead/grain in the shape of a) clove” 4) XI 14: (1 *ma-ḥa-na-gúm*) h. kg.; 6) A III 8 = B XI 7: h. kg. (3 sh.) (1 *ma-ḥa-na-gúm*); 7) II 11 = B III 22: ḥ. kg. (6 sh.) (*ma-ḥa-na-gúm*).

For LL šúm-SAR, ga-ra-SAR = *ḥa-za-núm/nu* (cf. Akk. *ḥazannu*), see Fronzaroli 1984c: 142; Civil 1984a: 86. For the interpretation of ḥ. as a bead in the administrative documents, see Waetzoldt, apud MEE 10.87 ad obv. III 22. For *ḥa-sa-nu*, see ARET 11.34.

In all the passages quoted above (as well as in several others), ḥ. is followed or preceded by *ma-ḥa-na-gúm*, which is determined by the numeral 1, while for ḥ. only the corresponding amount of gold is given. The ḥ. had to be, therefore, a kind of decoration of the “necklace”, *ma-ḥa-na-gúm*. It is listed several times also together with beads, TM.75.G.2502 obv. XVI 18–22: 92 *gur-gú-ru₁₂* 360 *ḥa-za-nu* 1 šu-dub 1 *ma-ḥa-na-gúm*; 1679 obv. II 3–7: 1 *ma-ḥa-na-gúm* 117 *gur-gú-*

*ru*₁₂ 112 *du-ru*₁₂-*gu* 10 *al*₆-*la-nu* 10 GIŠ-geštin 228 *ḥa-za-nu* “1 necklace, 117 spherical beads, 112 double conoid beads, 10 beads in the shape of acorns, 10 beads in the shape of grapes, 228 grains in the shape of cloves”. TM.75.G.2428 obv. XXIX 24 registers even 830 *ḥa-za-nu*. The *ḥ.* was, therefore, a small grain used for decorating these beads and necklaces: a kind of granulation. TM.75.G.1679 obv. III 4–6 has: 6 (gin) kg. 535 *ḥa-za-nu* 6 *al*₆-*la-nu* 10 GIŠ-geštin; even if this amount of gold was used only for the *ḥ.*, a single piece weighed only 0,08g. It could be also in lapis lazuli, TM.756.G.1679 obv. IV 3: 122 *ḥa-za-nu* *za-gin* tur. See šu-dub for *ḥ.* as a part of this object.

- kun “tail; fringe” 9) II 10: *maš-maš* 1 k. kg. (4 sh.); 11) A X 10 = B XVIII 5: 1 k. kg. (6/3 sh.).
- *kù-sal* “buckle, boss” 1) I 1: 2 k. kg.; 2) X 19: 2 k. kg. (3 ½ sh.); 3) XXII 1: 2 k. kg. (3 ½ sh.); 4) XI 12: 2 k. kg.; 5) A VIII 5 = B V 16: 1 k. kg. (1 ½/2 sh.); 6) A III 4 = B XI 5: 2 k. kg. (4 sh.); 7) A II 15 = B III 26: k. *esir*_x(LAK-173) *wa e-gul-ḥúb-du* kg. (4 sh.), A III 4 = B IV 3: 2 *kù-sal* kg. (8 sh.), A IV 1 = B III 25: 2 *níg-anše-ag* + 4 k. kb. (80 sh.), [193] A IV 7 = B V 6: 2 k. + 1 *buru*₄-*MUŠEN* kg. (1 ½ sh.); 8) III 10: 2 k. kg. (3 ½ sh.), IV 17: 2 *níg-anše-ag* + 4 k. kg. (60 sh.); 9) II 4: 2 k. kg. (6 sh.), III 5: 2 *níg-anše-ag* 4 k. kg. (60 sh.); 10) I 6: 2 k. kg. (4 4NI), ii 10: 2 *níg-anše-ag* + 4 k. kg. (60 sh.); 11) B XVII 26: 2 k. kg. (6 sh.).

For *kù-sal* as the two side rings or buckles of the bit, see *níg-anše-ag*; in text no. 7, it is the buckle of sandals and of a pendant in the shape of a falcon. For *kù-sal* in other contexts, see Fronzaroli ARET 11.157.

- *ma-da-ḥu* “clip” 1) II 3: 1 m. kg.; 11) A X 7 = B XVIII 7: 1m. kb. (1 sh.). Cf. *da/eḥûm*, AHw: 150b “stoßen, drücken (?)”. The documents record *m.* in silver and gold. Its weight is usually of 1 shekel (8 g), see ARET 3.545 II 1–2; TM.75.G.10047 obv. III 2, IV 3. MEE 10.20 obv. XII 3–4, rev. VII 29–30, VIII 3–4, has *m.* of 1 ½/2/1 3NI shekels respectively. TM.75.G.2428 rev. V 49–50 has 1 *m.* of 4 shekels; 10074 rev. XIV 7–8: 2 *m.* of ½ shekel each.
- *ma-ḥa-na-gûm* “(neck)lace” 1) I 1: 1 m. kg.; 2) X 17: 1 m. kg. (2 sh.); 3) XXI 31: 1 m. kg. (2 sh.); 4) XI 13: 1 m. *ḥa-za-nu* kg.; 6) A III 10 = B XI 8: 1 m. kg. (3 sh.); 7) A II 12 = B III 23: *m.* kg. (4 sh.); 8) III 13: 1 m. kg. (3 sh.); 9) II 6: 1 m. kg. (3 sh.); 10) II 2: 1 m. kg. (3 sh.); 11) B. XVII 27: 1 m. kg. (3 sh.)

Other writings are: *ma-ḥa-ne-gûm*, cf. MEE 2.50 rev. I 5–6; *ma-ḥa-ni-gûm*, cf. TM.75.G.10077 rev. IV 7. According to the passages quoted above, this object could weigh from 2 to 4 shekels (16–31 g); read in ARET 3.218 III 4: 3 sh. (not 30!); 5 shekels in ARET 2.8 § 12. According to TM.75.G.10074 obv. XXVI 26–28, a *m.* of gold for the queen weighed 16 sh. (125 g); another one 17 ½ (137 g). It could be decorated with a kind of granulation using small grains called *ḥa-za-nu* (see above). This jewel was not limited to women.

TM.75.G.1904 rev. III 7–8 registers 1 *m.* plated with silver for Ibrium. Ibzikir received 2 *m.* in bronze, one of 392 g and the other of 321 g, TM.75.G.2462 rev. XIV 1–4. Some other *m.* in bronze could weigh 45 sh. (352 g), TM.75.G.1234 obv. II 1–2, see Archi 1987d: 71 n. 29. A *m.* could be the handle of an axe, TM. 75.G.1464 rev. II 17–19:1 *m. wa* 1 tùn-gal (of bronze). The term must be derived from **hnq*, see Akk. *ḥanāqum* “to strangle; to constrict”, cf. Waetzoldt apud MEE 10.87 ad obv. III 23, who translates it with “Halsring”.

- *ma-ri-tum* (an accessory of šu-dub) 7) A IV 3 = B IV 27: 1 *m. wa* 1 šu-dub kb. (7 sh.).

The LL, no. 1236, have *mun* = *ma-ri-tum*; a meaning such as [194] “grain; kernel” in a figurative sense, does not, however, seem pertinent. For this rarely attested term, cf. TM.75.G.1504 obv. I 7: 1 *ma-ri-a-du* (in a list of clothes); *ma-ra-tum*, MEE 2.16 II 2: (1 níg tur ...) 1 *m. kù-gi* (3 sh.).

MÜŠ.KISAL(LAK-724) “...” 7) A II 13 = B III 24: M. kg. (10 sh.).

This term is attested in the éš-bar-“kin_x” LL, see MEE 15.227.

- níg-anše-ag “bit, (or) rein” 7) A III 17 = B IV 25: 2 n. + 4 kù-sal kb. (80 sh.); 8) IV 17: 2 n. + 4 kù-sal kg. (60 sh.); 9) III 5: 2 n. + 4 kù-sal kg. (60 sh.); 10) II 10: 2 n. + 4 kù-sal kg. (60 sh.). See Archi 1985e: 31–32; Conti 1997: 45–56. The corresponding term in Eblaite is *lu-bù-gu/gú*, see Waetzoldt 1990b.
- níg-bànda “small goblet” 6) A V 2 = B XI 23: 1 n. + 1 GIŠ-šú lú 2 šu kb. (120 sh.); 7) A III 16 = B IV 23: 1 n. + 1 GIŠ-šú kb. (180 sh.); 8) IV 4: 1 ša-mu + 1 a-nu-bù-bi-tum + 1 GIŠ-šú + 1 n. kg. (90 sh.), IV 10: 1 GIŠ-šú + 1 n. kb. (120 sh.); 9) II 14: 1 GIŠ-šú + 1 n. kb. (210 sh.); 10) II 8: 1 GIŠ-šú + 1 n. kb. (240 sh.).

It appears usually together with GIŠ-šú, and in the same quantity. TM.75.G.1705 rev. VII 15 lists, however, 4 GIŠ-šú and 1 n. These were the vessels used for drinking from “those for the hands (2 šu) of PN/NF”, see text no. 6; TM.75.2428: 1 n. 1 GIŠ-šú 2 šu en ... 1 n. 1 GIŠ-šú 2 šu *ma-lik-tum*. TM.75.G.1291 mentions one of these small goblets, in bronze, for the cupbearer, 1 n. *zabar sagi*. It is also associated with another vessel: *zú-bù*, see TM.75.G.2429 rev. XXVI 29: 2 *zú-bù* 2 n. The LL have n. = *ša-a-tum*, for which Waetzoldt (MEE 12: 66) refers to Ug. *ša’itu* “a liquid measure”. In Sumer, the níg-bàn-da was a vessel of about 2 sila, see Sallaberger 1996c: 56 and 104.

- NI-ša-bù “...” 8) IV 2: 4 N.-II kg.
- pad “lid” see an-zam_x.
- *si-da-tum* (“jewel” case) 1) I 1: gu1-za-gìn si₄-si₄ kg.

Large (338 g) and small (90 g) s. in gold (mah, tur) are given to goddesses, according to ARET 2.8. Two s. for the queen weighed 1,03 minas (493 g),

MEE 10.29 obv. XIII 28–30. The s. in text no. 1 is in gold, encrusted with cornelian, lapis lazuli and agate; another two (also for the queen) are encrusted with "stones", TM.75.G.2618 obv. II 1–2: 1 ma-na kg. na₄ 2 s. Edzard (ARET 2: 138) has suggested the identification of s. with Akk. *šiddatu*, AHw: 1230a: "ein Behälter". He was followed by Pomponio (1993: 6), [195] who translates *si-da-tum*-II, ARET 2.8 VIII 2, as "cassetta a due manici". The meaning "jewel case" fits well with the two parallel passages in TM.75.G.1284 obv. VII 1–rev. I 2 and I 4–II 3: 2 + 1 + 10 + 58 + 109 beads 1 s.-II; 60 + 108 + 169 + 204 beads 1 s.-III.

- *ša-mu* "frontlet" 1) I 1: 1 š.; 2) X 20: 1 š. + 1 *ti-ba-ra-nu* kg. (1 sh.), X 22: 1 š. kb. (1 sh.); 3) XXII 2: 1 š. + 1 *ti-ba-ra-nu* kg. (1 sh.), XXII 4: 1 š. kb. (1 sh.); 4) XI 16: 1 š. kg.; 5) A VIII 7 = B V 17: 1 š. *wa* 1 *a-na-bù-bù-tum* kg. (2 sh.); 7) A III 8 = B IV 7: 1 š. *wa* 1 *ti-ba-ra-núm* *wa* 1 *a-na-bù-bí-tum* kg. (2 sh.); 8) IV 3: 1 š. 1 *a-nu-bù-bí-tum* 1 GIŠ-šú 1 níg-bànda kg. (90 sh.), IV 14: 1 š. kb. (1 sh.); 9) II 12: 1 š. 1 *a-na-bù-bí-tum* kg. (1 sh.); 10) II 4: 1 š. 1 *a-na-bù-bí-tum* kg. (1 sh.), 6: 1 š. kb. (1 sh.); 11) A X 5 = B XVII 2: 1 š. kg. (1 sh.).

This object is often listed together with *ti-ba-ra-nu*, a kind of wreath or hair ribbon, and *a-na-bù-bí-tum*, a hairpin ("straw") in gold. This small object needed only 1 sh. of gold (7.83 g), which in some cases was enough also for the frontlet. Texts nos. 2, 3, 8, 10 list also a single š. in silver besides the š. in gold connected with *ti-ba-ra-núm* and/or *a-na-bù-bí-tum*. Similarly, TM.75.G.2536 rev. I 3–II 3 has 1 *ti-ba-ra-nu* and 1 š. in gold and 1 š. in silver weighing 2 sh. The š., together with the *a-na-bù-bí-tum*, must have served to fix the *ti-ba-ra-nu*, a wreath or hair ribbon. In no. 11, many *du-ru*₁₂*gú* and *gur-gú-ru*₁₂ beads are followed by 1 š., 2 *al*₆*-la-nu* (beads in the shape of an acorn) and 1 šu-dub (pendant). Here, the if. was perhaps used for fixing a string of beads. For the frontlets from Ur, see Maxwell-Hyslop 1971: 23 fig. 13.

- šu-dub "pendant; seal (?)" 1) II 4: 1 GIŠ-š. kg.; 2) X 16: 1 š. kg. (3 sh.); 3) XXI 30: 1 š. kg. (3 sh.); 4) XI 15: 1 š. kg.; 6) A IV 1 = B XI 10: 1 š. kg. (4/6 sh.); 7) A IV 5 = B V 2: 1 *ma-rí-tum* *wa* 1 š. kb. (7 sh.); 8) III 14: 1 š. kg. (3 ½ sh.); 10) I 11: 1 š. kg. (5 3NI sh.); 11) A X 9 = B XVIII 4: 1 š. kg. (5 ½ sh.). According to LL no. 498: šu-dub = *in-gu*, cf. Akk. *unqum* (šu-gur) "seal, ring", see Conti 1990: 143. šu-gur in the Ebla documentation is a heavy object in bronze, see ARET 7.234 and MEE 12.135. The s. is, instead, a small object, usually in gold. Those given to these princesses weigh from 5 ½ sh. (43 g) to 3 sh. (23 g). In some cases the amount of gold requested is very small, ARET 7.28: ½ NI (about 0.5 g) for completing (?) the š. of the queen. In one case, MEE 10.4 obv. VIII 3–4, the š. was covered with a leaf (of gold), *ni-zi-mu* 1 šu-dub. It can be also in stone, TM.75.G.10236 rev. III 5:

šu-dub ġin-ġin “a š. of lapis lazuli”. Three passages have GIŠ-šu-dub. This determinative hints at the possibility that [196] the š. was originally in wood (at least in part), which would also fit the meaning “seal”. In the period of the archives, the seals could still have been in wood, both those used in the rural milieu and at the palace, see Mazzoni 1992: 42–46 with Tav. XLIII 8. Besides text no. 1, see ARET 3.440 rev. II 4–7: 15 ġin D. kb. GIŠ-šu-dub dumu-munus-dumu-munus en: “15 sh. (117 g) of silver (for) 5 pendants of the princesses”; TM.77.G.730 rev. XII 6–8: 3 3-NI ġin kb. GIŠ-šu-dub PNF.

The AAM TM.75.G.1730 (MEE 7.34)+ lists several š. given to the king Išar-damu and his spouse for their ritual marriage. After a first mention in rev. IX 16: s. en wa *ma-lik-tum*, some silver is used in order to make some beads in the shape of “cloves”, *ha-za-nu*, for two š., one for the king and the other for the queen, XI 16–22: [x] kb. “KIN_x”-ag [x *h*] *a-za-nu* 2 šu-dub en wa *ma-lik-tum*; 20 sh. of gold (157 g) are for other two š. for the purification of the king and the queen, and further gold (94 g) for another s. of the queen, XI 29–XII 7: 20 ġin D. kg. “KIN_x”-ag 2 š. en wa *ma-lik-tum* sikil ... 12 ġin D. kg. “KIN_x”-ag 1 šu-dub *ma-lik-tum* ‘*à-lum*. Also the minister Ibrium and his son Ibbi-zikir were provided with a š. each, which had 15 beads in silver, 2 in lapis lazuli and 2 in agate, all in the shape of cloves, XX 18–27: 5 (ġin) kb. 15 *ha-za-nu* 2 ġin-ġin 2 si₄ 1 šu-dub *Ib-rí-um* 4 (ġin) kb. 15 *ha-za-nu* 2 ġin-ġin 2 si₄ 1 šu-dub *I-bí-zi-kir*. A similar s. for Ibbi-zikir is registered in TM.75.G.2462 rev. XXII 18–23; another one had 16 of such beads in gold, TM.75.G.1679 obv. I 5: 16 *ha-za-nu* GIŠ-šu-dub 6 7NI kg. These beads in the shape of cloves had to be bigger than those listed in hundreds (see above: *ha-za-nu*). A š. was given to a “DN/for the festival ... for the purification of the king”, 1 šu-dub sikil lú en DN/sikil en lú ħúl [, in TM.75.G.10077 rev. V 15–17 and 10210+ obv. XIV 20–24.

In the ritual ARET 11.3 § 13, the š. of the king and that of the queen are “bound”, *kēš-da*; Fronzaroli translates it consequently: “necklace”. A meaning such as “pendant, seal” is required, however, by the passages quoted above, where the š. belongs to a string of 15/19 beads in the shape of cloves. In the texts nos. 2, 3, 6, 8, 10, 11, the š. follows, instead, a list of other kinds of beads. Women portrayed in the inlays from Mari wore strings of beads hanging from the pins which secured their garments; these strings end with a seal; see Parrot 1962: 151–179; Collon 1987: 108–110 with fig. 473. [197]

– šu-kešda “knot, noose” 9) II 5: 1 š. kg. (42NI).

This object was usually in wool and follows *ib+III-TÚG* “kilt” in the lists of clothes, see ARET 4.323. It can also be in precious metals, see ARET 7.234.

- *ti-ba-ra-nu/núm* “wreath, hair ribbon” 1) II 5: 1 *t.* kg.; 2) X 20: 1 *ša-mu* + 1 *t.* kg. (1 sh.); 3) XXII 2: 1 *ša-mu* + 1 *t.* kg. (1 sh.); 4) XI 17: (1 *ša-mu*) 2 *t.* kg.; 7) A III 9 = B IV 9: 1 *ša-mu wa* 1 *t. wa* 1 *a-na-bù-bí-tum* (2 sh.).

In the passages quoted above, with the exception of one, *t.* is connected with *ša-mu*. See, further, TM.75.G.1464 obv. XI 16–17: 1 *ša-mu* 2 *ti-ba-ra-núm*. In no. 7, it is followed by *a-na-bù-bí-tum*, as in TM.75.G.1679 obv. III 8–9: 1 *t.* 1 *a-na-bù-<bí>-tum*. ARET 4.1 § 3, ARET 8.522 XV 9–11 and MEE 7.48 IV 1–3 mention: 1/(2) *gada-TÚG* 1/(2) *ti-ba-ra-núm* en. 1 linen garment was, therefore, used together with 1 *t.* for the king. The passages quoted above show that a *t.* required a small amount of gold. Pasquali (1997: 262–266) suggests deriving this term from **pr* “to cover, to veil”, therefore: /*ti’par-ān-u(m)*/, and translates it as “turban”. The following two passages show that the *t.* was in fact worn on the head. TM.75.G.1994 obv. I 1–4: 29 *ma-na kb. nu₁₁-za* 26 *an-dùl din* = *gir sag wa ti-ba-ra-nu* “29 minas of silver to plate 26 statues of gods: (their) heads and wreaths”; 2508 obv. I 22–25: 1 *gín kg. ti-ba-ra-nu sag-kešda* ^d*Ku-ra* “1 sh. of gold (for) the wreath (as) head ribbon (for) the god Kura”. MEE 10.20 rev. XIX 13–16 has: 2 *gín kg. ti-ba-ra-nu an-se du-ru₁₂-ru₁₂* “2 sh. of gold (for) the wreath above (and) the ribbon” (for DNF). According to Biga (1992b) the turban of the king (described by Matthiae 1979: 17–31) should be the aktum-TÚG túg-ZI.ZI. The *t.* can not be, in any case, this turban, if this was a sign of the Eblaite kingship (as Pasquali wants), because it was worn by ladies (although the passages quoted above concern women of the royal house). Waetzoldt (MEE 12: 544) explains *t.* as “(a clothing decorated with) a juniper berry”, cf. Akk. *duprānu*, *daprānu* “(a variety of) juniper”, a meaning which does not seem to fit the passages.

- *ti-gi/ki-na* “torque” 1) II 2: 2 *t.*; 2) X 13: 2 *t.* kg. (20 sh.); 3) XXI 27: 2 *t.* kg. (20 sh.); 4) XI 9: 2 *t.* kg.; 6) A II 7 = B X 25: 2 *t.* kg. (30 sh.); 7) A III 12–13: 2 *t.* GIŠ-zú kg (40 sh.) 2 *t. dāra* kg. (50 sh.) = B IV 17–20: *nī-zi-mu* kg. (6 sh.) 2 *t.* GIŠ-zú kg. *wa* 2 *t. dāra* kg. (50 sh.); 8) III 6–7: 2 *t. lu-li* kg. (25 ½ sh.) 2 *t.* GIŠ-zú kg. (19 ½ sh.); 9) II 1: 2 *t. lu-li* kg. (39 sh.); 10) I 8: 2 *t. lu-li* kg. (17 ½ sh.)
- t.* ends usually with *-na*, containing the ending *-ā(n)* of the Dual. [198]

The LL, no. 902, have, A: *ti-gi-núm* = *zu-zu-a*, B: *ti-gi-na*, with *t.* like a Sumerian term. For the writing *ti-kī-núm* in an administrative text, see ARET 7.12 obv. II 2. Cf. Akk. *tiqnum*, AHw: 1360: “ordentliche Ausstattung; Schmuck”. The Dual can be explained by the fact that the *t.* had two heads (see below).

t. can be provided with a “hook”, GIŠ-zú (nos. 7, 8). It can be decorated with: a) stags, *lu-li* (phonetic writing for *lulim*, LAK-250), text nos. 8, 9, 10;

ARET 12.1022 II 3: 2 *ti-gi-na* lu-li 30 (gín) I; b) deers (text no. 7, etc.; perhaps a writing for *dàra-maš* = *ajalu*); c) human-faced bulls, lu_x, TM.75.G.2071 obv. II 4: 2 *t*. lu_x. These animals formed the two heads of the *t*., TM.75.G.10088 obv. XIV 35–36: 2 *t*. lú 2 sag-sù lu_x. The fact that 2 *t*. have only 2 (not 4) heads favours the interpretation of 2 *ti-gi-na* as a single object considered to have two parts, where the numeral 2 is pleonastic in the presence of the dual form. See, further, TM.75.G.2051 obv. II 1: 2 *t*. *ḥa-li*; 2071 obv. II 6: 2 *t*. *ḥa-a-ga* / *ḥalaGā(n)* / . A *t*. can be part of a “staff (?)” GIŠ-pa, TM.75.G.1918 rev. I 18–19: 2 *t*. GIŠ-pa *ma-lik-tum*; 1527 obv. II 3–4: 2 *t*. lú GIŠ-pa. The weight of these *t*. given to these princesses goes from about 50 sh. (392 g) to 20 sh. (157 g). It can reach, however, 60 sh. (470 g), ARET 7.12 obv. II 2 (for *Pa₄-ba₄*, the queen of Mari), and even 90 sh. (705 g), cf. TM.75.G.2375 rev. IV 8–9 and VI 8–9: 90 gín kb./kg. 1 *ti-gi-na*. The weight of this object, decorated with animals or fixed with a “hook”, and the fact that it was worn by both men and women are at the basis of the suggested identification. Two male figurines from Tell el-Judeideh (EB III) wear a torque with loop ends, see Seeden 1980: 8–9 nos. 1–2, Pl. 1, 1–2; another one, no. 52, p. 19 and Pl. 14, is dated to the beginning of the 2nd millennium.

The *t*. is often mentioned in the same line together with GIŠ-DU, cf. TM.75.G.1464 obv. X 18: 2 *t*. 2 GIŠ-DU. These two objects can be a standard gift to men and women of high social status.

– *ù-nu-bù-bí-tum* see *a-na-bù-bù/bí-tum*.

– za_x 1) I 1: 4 z. gu sag; 7) Aii 18 = B III 29: z. sag kg. (30 sh.).

The meaning “goods, treasure” was recognized by Krecher (1973: 240). Civil (1983: 233–240) determined the reading za_x. Pettinato (MEE 2: 34 ad v. VII 14) suggested two other meanings: “a stone”; “mace”. Waetzoldt (1990a: 34–35) deletes the latter, and understands instead “Gegenstände, Geräte”, that is a “Sammelbegriff”. Several passages (some quoted by Waetzoldt) have: *ni-zi-mu* za_x *nagar-nagar* “(metal) to laminate the carpenters’ tools”. [199] This meaning fits well with many passages including the only one in which za_x is preceded by a numeral, TM.75.G.2102 obv. I 1–3: 45 (gín) kb. nu₁₁-za 3 za_x PN “45 sh. of silver (for) the decoration (of) 3 objects”, *ugula* za_x means “the overseer of the (movable) property (of NP)”, see ARET 1: 308; ARET 7: 328. In TM.75.G.2508 obv. II 34–35, NP *ugula* za_x is preceded by *ugula* sur_x-BAR.AN. A more general meaning like “property, goods” is necessary also in cases such as MEE 2.38 rev. IV 1–5: 3,13 *ma-na* gín D. kg. *mu-DU* *lugal-lugal* za_x PN “3,13 minas of gold (not in objects!); delivery of the lords: property of PN”; TM.75.G.1527 rev. X 1–5: *šu-nínig* 482 *ma-na* *babbar:kù* 5;52 *ma-na* *kù-gi* za_x-za_x *al₆-gál* “Total: 482 minas of silver, 5;52 minas of gold (raw metal in both cases): goods present (in the treasury)”.

There are, moreover, passages as follows: a small amount of gold – za_x sag. Besides no. 7, see TM.75.G.10210 obv. 1–2: [x gín kg.] za_x sag; 11537(+) obv. II 5–6: 9 gín kg. za_x sag. Other passages are similar to text no. 1, TM.75.G.2017 rev. II 3–III 1: 2 gu si_4 – si_4 2 gu za_x GÁxLÁ 2 gín D. kg. 10 gu šè-li; 2073 rev. IV 17: 1 gín 3 NI kù-gi gu za_x ; 2360 rev. VI 4–7: 20 gu šè-li 5 gu *nap-ḫu* šè-li 2 gu za_x babbar. The first four passages concern “strings” in gold for (“first class”, sag) za_x and other materials. In all these cases, za_x has to be a kind of stone or similar material.

- zag “brim, border” see. sub *’à-ra-ma-tum*.
- zi-bar “goblet” 6) A IV 3 = B XI 11: 1 z. kg. (5 sh.); 7) A III 7 – B IV 6: z. kg. (4 sh.); 9) I 12: 1 z. kg. (3 2NI sh.); 10) I 5: 1 z. kg. (4 sh.). In the passages nos. 7, 9 and 10, zi-bar is preceded by an-zam_x; see, further, ARET 7.1 rev. II 9. There are also passages which quote an-zam_x and zi-bar in the same line, e.g. TM.75.G.2428 obv. XVI 6, rev. IX 13. A z. could be attributed to statues, see ARET 7 rev. III 5; TM.75.G.1379 rev. VI 7–9. The capacity of an an-zam_x was of about 160 cm³. A z. had to be a smaller vessel.

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